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# AN EDITION OF AN ANONYMOUS TWELFTH-CENTURY *LIBER DE NATURA DEORUM*

Virginia Brown

THE text presented here has been the subject of a recent study by Judson B. Allen.<sup>1</sup> It appears to have survived only in Bodleian ms. Digby 221, and is the last of four texts contained in that codex. The contents of the manuscript include: the mythology of Alberic, ascribed to Alexander Neckham (foll. 1-34v); the commentary of Alexander Neckham on the *de Nuptiis* of Martianus Capella (foll. 34v-88v); the *de Sex Principiis* of Hermes Trismegistus (foll. 88v-99v); our *Liber de Natura Deorum* (foll. 100-120v) which has lost several folia at the end and is thus incomplete. Formerly owned by Thomas Allen and Sir Kenelm Digby, the manuscript was written in double columns of 52 lines during the early fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The script is English Gothic. In general the scribe has tried to produce a text divided into sections, rather than a continuous narrative, and illuminated capital letters usually mark the beginning of a new myth. Brief indications of the subject matter are to be had from copious marginal notes. The treatise shows some signs of correction, probably the work of the scribe.

There are a few points to be noticed in connection with the preparation of this edition. In place of reproducing the medieval spelling which is often baffling in the case of proper names, the spelling of modern classical texts has been adopted.<sup>3</sup> Emendation has been kept to a minimum, and the cri-

<sup>1</sup> 'An Anonymous Twelfth-Century *de Natura Deorum* in the Bodleian Library', *Traditio* 26 (1970), pp. 352-64. I have not seen the manuscript *in situ*, but have relied on the photostatic copy so generously provided by Professor Allen.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae* (Quarto Series), vol. 9 (Oxford, 1883), 236. For information regarding the date of composition, see pp. 352-3 of the article cited in the preceding note.

<sup>3</sup> Latinized Greek names present a special problem, and those terminations likely to be of particular philological interest have been preserved, as 'Panem' and 'Panum' for the classical 'Pana'.

tical apparatus contains all but the simplest orthographical differences.<sup>4</sup> In another apparatus have been noted those sources having to do with specific references together with many others which are direct, or almost direct, quotations from authors, but have not been designated as such. A commentary on the text is planned for a subsequent number of this journal. Finally, the chapter divisions are in general accord with those marked out by the scribe, and alterations were made only where they seemed to be necessary. The subdivisions in the chapters are owing to the editor's discretion.

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\* These chapter headings are based on the marginal notes in the manuscript.

<sup>4</sup> I have not, for example, recorded 'furie' for 'furiae' or 'faleratis' for 'phaleratis'.

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C.	De Menephrona	CL.	De Dryope
CI.	De Nepote Cephis	CLI.	De Eteocle et Polynice
CII.	De Filia Eunochii	CLII.	De Tithono
CIII.	De Curetibus	CLIII.	De Iudicibus Inferni
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CLXXVI.	De Filiis Priami		

## AUCTORIS INCERTI DE NATURA DEORUM LIBER

*Praefatio.* Ne phaleratis utamur sermonibus et exquisitis. Superficiem totius genealogiae tam hominum quam deorum totiusque mythologiae,<sup>1</sup> quae non solummodo in Ovidianis sed in quibuslibet auctoribus dispersae<sup>2</sup> sunt, et compendiose<sup>3</sup> more nostro colligere proposuimus, communem potius utilitatem attendentes quam otium nostrum aut quietem.<sup>a</sup> Maluimus enim boni esse quam videri, nec sumus de numero eorum qui incipiunt nec consummant, qui somnolenter scribunt nec emendant, qui de parturitione montis ridiculum murem effundunt.<sup>b</sup> Tales vero primos accubitus in cenis quaerunt, salutationes in foro desiderant, vocari ab hominibus ‘Rabbi’ concupiscunt.<sup>c</sup> Si aliquid glossant in levibus, moram faciunt maximam, in gravibus, parvam, in gravissimis, nullam.<sup>d</sup> De quodam talium<sup>4</sup> dixit quidam sapiens quod pater involvit, male praeterit aut male solvit. Hactenus invidiae respondimus ‘attrahe lora fortius et gyro curre, poeta, tuo’.<sup>e</sup>

### I. DE DEMOGORGONTE

Primus omnium deorum pater Demogorgon dictus est quia daemones et Ge, idest Terram, creavit vel quia a daemonibus et Terra creatus fuit,

1 mircologie      2 dispersa      3 compendiosi      4 taltum

a cf. Paolo da Perugia (A. Hortis, *Studi...Boccaccio*, p. 526).

b cf. Hor., *A. P.* 139.

c Matt. XXIII. 6-7.

d Cf. Gul. de Conchis, *Glosae sup. Plat.* I.

e Ovid., *Rem. Am.* 397-398.

et in infimis terrae sibi sedem elegit,<sup>f</sup> iuxta illud: 'Indespecta tenet vobis qui Tartara',<sup>g</sup> cuius nomen ineffabile etiam numina tremunt et abhorrent.

## II. DE FURIIS ET PARGIS

Tempore huius et in regno eiusdem de Nocte et Acheronte natae sunt tres Furiae Allecto, Megaera, et Tisiphone.<sup>5</sup> Quae apud inferos Furiae vocantur et canes; apud superos dirae aves quasi irae deorum; apud nos mundanos Eumenides ab 'eu', quod est 'bonum', et 'mene', quod est 'defectus', quia in bono deficiunt; apud insulares vel litorales dicuntur Harpyiae ab 'arpos', quod est 'rapere'. Aliae tamen a quibusdam assignantur Harpyiae filiae Neptuni et Terrae. Unde nec in terra simpliciter nec in mari habitant sed in insulis. Quare nomina sunt haec: Aello, Ocypete,<sup>6</sup> et Celaeno, sed de his alias. 2. Tresque<sup>6</sup> Parcae aversae sunt ab ipso Demogorgonte, quarum<sup>7</sup> nomina et officia ille versus exprimit: 'Clotho colum baiulat, Lachesis trahit, Atropos occat'.<sup>h</sup> Clotho interpretatur evocatio, Lachesis protractio, Atropos sine conversione.

## III. DE CAELO

Demogorgon de Tellure dea terrae filium genuit; qui quoniam plus patris probitate pollebat dictus est Pollux. Postea quia regnum suum usque in firmamentum transtulit, de mutatione et augmento sui honoris sibi nomen mutans, Caelus<sup>8</sup> a celando per contrarium dici meruit, quia sicut pater in cavernis terrae se non celavit.<sup>i</sup> 2. Inde inolevit usus quod deificati vel apostolificati in sua inthronizatione sibi alia assumit nomina, ut Saulus persecutor dictus est Paulus apostolus, Romulus imperator dictus est Quirinus deus,<sup>i</sup> Rolandus cancellarius Alexander papa. A Caelo<sup>8</sup> dictum est caelum sicut a Romulo Roma. Nam quod dicitur caelum quasi casa elios etymologia est, non divinatio.

## IV. DE LIBERIS CAELI

Caelus<sup>8</sup> ex Ope quae est Terra, quae ita dicitur quia nos opulentat, Saturnum genuit et Titanum patrem Titanum et Phorcum.<sup>9</sup> Qui Phorcus de Ceto<sup>10</sup> monstro marino tres Gorgones genuit, unde Phorcynides dicuntur. Quare nomina sunt haec: Stheno,<sup>11</sup> Euryale, et Medusa. Hae unico

5 thesiphone  
scemmo

6 tres quod

7 quos

8 celi-

9 phorerum

10 ceo

11

f cf. Paolo da Perugia (*op. cit.*, pp. 526-527).

g Lucan. VI. 748.

h cf. A. Bachrens, *Poet. Lat. Min.*, vol. V, no. 75, 2.

i cf. Paolo da Perugia (*op. cit.*, p. 528).

utebantur oculo. Quas Perseus devicit truncato capite maioris, mutuatis a Mercurio pennis et arpe, mutuato quoque gladio Palladis crystallino, sed de his alias. 2. Genuit quoque Caelus<sup>8</sup> tres filias Sibyllem, Cererem,<sup>12</sup> Vestam [et Cererem] quae etiam Pales dicta est. Duae pepererunt:<sup>13</sup> Sibylle de Saturno, Ceres de Iove. Vesta remansit innuba et quia virgo virgines in templo eius sunt sacratae. Alia tamen assignatur causa haec scilicet Vesta est ignis; qui nulla ex se mittit semina quia consumptione natus est nec genitus est. Ideo Vesta virgo dicitur et virgines ei sacratae; de qua re semine nihil ad hoc prodit.

#### V. DE TITANO ET SATURNO

Titanus de Terra Titanas genuit. 2. In regno Caeli<sup>8</sup> Saturnus, quia maior erat natu fratribus suis, ut heres patri successit. Prius ipse dictus est Cronicus a 'cronos', quod est 'tempus', quia per ipsum tempus signatur. Unde et filios devorasse dicitur quia quicquid in tempore per successionem temporis ad esse devenit, per successum temporis a suo esse deficit. Postea dictus est Saturnus a 'saturitate' quia filios suos degluttivit.<sup>14</sup> 3. Quidam asserunt eum fuisse primum deorum nec habuisse patrem. Unde Theodolus<sup>15</sup> dicit: 'Nullus ei genitor nec quisquam tempore maior'.<sup>j</sup> Sed oppositio illa potest solvi construendo sic: genitor ei fuit nullus, idest nullius pretii respectu filii; et quisquam non fuit maior illo, idest Saturno, tempore illo suo, scilicet dum regnavit. 4. Iste hominem primo creasse dicitur ad imaginem deorum. 5. Alii dicunt quod Prometheus hominem de limo terrae formavit, cui ignem a rota solis raptum inspirando vivificavit. Pro cuius furti poena culpa adhuc homines patiuntur illos defectus humanos famis, scilicet vigiliarum, lassitudinis, sitis, et omnimodae aegritudinis. Ipse etiam Prometheus in Caucaso<sup>16</sup> monte distentus iecur ab aquila roditur, vel ut alii dicunt a vulturibus. 6. Alii dicunt hominem creatum esse de imbre sive de fungis. Qui error habuit originem a Curetibus, qui, cum incurvati fungos colligerent, iam impletis gremiis suis paulatim se erigebant. Quare circumstantes eos nasci credebant de fungis quia fungos circumquaque in campis et in gremiis eorum videbant. 7. Alii dicunt homines esse natos de arboribus propter Arcades, qui se Proselenos, idest ante lunam genitos, asserunt. Qui ante domos inventas in cavernis arborum habitabant. Unde cum quis de cavernis exibat in summo mane cum sua familia, inde natus credebatur. 8. Alia est opinio quam dicit Ovidius, quod iactu Deucalionis et Pyrrhae nati sunt homines de lapidibus.<sup>k</sup>

12 cerem

13 repererunt

14 deglutiavit

15 theodorus

16 caucalo

j Theodolus, *Ecl.* 39.k cf. Ovid., *Met.* I. 398 ff.

## VI. DE NYMPHIS ET AETATIBUS

Tempore Saturni primae fuerunt nymphae sicut Dryades nemorum, Hamadryades arborum, Napaeae fontium, Oreades montium, Hymnides pratorum, Naiades fluviorum, Nereides maris. 2. Tempore Saturni aurea aetas fuit, postea argentea, et ita usque ad ferrum, quae quarta fuit similitudo. Quia primo fuerunt boni homines, sicut aurum praevallet ceteris metallis, postea coeperunt deteriorari de gradu in gradum, sicut cetera metalla a pretio descendunt post aurum. 3. Sed alii asserunt octo fuisse aetates sicut octo sunt metallorum varietates, unde Iuvenalis: ‘Nona aetas agitur’,<sup>1</sup> ubi sic dicit ‘nona’ innuens octo fuisse. Sicut alibi dicit: ‘Tertius e caelo cecidit Cato’,<sup>m</sup> ubi dicit ‘tertius’ innuens quia duo fuerunt, Censorinus et Uticensis. 4. Prima aetas fuit aurea, secunda argentea, tertia electrea, quarta cuprea, quinta aenea, sexta stagna, septima plumbea, octava ferrea.

## VII. DE FILIIS SATURNI

Titanus frater Saturni peritus in arte divinandi dixit ei quod filios suos devoraret, quia de ipso nasciturus quidam erat filius qui regnum ei auferret. Credebat enim quod sui filii sic haberent occasionem regnandi post Saturnum iure hereditate tenentes regnum patrum. 2. Saturnus ergo filios suos sigillatim nascentes devorabat, primo Iovem, secundo Plutonium, tertio Neptunum. 3. Postea cogitans quod si filium de alia quam de uxore haberet, forsitan sine periculo ei succedere posset, cum Philyra<sup>17</sup> concubuit relicta uxore sua Cybele, quae ita dicitur quasi cubele a ‘cuben’ quod est ‘solidum’. Nam ipsa est terra quae solidior est ceteris elementis. Unde et solidi numeri in arithmetica appellantur cubici sicut solidior pars brachii appellatur cubitus. 4. In coitu autem cum Philyra<sup>17</sup> metuens adventum uxoris, se in equum mutavit Saturnus, et in hac forma concumbens genuit puerum partim equum, quem Chironem appellavit. Huic dedit peritiam medicandi et citharizandi et sagittandi. 5. Item Chiron dictus est Centaurus quasi gentaurus, idest genitus ex aura, tantummodo propter formam, non propter originem. 6. Nam Ixion secretarius Iunonis eam saepius de stupro interpellavit. Quae nubem in similitudinem sui effigavit, quam Ixion putans esse Iunonem cum ea concumbendo Centauros genuit. Qui dicti sunt Centauri quasi gentauri, idest ex aura geniti. Qui quoniam velocitate equos imitabantur, inventus est locus fabulae quod

<sup>17</sup> phillere

<sup>1</sup> Iuven., *Sat.* XIII. 28.

<sup>m</sup> *ibid.*, II. 40.

scilicet partim erant equi, partim homines; vel quia primi domuerunt equos, dicti sunt soniferi; vel quia Lapithae videndo eos de longe equos equitantes putabant non esse homines nec equos, sed quiddam compositum ex hominibus et equis. 7. Chironi traditus fuit Achilles ut eum in arte magica informaret.

#### VIII. DE PHLEGYA ET IXIONE

Phlegyas pater Coronidis iratus erga Apollinem quod filiam suam interfecisset, templum eius combussit, et ad omnia templa Delos<sup>18</sup> insulae, ubi colebatur Phoebus, aditum clausit. Sed ab Apolline sagittatus et ad inferos detrusus est, unde Statius: 'Subter cava regna iacentem aeterno premit accubitu'.<sup>n</sup> 2. Huius filius fuit Ixion. Qui cum filiam Eionei<sup>19</sup> duxisset, Eioneus<sup>19</sup> dotem ei promissam denegavit. Quem Ixion invitans ad convivium in foveam igne plenam et superius cinere tectam praecipitavit, unde perfidus dicitur. 3. Ixion hic fuit pater Pirithoi, qui fuit rex Lapitharum,<sup>20</sup> qui sunt populi Thessaliae.

#### IX. DE NUPTIIS PIRITHOI

Pirithous iste cum uxorem duxisset [ypocaciam vel] Hippodamiam [vel hippodamen], Lapithas et Centauros ad nuptias invitavit, et omnes deos convocavit praeter Martem. Unde Mars iratus inter Lapithas et Centauros bellum immisit. 2. Eurytus<sup>21</sup> enim Centaurorum<sup>22</sup> saevissimus amans et ebrius Hippodamiam<sup>23</sup> rapere voluit; sic auctoritatis, idest Hippodamia traxit ambiguos viros, idest Centauros, in arma. 3. Huic convivio interfuerunt Nestor et Hercules, qui multos occidit, et Theseus amicus Pirithoi.

#### X. DE HERCULE

Hercules Messenia moenia et Elin et Pylon urbem subvertit, unde Nestor Pylus dictus est. Et duodecim fratres Nestoris, filios Nelei<sup>24</sup> filii Neptuni, Hercules occidit. Unum fratrem habuit Nestor, cui Neptunus dederat mutari in quamlibet avem; hunc mutatum in aquilam Hercules occidit. 2. Nestor autem trecentos annos vixit. 3. Hercules autem Lacinium latronem occidit. Quo interfecto templa Iunoni fecit, quae Lacinia vocantur. 4. Erycem filium Veneris et Hercules occidit Butem. Eryx sepultus est in monte, a quo dictus est mons Eryx. Unde Venus Erycina dicitur et in illo monte colitur.

18 delphos  
ypocaciam

19 open-  
24 Nilei

20 lapithare

21 euriteus

22 centaurarum

23

n Stat., *Theb.* I. 713-714.



## XI. DE ERICHTHONIO ET AESCULAPIO

Phoebus Coroniden amabat, qui corvo avi suae iniunxit ut eam servaret. Corvus eam vidit cum Haemonio iuvene adulterantem. 2. Quod ut suo referret domino volabat. Cui cornix obvia dissuasit ne tale nuntium ferret per exemplum sui, cui male de fidelitate sua apud Palladem contigit siquidem ipsa cornix virgo regia fuit filia Coronei. Quam spatiantem in litore cum Neptunus sequeretur ut devirginaret, Pallas eam liberavit mutando in cornicem albam. Quam mutatam Pallas in suo recepit consortio ut fidelissimam. 3. Postea cum Vulcanus Palladem de concubitu infestaret priapum impingendo et illa contradiceret se retrahendo, ex impatientia libidinis Vulcanus semen emisit. De quo natus puer serpentinos pedes habens dictus est Erichthonius ab 'eris', quod est 'lis'. 4. Hunc pro turpitudine pedum celanda Pallas in cista viminea inclusum tribus virginibus de Cecrope natis tradidit conservandum sub condicione sua ne viderent secreta. Praeterea cornicem in ulmo apposuit ut videret si puellae secreta revelarent et ei nuntiaret. 5. Duae autem scilicet Herse et Pandrasos fideliter servaverunt. Tertia scilicet Aglauros, nodis cistae dissolutis, puerum intus positum vidit cum pedibus serpentinis; quod Palladi cornix nuntiavit. 6. Quae indignata cornicem de candido in nigrum vertit, et eam de consortio suo pellens Nyctimenem loco eius posuit. Quae olim virgo fuerat sed, quia cum patre suo concubuit, ex ira deorum in avem noctis mutari meruit. 7. Praeterea Pallas Aglauron odio habens et pro Erichthonio viso et pro auro recepto, quod Mercurius poposcerat ut eum intrare permetteret ad Hersem sororem suam, quam Mercurii esse amicam cognoverat. 8. Quadam ergo die, ut Mercurium expelleret, in limine thalami Mercurio restitit donec eam Mercurius in lapidem mutavit. 9. Postea corvus pro consilio cornicis non cessavit; immo Coronidis adulterium Apollini revelavit. Unde Apollo iratus arcum et pharetram sensit et eam<sup>25</sup> graviter ad mortem vulneravit. 10. Postea ductus paenitentia compatiens morienti adhibuit medicinam carminibus et herbis, sed frustra quia vitam eius revocare non poterat. Saltem exciso ventre matris puerum in proximo nasciturum extraxit; qui dictus est Aesculapius. Quod Iuppiter dure faciens quia inventor fuit chirurgiae. 11. Hic traditus est Chironi ut in arte magica ab eo instrueretur. Quem videns Ocyrhoë<sup>26</sup> filia Chironis de ipso coepit vaticinari, dicens quia mortuum suscitaturus foret. Qua de causa Iuppiter eum fulminavit. De patre quoque dixit quod de immortali fieret mortalis, et iterum de mortalitate sibi pararet immortalitatem. De se quoque dixit quod in proximo esset equa. 12. Aesculapius vero, quia Hippolytum revocaverat de vulture, fulminatus fuit a Iove, indignabatur enim hominem contra fata tantum posse.

## XII. DE CHIRONE

Chironi quoque traditus fuit Achilles et in arte citharizandi ab eodem est perfectus. 2. Tandem Hercules ab Hispania rediens apud Chironem hospitatus est. Cuius sagittas cum Chiron tractaret, una super pedem eius collapsa eum graviter vulneravit. Quae quoniam adhuc erat intoxicata veneno Hydrae, quam Hercules in Lerna palude interfecerat, vulnus fuit immedicabile. 3. Chiron quoque quia pater ei donaverat immortalitatem, oravit patrem ut posset mori, ut ita saltem finiretur dolor suus in morte. Separata ergo anima eius a corpore, corpus eius in caelum translatum factum est quoddam signum, quod appellatur Sagittarius.

## XIII. DE CYBELE ET IOVE

Cybele, cognito quod maritus suus ex alia genuisset Chironem, indignans quia filio careret; edito Iove, cum eum patri ad deglutendum pro pabulo dare deberet, unde et ipsa Pales dicebatur quasi dans pabula, lapidem, qui dicitur abaddir,<sup>27</sup> pannis involutum Saturno porrexit. 2. Quo devorato Saturnus quicquid ante devoraverat cum filiis devoratis, faciente natura lapidis, evomit. Unde Cybele Rhea meruit appellari quia maritum sic decepit. 3. Iuppiter autem occulte ab Oleno patre Aegles<sup>28</sup> et †eglitos<sup>29†</sup> nutritus est, secundum alios a filiabus Melissi regis Cretensis lacte caprae Amaltheae,<sup>30</sup> quae sic erat dicta a virgine cuius erat. 4. Quae capra duos habuit haedos et in trunco arboris cornu suum fregit quod Iuppiter postea deae Copiaesacravit. Ipsos etiam haedos dum regnaret in caelo stellificavit; capram quoque signum fecit pluviosum. Quod Olenum signum dicitur ab Oleno patre Aegles<sup>28</sup> vel ab Oleno,<sup>31</sup> quod est unum de tribus civitatibus tripolis Aetoliae. Quae sunt Pleuron,<sup>32</sup> Olenos, Calydon.<sup>33</sup> 5. Et ne vagitus pueri audiretur a patre, adhibiti sunt Curetes tympanizantes et cum aliis instrumentis organicis strepitum facientes. Et sic sub silentio nutritus puer dictus est ut Iovis in sua pueritia. 6. Ad cuius silentii exemplum sancita repraesentatione fiunt adhuc in festo Cybeles quaedam secreta et silentia. Ad imitationem quoque tympanizantium Cybeles festum celebrant tympanizantes sancti Corybantes quasi in choro boantes. 7. Iuppiter educatus Iunonem occulte amavit. Quae postea in Samo insula data est ei nuptum, unde Iuno dicta est Samia. 8. Postea Iuppiter patrem suum de regno depulit. Cuius virilia secta in mare iuxta Cytheron<sup>34</sup> montem proiecit; de quibus et de spuma maris nata est Venus et inde super Cytherea et Frodos quia 'frodos' Graece dicitur 'spuma' Latine. Secundum alios filia fuit Iovis et Diones, et saepe nomen matris pro Venere usurpant auctores. Et Iuppiter regnum possidens quia pueritia ut Iovis dicebatur; a iuvando dictus est Iovis.

27 abadyr

28 egiles, *leg.* Aegae et Helices?

29 egilitos

30 amaldee

31 oleon

32 pleuros

33 calydos

34 chiteron

## XIV. DE SATURNO ET IANO

Saturnus a filio suo ementulatus a caelo fugiens venit in Italiam, et ibi receptus est a Iano qui eum docuit usum falcis et vincarum. Unde etiam dicta est illa terra Latium a deo latente vel quia latet inter montes. 2. Quem quia participem Ianus regni sui fecit, et ei figuram monetae participavit. Nam ex altera parte navis in qua Saturnus navigavit in Italiam facta est eius imago; ex altera parte facta est imago Iani<sup>35</sup> bicipitis. 3. Ibi etiam est quaedam civitas quae Drepanum appellatur a 'drepan', quod est 'falx', quia falcem suam ibi Saturnus deposuit.

## XV. DE DIVISIONE REGNI

Iovis in Claro insula regnum sorte divisit. Cuius prima sorte caelum fuit; secunda sorte cessit mare Neptuno; tertia infernus cessit Plutoni. 2. Sed quilibet trium nomen geminavit. Pluto dictus est Dis quia ditior aliis plura recepit. Neptunus ab antecessore suo dictus est Nereus vel ab officio Amphitrites, idest circumterens. Iovis dictus est Iuppiter, idest iuvans pater, vel Diespiter, idest dierum pater, et haec agens quibus dicitur Dian. Inde Dialis dicitur sacerdos Iovis. 3. Ut Pluto ostenderet se esse filium illius, qui triplicem mundi tenuit machinam, Cerberum habuit triplicem, per quem designatur terra tripartita in Europam, Asiam, et Africam. Neptunus ob eandem causam habet tridentem qui signat naturam aquae triplicem; nam est labilis, nabilis, potabilis. Iuppiter fulmen habet trifidum, quod urit, stridit, afflat. 4. Terra in communi remansit. Unde quidam morientes ut scelerati ad inferos descendunt et sunt Plutonis; quidam submerguntur<sup>36</sup> et sunt Neptuni; quidam stellificantur et sunt Iovis.

## XVI. DE LATONA ET DELO

Iuppiter de Iunone nil gignens cum Latona filia Coei Gigantis concubuit, de qua Phoebum et Dianam genuit. Cui parere volenti Tellus dea terrae locum in terra instinctu Iunonis denegavit. Quam Python<sup>37</sup> serpens persequabatur donec Delos insula instabilis<sup>38</sup> et fluctivaga eam peperit Dianam primo, Phoebum secundo. Nam Diana officium obstetricis fratri suo exhibuit. 2. Phoebus adultus in vindictam matris Pythonem interfecit, cuius corpus in sui memoriam in caelo collocavit et stellificavit. Corio quoque illius in insigne victoriae suae tripodem suum circumdedit. Insuper ludos fieri fecit, quae Pythia appellavit. Ipse autem a victoria sua dictus est Pythius sicut ab Africa devicta Africanus Scipio. 3. Delon autem, quae prius erat instabilis, insulis duabus ultimis ligatam scilicet Mycono<sup>39</sup>

35 navis

36 subiungantur

37 pheton

38 instabilis

39 eruchone

et Gyaro<sup>40</sup> stabilem fecit. 4. Delos autem eadem insula est quae et Ortygia; quod sic probatur. Asterie soror Latonae in ortygometram,<sup>41</sup> idest coturnicem avem, mutata est. Iove autem in specie aquilae eam sequente, mutata est in coturnicem lapidem, et illa in mare mersa tandem in insulam excrevit et apparuit. 5. Unde Delos dicitur, idest manifestatio, vel, ut alii dicunt, quia diluvio cessante prius apparuit, vel quia ibi a Phoebio manifestius respondebatur. Ortygia vero ab 'ortygometra'<sup>41</sup> vel ab 'ortis' Graece, quod est 'coturnix' Latine, et 'ge', quod est 'terra', dicitur. Quia utrumque fuerat Asterie, et ideo libentius accepit sororem parturientem quam ceterae terrae. 6. Hanc insulam colebat Syringa<sup>42</sup> Ladonis fluvii filia. Quae Panem deum fugiens facta est calamus, de quo Pan<sup>43</sup> compegit fistulam.

#### XVII. DE PRIMA GIGANTOMACHIA ET FAUNIS

Titanes filii Titani Iovem infestaverunt quia cum Latona concubuerat, vel ut eo pulso regnarent, vel quia Saturnus ducebat eos ut se vindicarent. Phoebus autem et Diana, qui de Titanibus erant et Iovi faverant, meruerunt a Iove remunerari; Diana biga, Phoebus quadriga. 2. Victoria quoque filia Stygis, quia Iovi se exposuit, meruit a Iove quod per suam matrem iurarent superi, et qui eam peieraret nectare, potu scilicet divino, et ambrosia, caelesti herba, careret. 3. Iuppiter Titanas fulminatos et patrem ad inferos devehens omnes catenis adamantinis ligavit praeter Aegaeona, quem in mari centum vinculis incatenavit. 4. Et iam tunc incipiebant esse Fauni a primo Fauno Saturni filio sic dicti, cuius uxor dicta est Fauna sicut et ipse Faunus a fando, idest vaticinando. Fauni di sunt invisibiles Satyri nemorum, Panes agrorum, sed usurpantur ab auctoribus pro istis et isti pro illis. 5. Silvanus est deus silvarum. Inter nemus et silvam hoc interest, quod nemus dicitur a nectendo ubi divisi tauri pro multitudine arborum se nectunt, silva ubi rarae arbores se non innectunt, saltus ubi rarissime adeo quod liberum saltum possunt per eas habere ferae.

#### XVIII. DE SECUNDA GIGANTOMACHIA

Terra partu nefando in auxilium Titanorum creavit Tityum, qui Briareus et Aegaeon dicitur, et alios Gigantes anguipedes. Qui cum vellent Iovem impugnare non audebant pro Aegle filia Oleni uxore Panis, quae adeo erat pulchra quod de pulchritudine eius erat terribilis. 2. Qua aspecta Gigantes petierunt a Terra ut corpus eius offuscaret. Terra ergo Aeglen<sup>44</sup> in quodam specu abscondit. 3. Et tunc Gigantes securi montem monti imposuerunt, et in Phlegra loco Iovem impugnaverunt adeo quod di omnes in Aegyptum

40 gaiaro

41 ortomegr-

42 siruga

43 panc

44 eglon

fugerunt. 4. Mercurius factus est ibis, Iuppiter aquila, Diana phoenix, Bellona merula, Venus piscis scilicet anguilla, unde Syri ab illo pisce se abstinent. Pan in fluvium se mersit, posteriorem partem sui habens piscem, anteriorem hircum, unde terrorem Typhoeo incussit. Cuius figmentum Iuppiter admittens effigiem eius in caelum stellificavit, quae Capricornus dicitur. Vel ut ait Euhemerus.<sup>45</sup> 'Aegle uxor Panis genuit Aegipana, de quo Iuppiter in caelo fecit Capricornum'.<sup>o</sup> 5. Cum Gigantibus non posset resistere Iuppiter, responsum est ei quod, si Gigantes vincere vellet, Aegles pelle tectus et capite Gorgonis pugnaret. Aeglen ergo in specum iniectam excoriavit; ossa eius stellificavit. De corio clipeum texit; caput Gorgonis intus depinxit. Clipeus ille dictus est aegis a corio Aegles, vel ut alii dicunt ab 'ege', quod est 'capra', quod corio Amaltheae caprae involutus erat. 6. Haec aegis data est Palladi. Quae incurrens hostibus victoriam Iovi fecit adeo quod Iuppiter tenet eos sub montibus obrutos, ut Enceladum<sup>46</sup> sub Aetna, Typhoeum sub Vesevo. Qui duo montes ardent quotiens Gigantes suppositi expirant. 7. Aglaosthenes<sup>47</sup> philosophus non fabulose sed historice dicit [ut] Iovem a Crete<sup>48</sup> surreptum ad Naxos insulam fuisse delatum, et ibi nutritum.<sup>p</sup> Qui adultus cum Titanos vellet impugnare, ei sacrificanti quidam aquilam auspicatum dedere. Quo auspicio usus aquilam suum signum fecit; postea fabulose eam stellificavit. De hac aquila plura dicit Hyginus.<sup>q</sup> Hanc autem Iuppiter ex omni genere avium dicitur elegisse quia radios solis potest intueri. 8. Deinde Iuppiter in Creta sepultus est; cuius sepulchrum Cretenses foderunt coacti, ubi caput asini lucifugis, idest vespertilionibus, denudatum invenerunt. Sed alterius fuisse mentiti sunt, quod postea Beneventum delatum in pariete muri dicitur fuisse reconditum. 9. Hic potentissimus in terris maximus deorum dicitur fuisse in caelis; qui propter terrorem habitus est pro deo iuxta illud: 'Primus in orbe deos fecit timor'.<sup>r</sup> Huius simulacrum ubique diffusum est, et daemone in statua incluso responsum dabat de futuris. Singulos autem errores de dis Augustinus in libro de Civitate Dei exponit.

#### XIX. DE ARTIBUS

Victis a Iove Titanibus primo, Gigantibus secundo, cum iam securus regnaret, Iuppiter omnimodae vacavit luxuriae, unde illud: 'Iuppiter esse

45 eunicius

46 ericheladum

47 aglostes

48 coete

o cf. Hyg., *Astr.* II. 13.

p cf. *ibid.*, II. 16.

q cf. *ibid.*

r Stat., *Theb.* III. 661.

pium statuit quodcumque iuaret, et fas omne facit fratre marita soror'.<sup>s</sup>  
 2. Tempore huius inventae sunt artes: dialectica ut veritatem inquirendo deciperet sophismatibus; grammatica ut sermonem dirigeret; rhetorica ut blandiretur; musica ut tonis et semitonis delectaret; geometria ut mensuraret; arithmetica ut computaret; astrologia quae in caelo signa notaret; astronomia per quam de signis in caelo operaremur; necromantia per quam fructum cognitionis astronomicae participemus; praestigium quod nos ad necromantiam instruit sicut Isagoge Porphyrii ad Praedicamenta Aristotelis.<sup>t</sup>  
 3. Tunc temporis affossum est aurum, pro quo inter habentes et non habentes crevit invidia, quae adhuc durat, ex invidia odium, ex odio bellum. Ideo inventa sunt arma, oppida, munimina; classis facta pro qua regenda. Notata sunt in caelo signa, notati venti, qui quattuor sunt cardinales et oppositi, scilicet Eurus orientalis, Zephyrus occidentalis, Boreas septentrionalis, Auster meridionalis. Quibus istorum quattuor duos habent collaterales. De illis in philosophia magistri Gulielmi de Conchis require.<sup>u</sup>

## XX. DE MEMNONE

Venti Astraeci Gigantis et Aurorae sunt filii. 2. Quae Aurora postea maritum habuit Tithonum fratrem Laomedontis regis Troiae, de quo Memnonem peperit. Qui in bello Troiano interfectus cum in rogo positus esset, favillae de rogo evolantes mutatae sunt in aves ab ipso dictas Memnonidas. Quae singulis annis ad locum suae sepulturae redeunt se interfecerunt, sed de interfectis aliae nascuntur, quae illud idem bellum in sequenti anno repetunt.

## XXI. DE MUSIS ET GRATIIS

Sub Iove natae sunt novem Musae filiae Iovis et Memoriae, secundum alios filiae Thespii, unde Thespiades dicuntur. Quare nomina sunt haec: Clio, Euterpe, Melpomene, Thalia, Polyhymnia<sup>49</sup>, Erato, Terpsichore,<sup>50</sup> Urania, Calliope. 2. Natae sunt etiam Gratiae filiae Veneris et Liberi: Pasithea,<sup>51</sup> Aglaia,<sup>52</sup> Euphrosyne. Vel ut alii dicunt filiae Iovis et Autonoes pedisequae Veneris. Quae Veneris et Liberi dicuntur filiae quia per horum nuntium Gratiae conciliantur, et unde dicuntur quia inter gratiosos nullus est fucus, nullus angulus. Ideo conexae dicuntur quia indissolubiles esse Gratias docet Horatius, dicens 'Segnesque nondum solvere Gratiae'.<sup>v</sup>

49 pollinna

50 tercicore

51 pausea

52 eugiale

s Ovid., *Her.* IV. 133-134.

t cf. Porph., *Isag.* (A. Busse, *Comm. Graeci*, vol. IV. 1, pp. 119-120).

u Gul. de Conchis, *de Phil. Mun.* III. 15 (*PL* 172, 81-82).

v Hor., *Carm.* III. 21. 22.

Quod vero una aversa pingitur, duae nos respicientes, signat quod a nobis profecta gratia duplex solet reverti.

## XXII. DE APOLLINE ET DAPHNE

Iuppiter cum Venere filia sua concubuit, de qua genuit Cupidinem. Nam Amorem genuit in seipsa sive usu maris Venus, vel ut alii ex Marte, ut alii asserunt ex Vulcano. 2. Cupido indignans quia frater suus Phoebus Pythonem interfecerat, ut sagittas suas ostenderet potentiores, auream de pharetra sua extraxit et plumbeam. Sed plumbea filiam Penei Daphnem sagittavit; quae natura sagittae faciente statim amoris contraria fugit. Sed aurea sagitta Phoebum vulneravit, et eum Daphnem amare et sequi compulit donec in laurum mutatam eam Phoebus amplectens de lauro sibi et omnibus victoribus coronam fieri statuit.

## XXIII. DE IO

Peneo pro mutatione Daphnes filiae suae inconsolabiliter dolente ceterisque fluviis ad eius consolationem convenientibus, solus defuit Inachus, quod<sup>53</sup> de filia sua rapta et in vaccam mutata familiaris augebat dolor. Quam illis forte diebus a patrio flumine redeuntem Iuppiter viderat. Visam cupiit, cupitam attentavit, renitentemque nube supposita improbus auctor depressit. Eam ipse coniugis callidae adventum praesentiens in vaccam convertit, et mentitus eam de terra genitam poscenti uxori, tamen anxius tradidit post longam dubitationem. 2. Saturnia ergo illam acceptam Arestoridae tradidit Argo servandam. Qui centum luminibus cinctus caput praefatam vaccam attente ducit et reducit, attentius includit. Attentissime inclusam, ne evadere possit, innectit, et molestiam super molestiam de die in diem apponit. 3. Rex superum has Phoronidos acuminas non sustinens ulterius Mercurio quid vellet indicavit. Hic denique patri oboediens Argum dulci melo soporatum arpe ense falcato interfecit, et de rupe praecipitem dedit. Cuius oculos Saturnia in cauda suae volucris, idest pavonis, collocavit. 4. Io autem obiecta Erinys sub specie oestri per totum orbem exagitavit. Tandem vero precibus sui mariti Stygias undas testantis<sup>54</sup> illam amplius se non accepturum, illi usque super Nilum fugatae pristinam formam restituit, et deam Nili factam Isidem appellari voluit. Quae pristinae reddita formae Epaphum de semine magni Iovis peperit. Cui posteritas in honorem magni Iovis et ipsius Epaphi circa partes orientales numen et statuam, templum et aram et festum diem sicut deo assignavit. 5. Postea Osiris Isidem in uxorem duxit. Qui quoniam inventor erat lanificii et linificii, Typhoeus frater Osiridis ei invidens eum

53 quem

54 testanti

interfecit, et interfectum membratim dilaceravit. Cuius ossa Isis quaerens secundum quosdam invenit, secundum alios non. Unde singulis annis in festo Isidis repraesentatur planctus, quem faciebat quaerendo corpus Osiridis.

#### XXIV. DE DILUVIO

In illo tempore Iuppiter videns hominum iniquitates innumeras recodatus est se nihil perfecisse per diluvium de hominis correctione, quod fecerat quia Lycaon rex Arcadiae susceperat eum in hospitio cum sua prole. 2. Cum Iuppiter et Mercurius lustrarent terras sub humana specie, reliqua gens ambobus supplicando honorem exhibebat. Quos vere Lycaon credens deos voluit experiri certissime. Obsidem sibi de Molossa gente missum Lycaon interfecit, interfectum coxit, coctum et salsamentis conditum ante Iovem et Mercurium apposuit. Iuppiter carnes humanas cognoscens mensas in ignes depulit totamque domum laresque<sup>55</sup> in ignem evertit; ipsum Lycaonem in monumentis veteris formae in lupum convertit. 3. Deinde genus humanum statum funditus cataclysmo evertere, iamque omnem diluvio terram evertente occupante, Deucalion cum Pyrrha coniuge solus evadens iusto dei iudicio in Parnaso applicuit. Qui se duos superesse videntes et communem omnium secum gementes interitum mutuo consensu oraculum deae Themidis petierunt. 4. De qua responso accepto et tandem vix intellecto, magnae<sup>56</sup> parentis ossibus post terga missis, genus humanum in utroque sexu reparaverunt modo legitimo. Et tunc ex masculis iactibus viri, ex femineis feminae surrexerunt. Inde genus durum sumus experiensque malorum et documenta damus qua simus origine nati.<sup>w</sup> 5. Cetera diversis tellus animalia formis sponte sua peperit.<sup>x</sup> Quippe ubi temperiem sumpsere umorque calorque, concipiunt, et ab his oriuntur cuncta duobus.<sup>y</sup>

#### XXV. DE PHAETHONTE

Phaethon filius Phoebi et Epaphus Iovis de patribus certabant, cum Phaethonti Epaphus falsum patrem obiciens hac contumelia graviter eum in iram commovit adeo quod matri suae Clymenae<sup>57</sup> uxori Meropis rettulit. Cuius persuasu ad regiam Solis, quae prima erat sublimibus alta columnis,<sup>z</sup> veniens, familiariter ab eo est receptus. 2. A quo promisso sibi primae petitionis dono in pignus verae paternitatis sub sacramento Stygiae paludis,

55 latresque

56 mane

57 elimene

w Ovid., *Met.* I. 414-415.

x *ibid.*, 416-417.

y *ibid.*, 430-431.

z *ibid.*, II. 1.



paternos currus infeliciter petiit, infeliciter rexit. Perustis summis et infimis, naturali rerum cursu et ordine turbato, fulminatus a Iove in Eridanum fluvium corruit, qui fumantia eius membra lavit. Cuius corpus ab Hesperidibus ibi iuxta fluvium eundem sepultum est, et congruum carmen ad sepulturam eius cognoscendam fuit appositum. 3. Clymene mater Phaethontis et Heliades eiusdem sorores dictae Heliades ab 'helion', quod est 'sol'. Quae<sup>58</sup> eius filiae, diu quaesito fratre suo et tandem invento miseri aurigae sepulchro, ibi indoluerunt ita quod miseratione divina in populos arbores vel in alvos, ut quidam dicunt, matre sua stupente mutatae sunt. Quae usque hodie Phaethontides appellantur vel Phaethontiades.

## XXVI. DE CYGNO

Cygnus filius Stheleni rex Liguria, cognita fulminatione Phaethontis amici sui et cognati, maerore ultra modum confusus, diutina clamositate et quaerimoniis voce attenuata, mutatus est in avem sui nominis. Qui memor fulminis in amicum et cognatum suum missi flumina flammis contraria eligit, et stagna usque hodie incolit. 2. Squalidus interea genitor Phaethontis et expers ipse sui decoris<sup>a</sup> officium mundo, iam non oculus mundi, denegavit. Et, si famae credimus, incendio lumen praebente dies unus sine sole fuit. Dis ergo Solem circumstantibus et ne tenebras mundo induceret exorantibus, Iuppiter, excusatis ignibus, precibus minas regaliter addidit. Quibus Apollo commonitus equos adhuc paventes recollegit. Timebat enim ne a Iove antiquum rescinderetur vulnus.

## XXVII. DE APOLLINE ET MERCURIO

Olim Aesculapio filio Phoebi a Iove fulminato, Phoebus indignans quosdam de Cyclopibus, qui fulmina Iovis fabricabant, sagittavit. Unde Iuppiter Phoebum a deitate sua spoliavit et de caelo depulit. 2. Qui Admeto regi Thessaliae serviens eius armenta pavit, unde Apollo Nomius,<sup>59</sup> idest Pastoralis, est appellatus. In quo servitio primum usum citharae adinvenit. 3. Cuius boves Mercurius tunc praestigii rapuit arte, et in valle quadam recondidit; cuius furtum nemo vidit nisi Battus. Huic blandiens Mercurius ne suum revelaret consilium vaccam ei concessit. Cui Battus iuravit se nihil umquam alicui de suo furto revelaturum. 4. Mercurius in proximo rediens se transfiguravit et Battum rogavit si vacca vidisset quod eum de vaccis certificaret, quod si faceret, taurum cum vacca ei concederet. Audito quod suum ei praemium geminaret, suo digito ostendit

58 quia

59 nomis

a *ibid.*, 381-382.

locum quo armentum absconditum erat. Unde Mercurius in iram commotus Battum caduceo percussum transvertit in lapidem nigrum, qui nunc quoque dicitur index. 5. Postea Phoebus, in auguriis peritus, comperiens ex augurio vaccas sibi raptas a Mercurio eum sagittare voluit. Sed in pharetra sagittas non invenit, quas Mercurius arte praestigii, quam ipse invenerat, factus invisibilis furtim surripuerat. 6. Postea Mercurius eum bis delusum pacificavit donando ei lyram. Quod instrumentum musicum Mercurius invenerat et ad honorem matris suae Maiæ,<sup>60</sup> quae una erat de Pleiadibus, quae sunt septem, lyram fecerat septicordem. Apollo enim citharam suam dederat Orpheo suo et Calliopes filio Oeagri<sup>61</sup> putativo. Mercurius quoque recepit a Phoebus in pignus amicitiae baculum pastorem, quem caduceum appellavit. Quo caduceo ducit et reducit, quo dormientes excitat, vigilantes soporat.

#### XXVIII. DE CALLISTONE ET ICARO

Post incendium Phaethontis Iuppiter metuens ne quid labefactum esset in caelis, tandem explorato statu caelestium et integro invento, respiciens Arcadiam impensius<sup>62</sup> ceteris regionibus Callistonem vidit. Visam amavit; amatam in specie virginis Dianae petiit, salutavit, sed non ut virgo oppressit; quod diu celavit. 2. Tandem ut Diana cognovit de suo eam consortio eiecit. Quae eiecta ad ultimum peperit, sed eam Iuno capillis distractam in ursam mutavit, quam cum postea filius eius Arcas annorum viginti quinque, non credens esse matrem, sagittare voluit. 3. Sed Iuppiter etiam nefas et utrumque sustulit, utrumque stellificans duo signa fecit esse vicina. Alterum quare est Maior Ursa scilicet mater, alterum Minor scilicet filius. Vocatus etiam Maius Maior Septentrio, Minus Minor Septentrio. Maius quoque dicitur Maior Arctos, Minus Minor Arctos. Dicitur etiam Maius Ursa per excellentiam, vel Septentrio per excellentiam, vel Plastrum vel Helice. Minus dicitur Cynosura vel Bootes<sup>63</sup> vel Arctophylax vel Phoenix. 4. Cum utrumque appellamus ursam, respicimus ad figuram, et collum ursae tribus stellis figuratur, reliquum corpus quattuor stellis. Cum utrumque appellamus arcton, idem significamus quia arctos Graece, ursa Latine. Cum utrumque dicitur Septentrio, a numero stellarum vocatur. Nam 'trion' sive 'teron' interpretatur stella. 5. Cum Maior Helice, Minor Cynosura dicitur, alia stellificationis consideratur causa. Helice et Cynosura Bacchum nutrierunt, unde in caelum translatae de se haec duo fecerunt signa. Nominibus retentis Maior est Helice, Minor est Cynosura. Cum Minor dicitur Arctophylax ab 'arctos', quod est 'ursa', et 'philos', quod est 'amor', quasi amans ursam dicitur. Maiorem enim Minor amare vide-

60 mare

61 onagri

62 impensis

63 boetes

tur quoniam sicut illa se vertit, et illa se vertit. 6. Cum interim Minor Bootes<sup>63</sup> appellatur, idest custos boum dicitur, et tunc suae stellificationis haec alia assignatur causa. Icarus primus plantator vineae utres plenos vino in curru tracto a bobus per diversa loca solebat deportare. Qui cum messoribus suis vinum dedisset ad potandum, inebriati putantes se habuisse venenum, eo interfecto, solum dimisere cadaver et insepultum. Canis vero suus eum servavit donec esuriens famem sustinere non potuit. Tandem canis domum rediens, accepto pane ab Erigone, ad cadaver rediit. 7. Quem Erigone filia Icari secuta tamdiu flevit quod miseratione deorum, in caelum translata, facta est unum de duodecim principalibus signis, quod appellatur Virgo. Canis quoque factus est signum, quod dicitur Canis, a quo dies caniculares. De Icaro translato factum est signum, quod dicitur Bootes.<sup>63</sup> Plaustrum quoque Icari factum est signum, quod adhuc et pristinam retinet formam et nomen antiquum. 8. Cum Minor Ursa Phoenice dicitur ad nomen illius, qui eam prius in caelo figuravit, refertur quia Milesius Thales quidam philosophus de Mileto, quae est civitas Phoeniciae, natus hanc Minorem Ursam in caelo signavit, cum iam in mari a Graecis fuisset vocata.<sup>b</sup> Inde dicta est Phoenice quia Tyrri potius secundum Minorem navigant quam secundum Maiorem. Inde est quod Ovidius dicit: 'Non sequor aut Helicen, aut, qua Tyrus utitur, Arcton'.<sup>c</sup>

#### XXIX. DE IOVE ET EUROPA

Iuppiter Europae captus amore filiae Agenoris regis Sidoniae Mercurio quid vellet indicavit. Qui armentum regis Agenoris dispersum colligens ad litus duxit. Ad quod armentum Iuppiter in specie tauri pulcherrimi descendens, posthabita maiestate sua, inter ceteros tauros mugit. 2. Quem secundum placitum filia regis ascendit, et paulatim ab eo in mare vecta, deinde ultra, resumpta specie dei ab eo est devirginata. Quam gementem lenivit quia a nomine suo tertiam partem mundi denominavit, vel eam in tertiam partem mundi mutavit. 3. De hac Europa natus est Minos.

#### XXX. DE CADMO

Agenor perdita filia Cadmo iniunxit ut eam quaereret, sed nisi ea inventa non rediret. Qua quaesita nec inventa, cum redire non auderet, Cadmus consuluit Phoebum quo in loco remanere posset. Cui responsum est quod vaccam, cui obviaret, sequeretur donec procumberet, et in loco sui accubitus

b cf. Hyg., *Astr.* II. 2.

c Ovid., *Her.* XVIII. 149.

moenia fundaret, quae a bove vocarentur Boeotia. 2. Bovem ergo inveniens et secutus et notato loco sui accubitus prius sacrificare volens, famulos suos aquam vivam quaerere destinavit. Qui cum moram facerent utpote a serpente interfecti, Cadmus eandem silvam introiens, serpente interfecto, socios vindicavit. 3. Cuius magnitudinem cum miraretur, vox missa caelitus dixit ei quod ipse serpens erat ficturus. Quem territum Pallas consulens docuit dentes eiusdem seminare. De quibus nati sunt milites armati, qui statim pugnaverunt et sese mutuo interfecerunt. A pugna quorum, quia Cadmus monitu unius se abstinuit, incolumis evasit. 4. De quibus quinque remanentes Cadmum coadiuverunt in urbe faciendam. Qua facta, quia carebat uxore, desponsata est filia Martis et Veneris scilicet Hermione. Cui Vulcanus rogatu suae uxoris fecit monile, sed male auspicatum, quod circa res multas apparuit quia noverat eam filiam esse Martis et non suam.

### XXXI. DE ACTAEONE ET ARISTAEO

Actaeon prima causa doloris fuit Cadmo. Quem defatigatum assidua venatione quodam die, cum sol esset in meridie, cum venisset forte ad fontem in quo Diana se lavabat et suae nymphae aquis eam aspergebant, dea indignans mutavit in cervum. Quem postea inventum nec cognitum sui canes, servientibus etiam Actaeonis eos instigantibus, membratim dilaceraverunt. 2. Postea pater eius Aristaeus, dolore faciente, terram suam exiens in Ceam insulam exsulavit, et, ut ibi sui doloris posset oblivisci, dedit operam suam gregibus, armentis, et apibus. 3. Sed quadam die visa Eurydice, quae nuperrime desponsata erat Orpheo, captus amore coepit eam persequi ut posset eam opprimere. Quae incaute fugiens calcato serpente venenato ad inferos descendit mortua. 4. Pro cuius morte nymphae iratae apes Aristaei omnino exstinxerunt. Quas tamen postea ipse recuperavit mactato bove per Proteum deum marinum, matre sua monstrante quae est nympa Cyrene. Unde Vergilium habemus testem in secundo libro Georgicon.<sup>d</sup>

### XXXII.<sup>57</sup> DE SEMELE ET BACCHO

Secunda causa doloris Cadmo fuit Semele. Quam amatam a Iove Iuno petiit, simulans quod esset Semeles nutrix scilicet Beroe. Quae ei persuasit [ut a lumine] ut a Iove munus peteret, secundum quod certum pignus sui amoris haberet, scilicet et cum illa concumberet tantus et talis, quantus et qualis descendit in amplexum Iunonis. 2. Veniente ergo Iove petitoque

d Verg., *Georg.* IV. 317 ff.

dono sine nomine, Iuppiter concessit testificata Styge. Qui, audito quod peteret, compatiens illi quia mors eius immineret, cum ventis et fulminibus ad ipsam descendit. Quem Semele modo tali<sup>64</sup> sustinere non potuit; immo suis donis exarsit et exspiravit. Iuppiter autem puerum de ventre matris extractum femori suo imposuit, ubi maternum tempus adimplevit. 3. Nono mense puer natus dictus est bis genitus quia semel de matre, iterum de patris femore. Dictus est etiam Ignigena quia raptus de igne. Hunc hederis involutum nymphae Nyseides et Ino matertera occuluerunt ne a Iunone noverca posset inveniri. Ideo dicitur hedera Baccho consecrata. 4. Iste primus vineam plantari docuit victoriamque habuit de orientalibus. De qua cum per Libyam rediret, suos exercitus sitiavit. Oravit ergo Iovem ut sociis suis daret aquam; cui Iuppiter in specie arietis apparens terram pede percussit. Sub cuius pede fons vivus emanavit, de quo suum exercitum Bacchus adaquavit. 5. Postea in honore Iovis factum est templum in eodem loco et eius imago in medio erat in specie arietis, et dictus est Iuppiter Hammon, idest Harenosus, propter locum harenosum. In hoc templo certissima dabantur responsa. 6. Bacchus se graviter de omnibus hostibus vindicavit, et nautas Tyrrhenos a Naxo cum deviarent in pisces pinnatos mutavit.

### XXXIII. DE LYCURGO ET PENTHEO

Lycurgum regem Thraciae, qui pro contemptu Bacchi exstirpabat vineas, adeo fecit insanire quod pro vineis suas exstirpabat coxas. 2. Pentheum quoque filium Agaves materterae suae, quia homines a sacrificiis Bacchi revocabat, a matre et sororibus suae matris fecit interfici putantibus eum esse aprum. 3. Cuius mors tertia causa doloris fuit Cadmo.

### XXXIV. DE MINYCIDIBUS ET ARIADNE

Minyces etiam Bacchus intempestivo lanificio sua festa perturbantes mutavit in vespertilioes. 2. Ipse dictus est Liber quia liberat hominem a curis, vel quia in festo eius toga vestis libertatis dabatur geri pueris extra virgam positis. Liber pater ideo dictus est quia patres ei suos liberos, quasi se liberatori, commendabant. 3. Hic Ariadnam<sup>65</sup> a Theseo dilectam sibi desponsavit, et a nomine suo Liberam appellavit. Stellificata eius corona, quae usque hodie Corona dicitur. 4. A Libero libo, -bas dicitur; denominatur etiam libamen, libaminis et libum, -bi, nam ipse primus libationem invenit. Nam ante usum vini, quae libatio potuit fieri, ipse dicitur esse deus lactis. Nam et lac docuit extrahi de mamma et mel de brisca,<sup>66</sup> quod asserit Ovidius de Fastis.<sup>e</sup>

64 talis

65 adriagn- et passim

66 brica

e Ovid., *Fast.* III. 736 ff.

## XXXV. DE INONE

Iuno, irata quia Ino nutrix Bacchi et matertera vires eius ubique praedicabat, descendens ad inferos impetravit quod Allecto<sup>67</sup> Furia infernalis Athamantem regem et Ino uxorem suam fecit insanire per duos serpentes, quos utrique insinuavit, adeo quod Athamas uxorem suam leaenam et filios suos leuncellos credens alterum de filiis sagittavit. 2. Cum altero mater ad scopulum veniens de eodem se cum filio proiecit in mare. Quae obsequio maris in Italiam applicuit. Ibi, cum in nemore esset, Iuno eam persequens Bacchidibus murmuravit quod alia causa non venisset nisi ut festa earum disturbaret, sed filium habebat, quo sibi rapto graviter affligi et puniri potuit. 3. Facto ergo impetu a Bacchidibus, cum Ino clamaret, audita est ab Hercule, qui nuper receptus fuerat in hospitio Evandri rediens ab Hispania, ubi Geryonem tricornem devicerat. Qui postquam utpote suam cognovit compatriotam, liberatam a Bacchidibus in domum Evandri duxit. 4. Cui Carmentis mater Evandri dixit quod in proximo deificarentur in mari et ipsa et filius suus, quod ita contigit. Nam ipsa facta est dea, quae Leucothoe dicitur apud Graecos, Matuta apud Latinos; festa quoque eius dicuntur Matralia.<sup>68</sup> Filius quoque eius mutatus dictus est Palaemon<sup>69</sup> Graece, Portunus Latine. 5. Casus Inonis fuit quarta causa doloris Cadmo. 6. Cadmus et Hermione propter haec prodigia de sua urbe exeuntes in Illyriam venerunt, et ibi mutati sunt in serpentes. 7. Sidoniae matres secutae Inonem, visa ipsius et filii praecipitatione, non dubiae erant de morte eorum. Postquam autem diu planxerunt domum Cadmeida, partim mutatae sunt in saxa ibi manentia, partim in aves eundem locum frequentantes.

## XXXVI. DE TIRESIA

Eo tempore Tiresias festa Bacchi praedicabat; qui, quamvis esset oculis corporeis caecus, tamen oculis animi de futuris longe erat providus. 2. Iste quadam die, dum spatiaretur per nemus, duobus serpentibus obvis fuit coeuntibus. Quos virga percutiens, mutata natura sua, factus est de viro femina, et sic vixit septem annis. In fine septimi anni in eodem nemore eosdem serpentes iterum vidit coeuntes, quos iterum percutiens in pristinam rediit formam. 3. Quia ergo utriusque sexus Venerem noverat, Iunonis et Iovis de lite iocosa arbiter electus fuit. Iuno enim affirmabat libidinem virorum maiorem esse quam mulierum, Iuppiter e contrario. 4. Tiresias vero electus arbiter, dicta Iunonis infirmans, sententiam Iovis confirmavit, dicens quanto minor est uncia septunce, tanto minor est libido virilis feminea. Unde Iuno irata eum excaecavit. Sed Iuppiter eum de scientia

67 athleteo

68 matutalia

69 polemon

futurorum in oculo mentis illuminavit, quia non licet alicui deo destruere quod alius fecit. 5. Unde et dominus papa sui antecessoris non potest mutare decreta; licet tamen aliquando dispensatorie, si necessitas incubuerit, non peremptorie. 6. Iste Tiresias primus docuit fieri heredipetas causa lucri.

## XXXVII. DE MANTO

Filia Tiresiae fuit Manto adeo in divinando perita quod a nomine eius dicta est Mathesis, idest ars divinatoria, mantice, et quaelibet eius species, sicut cynomantia a 'cinos' Graece, quod est 'canis' Latine, et est divinatio facta per sacrificium de cane; et ornimantia ab 'ornix' Graece, quod est 'gallina' Latine, divinatio scilicet facta per sacrificium de gallina; et paedomantia, idest divinatio facta per sacrificium de puero, nam 'pedos' Graece, 'puer' Latine; et necromantia, idest divinatio facta per sacrificium de homine mortuo, 'nicros' enim Graece, 'mortuus' vel 'mors' Latine. 2. Cum Manto concubuit Tiberis. De quo concubitu natus est Aucus<sup>70</sup> vel Bianor qui civitatem fundavit, de qua oriundus fuit Vergilius, quam a matre sua Manto Mantuam appellavit.

## XXXVIII. DE ECHO ET NARCISSO

Tiresias, requisitus an Narcissus pulcherrimus puer Liriopes nymphae et Cephisi fluvii filius diu victurus esset, respondit: 'Si se non viderit, diu vivet'. Quod ita contigit. Nam Echo quaedam fuit virgo. Quae quia Iunonem saepe deceperat ne puellas sub Iove deprehendere posset, Iuno indignans usum vocis dedit brevissimum ut nonnisi ultima reddere posset verba. 2. Narcissum vidit. Quem cum appeteret de concubitu, ab eo repulsa, pro pudore repulsae in cavernis latuit, ubi deficiens videri non potest sed tantum audiri, iuxta illud: 'Sonus est, qui vivit in illa'<sup>71</sup>.<sup>f</sup>

## XXXIX. DE PHRIXO ET HELLE

Athamantem Aeolii filium regem Thebanum tres uxores legimus habuisse: unam, quae dicta est Themisto, quae Broteam filium Iovis veneno interfecit quia maritum suum persequabatur; haec filia fuit Echionis; aliam de qua duos filios Phrixum et Hellem genuit, quae dicta est Nephele.<sup>72</sup> Qua mortua superduxit filiam Cadmi Ino. Quae, Phrixo et Helle privignis suis detrahens, occasionem mortis eorum quaerens matronas suas exoravit, vel, ut alii dicunt, agricolas ipsos munere corrumpit, ut semina decoquerent.

70 abnix

71 ylia

72 nephile

f *idem*, *Met.* III. 401.

Quae seminata non germinabant nec fructum afferebant, ita quod facta est sterilitas in terra. 2. Quaesita ergo a sapientibus et sortilegis tantae sterilitatis causa, Ino sacerdotes sibi muneribus conciliavit, qui dicerent 'hoc est propter iram deorum' nec posse deos placari nisi sacrificarentur Phrixus et Helle. Quibus paratis sacrificio Nephele<sup>72</sup> vel Iuno miserata arietem aurei velleris eis misit, et fugere eos monuit. 4. Phrixus ergo transfretavit et Helle in mare cecidit, et mari nomen uterque indidit. Dicitur enim Phrixum<sup>73</sup> mare et Hellespontus. Arias quoque dicitur Phrixia ovis. Corpus arietis in caelo signum est factum; vellus ad Aetam<sup>74</sup> regem est delatum, quod Iason postea rapuit.

#### XL. DE NARCISSO

Tiresias de Narcisso consultus an diu esset victurus respondit: 'Si se non viderit'. Vox auguris diu fuit vana, sed exitus eam probavit. 2. Narcissus enim, cum venator esset, sociis amissis vagabundus ibat. Quem visum Echo amans libenter alloqueretur, sed natura eam prohibebat loqui nisi respondendo. Sonos igitur expectabat quibus responderet. Cum tandem ille diceret 'et quis adest?', Echo 'adest' rettulit. Narcissus ergo circumspiciens et neminem videns dixit 'coeamus', ullique libentius numquam responsura sono 'coeamus' rettulit Echo et dictis favet ipsa suis<sup>g</sup> et eum depalpens ad coitum invitabat. Sed ille renuit. Unde illa pudibunda latuit in silvis et adeo defecit quod nihil nisi vox in ea remansit. 3. Sic istam Narcissus et multas contempsit, sed eam superbiam poena condigna secuta fuit. Nam quadam die venatione fessus ad fontem venit ut ibi sitim relevaret sitibundus. Sed cum sitim extinguere vellet, sitis altera fuit. Umbram, quam in fonte vidit, amavit, et, cum eam habere non posset, tamdiu ad fontem sedit quod ieiunio et fame periit. Anima quoque eius ad inferos descendens in Stygia se mirabatur aqua. Nam corpus in florem fuit mutatum. 4. Per exitum huius pueri vox Tiresiae fuit authentica, sed exitus Penthei magis authenticam reddidit et verissimam comprobavit.

#### XLI. DE PENTHEO

Pentheus rex Thebanus suam Tiresiae caccitatem obiecit. Cui Tiresias respondens inquit 'quam felix fieres, orbus si luminis esses, quia sacra Bacchi videbis et contemnes et pro contemptu occides'. Nec mora Baccho venit et, eius sacra quia Pentheus contemnebat, Agave mater eius furore Bacchico tacta suaeque sorores, Pentheum aprum<sup>75</sup> esse putantes, membratim eum dilaceraverunt.

<sup>73</sup> syixum

<sup>74</sup> cetam

<sup>75</sup> ciprum

<sup>g</sup> cf. *ibid.*, 386-388.



## XLII. DE PYRAMO ET THISBE

Pyramus et Thisbe Babylonem habitantes contiguas habuere domos, unde vicinia inter eos fecit amorem. Sed quia nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata,<sup>h</sup> licet a parentibus prohibitum esset eis ne convenirent; tamen, inventa rimula in pariete utrique domui communi, magis et magis adinvicem colloquebantur. Tandem statuerunt prius de thalamo, deinde de muris suae civitatis exire et ad tumulum Nini<sup>76</sup> extra civitatem sub moro convenire. 2. Prius ergo exiens Thisbe venit ad morum; venit et ibi sedit. Tunc leaena ad fontem venit, qui erat sub moro. Qua visa fugit Thisbe et, dum fugeret, vitta sibi decedit. Quam inventam leaena ore suo cruentavit, deinde in silvis latuit. 3. Postea Pyramus veniens ad locum statutum, Thisbe non inventa sed eius vitta cruentata, putans Thisben esse mortuam gladio suo evaginato seipsum occidit. De sanguine cuius emicante tincta morus, quae prius faciebat album fructum, ab illo tempore usque in hodiernum diem facit rubeum. 4. Postea de latebris exiens Thisbe, visa moro mutata, an prior morus esset miratur. Sed dum dubitaret, viso corpore amici palpitantis, ad remedium sui et solacium mortui gladio, quo Pyramus interierat, se peremit.

## XLIII. DE MARTE ET VENERE

Cum Iuno de Iove nil pareret, Iuppiter, metuens ne in ipso remaneret, causa experimenti caput suum concussit. Per quam concussionem Pallas nata de cerebro eius armata prosiluit. Unde Iuno indignabunda, vulvam suam concutiens, sine usu masculi Vulcanum de se cadere fecit. Unde et ipse dictus est Vulcanus quasi de vulva cadens vel quasi Volicanus. 2. Hic propter turpitudinem suam de caelo eiectus in Lemno insula a simia est nutritus. Desponsata fuit ei Venus quia sine calore non potest exerceri venerium opus.<sup>i</sup> Sed ea propter turpitudinem suam maritum contemnens, Martem filium Iunonis, quem Iuno pepererat de flore sine usu masculi, amans cum eodem saepe adulteravit. 3. Cognito tandem eorum adulterio per indicium Solis, Vulcanus fabрили opere tenuissimas eliminavit catenas, quibus toro circumdato utrumque imprudentem ligavit, patefactisque ianuis deos intromisit. Tandem precibus Neptuni utrumque solvit.

## XLIV. DE LEUCOTHOE ET CLYTIE

Exinde Venus Solem odio habuit filiasque eius Pasiphaen et Circen ceterasque omnes opinatissimas fecit meretrices. Ipsum quoque stimulavit

76 vini

<sup>h</sup> *idem*, *Am.* III. 4. 17.<sup>i</sup> *Serv.*, in *Aen.* VIII. 389.

Apollinem ut amaret Leucothoen adeo quod saepe sui obliviscebatur officii, aliquando tardius surgens, aliquando celerius. 2. Tandem assumpta specie Hermiones matris Leucothoes, ad thalamum, ubi Leucothoe inter duodecim famulas muliebria pensa tractabat, deveniens, petito colloquio ut cum ea loqueretur sicut mater cum filia secreto, ancillas exclusit. Quibus exclusis, in antiquam rediens formam, Leucothoen vi oppressit. 3. Quo rescito per Clytien, quam Phoebus amare solebat sed pro Leucothoe dimiserat, unde ipsa Clytie invidia ducta adulterium filiae patri revelavit. Pater filiam vivam in terra infodit, quae ita obiit. Ad cuius auxilium Apollo radios suos direxit, sed frustra, quia caput enectum pondere elevari non potuit. 4. Sed tamen Apollo de corpore virgam tuream surgere fecit, de qua tus Apollini sacrificatur et ceteris numinibus. 5. Clytien vero postea auctor luminis contemnens non adiit. Quae ideo vacans vigiliis assiduis nihil tota die faciebat nisi quod Solem assidue aspiciebat. Tandem de nimio amore tota defecit, nisi quod de corpore eius miseratione deorum flos surrexit. 6. Qui quoniam cum oriente sole panditur, cum occidente clauditur, heliotropium dicitur ab 'elios', quod est 'sol', et 'tropos', quod est 'conversio', quia ad solem convertitur, vel solsequium quia solem sequitur.

#### XLV. DE POLYDECTO ET BELLEROPHONTE

Victor Perseus cum Andromeda in patriam suam rediens venit ad vitrum suum Polydectum [vel polibetum], quem in lapidem mutavit, ostenso ei capite Medusae. Ipse enim Polydectus miserat eum<sup>77</sup> ad Medusam devincendam. [S]Proetum quoque [vel protheum] fratrem Acrisii avi sui, <qui> Acrisium a regno fugaverat, occidit et Acrisio avo suo regnum restituit. Et tunc Acrisius credidit Perseum nepotem suum esse Iovis filium. Prius enim nec Bacchum nec Perseum esse Iovis filium credere volebat. 2. [S]Proetus iste frater erat Acrisii, ut diximus, qui de Antia<sup>78</sup> genuit Bellerophontem et postea Sthenoboeam superduxit. Quae volens habere concubitus privigni sui Bellerophontis conquesta est marito de Bellerophonte, quod ipse lectum patris incestare voluisset. 3. Quod audiens pater eius [S]Proetus misit eum ad Iobatem<sup>79</sup> socerum suum cum litteris in haec verba conceptis: '[S]Proetus Iobati<sup>79</sup> salutem. Mando tibi quatenus vindices filiam tuam uxorem meam in isto. Voluit enim lectum meum incestare'. 4. Iobates<sup>79</sup> autem, nolens eum interficere, misit eum ad Chimaeram monstrum<sup>80</sup> Lyciae devincendam; hoc autem fecit ut a Chimaera interficeretur. Bellerophon autem, accepto clipeo Palladis et equo Persei, Chimaeram consilio Palladis interfecit. Qua interfecta, equo divino evectus in auras altius iusto decidit et crus suum fregit in campis Lyciae.

77 eam

78 anthea

79 oribat-

80 monstre

## XLVI. DE HERMAPHRODITO

Hermaphroditus<sup>81</sup> Mercurii et Veneris filius, utrique similis et utrique nomine participans, relictā patriā Idā, ignota gaudens videre loca Caras adiit. Ibi viso stagno aquae perlucētis, vestibis depositis, aquam pede tentatam animoque et ore probatam insiluit. 2. Salmacis eiusdem fontis dea, amore eius capta et ex desperatione acrius incensa, easdem intrat aquas et iuvenem invitum complectitur manusque subnectens virilia palpat. Ducit praeciputia ut eum in libidinem pruritu commoveat. 3. Sed cum nihil proficere posset, deorum clementia Salmacis voto non adversa, mixta deorum iunguntur corpora et facies illis induitur una. Nec duo sunt sed forma duplex, nec femina nec vir ut dici possit; neutrumque et utrumque videntur.<sup>j</sup> 4. Factum est amore Hermaphroditi<sup>81</sup> ut quisque in hos fontes vir venerit, exeat inde semivir et tactis subito mollescat ab undis.<sup>k</sup>

## XLVII. DE DANAE

Acrisius frater Agenoris Danaem filiam pulcherrimam, quia suspectos habebat adulteros, in turri aenea inclusit. Ad quam Iuppiter in aurum mutatus, per impluvium descendens, eam gravidavit. 2. Quod Acrisius comperiens eam in arca conclusam in mare proiecit. Quae obsequio venti in Italiam delata a piscatore quodam inventa fuit. Cum filio, quem ipsa peperit dum inclusa esset in arca, inventam piscator suo regi praesentavit. Rex eam duxit et cum ea civitatem nomine Ardeam fundavit, quae postea fuit. 3. Polydectus [vel polibeta] dictus est rex ille qui Danaem duxit in uxorem et in Seripho insula regnabat. Qui, ut liberius Danae matre Persei potiretur, vel instinctu Iunonis, quae semper privignis suis insurgebat, misit eum ad Gorgonem occidendam.

## XLVIII. DE PERSEO ET GORGONE

Perseus adultus tres Gorgones filias Phorci scilicet Sthenonem,<sup>82</sup> Euryalem, et Medusam domuit. Rapto sibi furtim unico oculo per manum suppositam dum inter sorores traderetur adinvicem, mutuatis<sup>83</sup> pennis Mercurii et arpe, gladio clipeoque Palladis crystallino, maioris earum Medusae, quae horridior erat ceteris adeo quod in lapidem mutabat quicquid eam videbat, caput adversum abscidit, caputque eius et serpentes pro crinibus in clipeo Palladis impune vidit. 2. Quare serpentinos crines Medusa habuit? Sola Gorgonum Medusa serpentinos crines habuit quia Neptunus eam in

81 herimofrodit-

82 scemmonem

83 mutatis

j Ovid., *Met.* IV. 378-379.k *ibid.*, 385-386.

templo Palladis corruptit. Unde Pallas irata illam ea parte damnavit qua pulchrior existens Neptuno potius placuit, crinibus eius in serpentes mutatis, quos pulchriores habebat ceteris mulieribus. 3. Cum vero Gorgonis caput Perseus asportaret, elegit potius per Libyam redire quam per habitabilem terram, ne aliquis in altum viso capite Gorgonis in lapidem mutaretur. De guttis cadentibus de capite nati sunt serpentes in Libya, unde ipsa potius serpentibus abundat quam aliae terrae. 4. De guttis etiam cadentibus natus est Pegasus alatus equus et fratres, idest alii equi vel serpentes. Pegasus terram pede percutiens fecit fontem manare Musis consecratum.

#### XLIX. DE ATLANTE

Perseus<sup>84</sup> cum capite Gorgonis venit ad Atlantem Iapetioniadem Ulterioris Hispaniae regem, a quo petiit hospitium. Sed Atlas memor responsi Themidis hospitium ei denegavit. 2. Atlas iste hortum habebat in quo et aureae arbores et aurea erant poma; qui dicebatur hortus Hesperidum, quae tres fuerunt sorores, Atlantis filiae vel sorores, scilicet Aegle, Arethusa,<sup>85</sup> Hesperarethusa.<sup>86</sup> Themis de hoc horto praedixerat quod filius Iovis sopito dracone pervigili poma caperet, illud intelligens de Hercule. 3. Unde Atlas, cum istum audivit esse filium Iovis, ne sua per eum poma perderet, exclusit. Quem Perseus indignabundus monstrato capite Gorgonis in montem mutavit, in quo dicitur caelum cum stellis requiescere propter immensam eius altitudinem.

#### L. DE ANDROMEDE

Inde avolans Perseus versus orientem<sup>87</sup> Andromeden filiam Cephei regis et Cassiopes vidit ligatam de rupe et monstris marinis expositam non propter suam culpam, sed quia maternam luebat linguam. Quam cum alloqueretur Perseus, intervenit belua Andromeden devoratura. 2. Qua visa Andromede exclamavit; cuius clamore exciti pater et mater advenientes flebant quia nec succurrere poterant nec audebant. Cum quibus pepigit Perseus quod eam liberaret tali condicione ut liberatam duceret. 3. Belua ergo a Perseo interfecta, soluta est virgo et desponsata Perseo. In cuius desponsatione post vina Phineus frater Cephei patris Andromedes, cui Andromede ante Perseum erat promissa, contra Perseum bellum movit pro virgine rapienda. 4. In quo bello multi interfecti sunt a Perseo. Sed cum tanta esset multitudo impugnantium quod fastidirent Perseum, Perseus ostenso capite Gorgonis in lapides mutavit multos de illis et Phineum ad ultimum.

<sup>84</sup> parseus

<sup>85</sup> enthosa

<sup>86</sup> hiperitusa

<sup>87</sup> arientem

## LI. DE PYRENEO

Pyreneus<sup>88</sup> rex Phocidos et Aulidos inde uvidas<sup>89</sup> Musas Parnasi culmina petentes, imminente pluvisio tempore, subdola mente invitavit in domo sua serenitatem exspectare. Quae motae tum importunitate temporis cum subdola benignitate invitantis primas aedes, idest vestibulum, intravere. Quas inclusas Pyreneus<sup>88</sup> sequi voluit, et similis volanti de summa arce se praecipitans corruit et interiit.

## LII. DE PROSERPINA

Pluto, metuens ne per terrae motum Enceladi de regno suo labefactum esset aliquid, cum circumiret marginem Siciliae, visus est a Cupidine. Qui ut dilataret regnum suum et matris suae, Plutonem sagittavit sagittansque Proserpinam Cereris filiam ita amare fecit. 2. Quam mater sua sub Aetna in minutissima domo inclusit, ubi texens texturae operam dabat. Ad quam Venus veniens, comitante Pallade et Diana, persuasit simplici puellae ut exiret cum illis flores colligere. 3. Quos dum iuxta Pergusam fluvium colligerent, Pluto in curru suo eam cito abstulit. Cum ablata ad fontem Cyanes venit ut transiret. Sed cum Cyane prohiberet, terra tridente Plutonis percussa, Pluto cum curru et Proserpina absorptus est ibidem a spelunca. 4. Cyane vero tristis pro suo contemptu et pro iure fontis violato, prae dolore adeo fluxit in lacrimas quod extenuata fuit in aquam, quae dicitur etiam nunc aqua Cyane.

## LIII. DE SIRENIBUS

Sirenes, puellae quae intererant in raptu Proserpina, dolentes de domina sua rapta, cum eam quaesivissent fere per omnia loca terrarum ubi eam quaerere poterant, optaverunt sibi dari pennas et impetravere.<sup>90</sup> Quibus datis factae sunt monstra marina, tamen retenta sonoritate vocis suae.

## LIV. DE CERERE ET CELEO

Ceres filiam quaerens de die, cum ad noctem venisset et indigeret face, duabus pinibus in Aetna accensis coeperit eam quaerere. Unde faces habentur adhuc in sua festivitate et ipsa dicitur dea taedifera, unde illud: 'Et per taediferae mystica sacra deae';<sup>1</sup> certaue vestigia raptoris invenisset nisi sus fodiendo terram eam turbavisset. Unde ipsa statuit sibi suum sacrificari. 3. Ad Cyanem tandem venienti<sup>91</sup> zonam, quae filiae suae delapsa fuerat, Cyane super aquam suam ei ostendit. Mutata enim verbis indicare

88 sireneus

89 vovidas

90 inpenetravere

91 veniens

1 *idem*, *Her.* II. 42.

non poterat. 3. Dum diu quaerendo filiam Ceres<sup>92</sup> ieiunasset, Celeus quidam rusticus eam inventam salutavit et, ut secum remaneret, invitavit. Cui dea favens eum sequi coepit. 4. Quem cum sequeretur Ceres, Celeus coepit loqui de filio, quem morbidum habebat. Ad quem sanandum Ceres papavera collegit. Quae dum colligeret in principio noctis, parum de illis gustando ieiunia solvit. Qua de causa in festo Cereris eadem hora mixtam, idest parvum cibum, gustant sacrificantes Cereri. 5. Cum autem Celei domum intrasset, os divinum ori infantis apposuit. Unde puer et calorem et salutem recuperavit. 6. Postea de nocte puerum de cunis accipiens in foco calenti et mundato ponere voluit. Sed Messalina mater pueri vigilans exclamavit. Cui Ceres inquit: 'Cui proficere putasti, nocuisti quia mortalitas eius sic potuisset exuri, ut ipse fieret immortalis, nunc mortalis. Sed tamen prius seret et prius arabit'. 7. Quod ita contigit quia postea semina Cereris per universum mundum portavit. Sed cum venisset in terram Lyncei regis, ut auctoritatem seminum Lyncus haberet, Triptolemus<sup>92</sup> in hospitio susceptum, dum dormiret, interficere voluit. Sed Ceres Lyncum in lyncem mutavit.

#### LV. DE CERERE ET ARETHUSA

Arethusa de fonte suo caput suum extulit, quae Cereri filiam suam esse raptam et apud inferos reginam indicavit. 2. Haec Arethusa virgo fuerat venatrix quae labore fessa, ut in Alpheo fluvio lavaretur, vestibus se spoliavit. Quam Alpheus videns nudam, ut eam raperet, festinavit. Quae, cum illa fugeret in opposita ripaque remotiori, vestes suas reliquit. Quam Alpheus paene tenuisset nisi virgo Diana, mota pro virgine, illam nube circumdedisset. Sed deus impatiens nec a nube discedens nubem importune circuit. 3. Occupatis ergo artibus sudore, virgo in aquam defluit. Quo viso et ipse Alpheus in proprias convertitur aquas, ut desideratis admiscerentur aquis. Delia ergo miserata etiam nunc miseram humum illi rupit. Et per subterraneos meatus transcurrens Proserpinam sub terris videre potuit. 4. Cognito Ceres per Arethusam raptore conquesta est Iovi. Quam cum Iuppiter vellet mitigare nec posset, promisit quod eam retraheret nisi de fructu infernali gustasset.

#### LVI. DE HERCULE

Perseus filius Iovis et Danaes genuit Gorgophonum,<sup>93</sup> qui Electryonem,<sup>94</sup> qui Amphitryonem. 2. Hercules in cunis duos angues strangulavit. Alcmena enim duos filios habebat in cunis scilicet Herculem filium Iovis et Hippolytum filium Amphitryonis. Ut autem probaret Iuno uter esset filius Iovis,

92 tricolenum

93 gorgosonem

94 eptrionem

misit duos serpentes ad illos devorandos. Quos Hippolytus abhorrui, Hercules interfecit. Sic probatum est Herculem esse Iovis filium. 3. Hercules ex parte patris Amphitryonis scilicet Graecus fuit per Perseum, ex parte matris Thebanus. Alcmena enim mater eius Thebana fuit et filia Electryonis. Unde Statius inducit eum dubitantem an faveat Graecis an Thebanis, dicens 'intento dubitat Tirynthius arcu'.<sup>m</sup> Iuxta Ismenon fratrem Asopi fluvii, qui ex Theba quinque natas habuit, nutritus est, unde in Statio: 'Ad hunc repsit Tirynthius amnem'.<sup>n</sup> 4. Hunc Eurystheus Stheneli<sup>95</sup> filius tyrannus Argolicus eius cognatus infestabat. Qui Herculem ad omnia monstra devincenda mittebat sub specie electionis. Iste Eurystheus arbiter Iunonis dictus est qui idem cum Iunone volebat et arbitratur, scilicet mortem Herculis.

#### LVII. DE PROSERPINA ET ASCALAPHO

Ascalaphus filius Acherontis et Orphnes nympphae infernalis quod de fructu infernali tria grana comedisset testimonium perhibuit, et sic ei reditum ademit. Unde regina inferni turbata profanum testem Phlegethontide lympa aspersum mutavit in bubonem avem, dirum mortalibus omen. 2. Iuppiter vero fratris medius et sororis statuit quod per medium annum esset cum matre Proserpina, per medium annum cum Plutone. Unde cum decrescit luna, videtur ad maritum descendere; cum vero crescit, ad matrem redire.

#### LVIII. DE FILIABUS PIERI

Filiae Pieri novem sorores aliquantulum doctae, tam de sua sapientia superbientes quam de numero, Mnemonides<sup>96</sup> novem Musas ad disputandum invitabant. Quod<sup>97</sup> cum diu renuissent, tandem coactae Pieridum [pieri] irritatione, summa certaminis uni imposita, disputandi victoriam obtinuerunt, et a victis Pieridibus Pierides se vocari fecerunt. 2. Sed sorores victae non solum victas se negaverunt, sed etiam victricibus convicia intulerunt. Qua de causa a Musis in picas sunt mutatae, retenta sua antiqua garrulitate.

#### LIX. DE ARACHNE

Arachne virgo nec loco nec origine gentis clara fuit sed arte.<sup>o</sup> Pater cuius Colophonius genitus<sup>98</sup> murice lanas tingebat. Haec arti suae confisa

95 scelere

96 memnonides

97 quem

98 genito

m Stat., *Theb.* X. 891.

n *ibid.*, IX. 427.

o Ovid., *Met.* VI. 7-8.

non solum se a Pallade esse doctam negabat, sed eam ad litigandum de lanificio secum provocabat. 2. Tunc Pallas se anum simulans sedulo venit ad eam ut corrumperet, sed nihil proficiens se deam confessa est. Et utrique tela disposita opus certaminis ineunt. 3. Pallas in sua tela texuit litem suam contra Neptunum de impositione nominis civitatis Atheniensium. In qua lite victoriam obtinuit creando ramum olivae, qui melioris erat omnimodis equo Neptuni. Unde a nomine suo, idest 'athanatos', quod est 'immortalis', dictae sunt Athenae. 4. Arachne autem opere suo perfecto, quod nec ipsa Pallas nec Livor posset carpere, ter quater a Pallade pro successu eius dolente radio percussa est. Quod diutius illa non patiens laqueo se suspendit. Pallas autem pendentem sublevans in araneam vertit; quae nunc antiquas<sup>99</sup> exercet aranea telas.

#### LX. DE HAEMO ET RHODOPE

Haemus rex et Rhodope regina Thraciae, se contumaci mente deos esse simulantes, indignatione deorum intra fines suae regionis mutati sunt in montes.

#### LXI. DE PYGMAEA

Pygmaea Pygmaeorum regina praetulit se Iunoni in pulchritudine. Unde Iuno irata eam mutavit in gruem, et ei indixit bellum cum gente a nomine suo denominata.

#### LXII. DE ANTIGONE

Cum Antigone filia Priami concubuit Iuppiter. De qua re cum eam Iuno castigaret, ipsa Iunoni contumaciter respondit. Unde Iuno irata eam scorpionibus prius caesam mutavit in ciconiam.

#### LXIII. DE FILIABUS CINYRAE

Filiae Cinyrae<sup>100</sup> quondam cum in templum Iunonis venissent, et ei contumeliosa verba dixissent, in gradus templi mutatae sunt a Iunone.

#### LXIV. DE ASTERIE

Cum Asteriem Iuppiter persequeretur, ea mutata in coturnicem ut melius fugeret, Iuppiter in aquilam se vertens eam tenuit, ut quidam dicunt, et oppressit. Sed ut alii asserunt, Asterie evasit.

#### LXV. DE HELENA

Iuppiter in specie cygni cum Leda concumbens Pollucem et Helenam genuit. De Tyndaro vero Castor natus fuit mortalis, sed fratrem Pollux



alterna morte redemit. 2. Helenam vero immortalem fuisse temporis probat diurnitas. Nam constat fratres eius de Argonautis fuisse, Argonautarum vero filios cum Thebanis dimicasse. Item filii eorum contra Troianos bellum gesserunt. Si ergo immortalis Helena non fuisset, tot sine dubio per saecula durare non potuisset. 3. Hanc autem legimus a Theseo raptam prius et in Aegypto Proteo commendatam.

#### LXVI. DE ANTIOPA ET EIUS FILIIS

Antiopam Nyctei<sup>101</sup> regis Thebani filiam Iuppiter in specie cygni corrupit, et eam gemino fetu fecundavit. Inde nati sunt Zethus et Amphion maritus Niobes. Hic musicus, alter vero factus est venator. Qui Dircen superductam a vitrico suo Lyco indomitis tauris alligatam distraxerunt donec in fontem sui nominis mutata est.

#### LXVII. DE ALCMENA ET EIUS FILIO

Alcmenam in specie Amphitryonis eius mariti Iuppiter violavit. Cuius thalamis ut sufficeret, geminavit noctem et Herculem genuit, qui Amphitryoniades dictus est a patre putativo et Tirynthius a Tiryntho oppido, de quo mater sua oriunda exstitit.

#### LXVIII. DE AEGINA ET EIUS FILIIS

Aeginam Asopi filiam fluvii Thebani in specie fulminis Iuppiter oppressit. Unde fluvii deus indignans excrevit in altum, ut Iovem impugnaret et caelum. Sed Iuppiter eum fulmine oppressit. De quo fulmine adhuc in ripa apparent reliquiae, quia ibi sulfur abundat. 2. De hac autem Aegina nati sunt Aeacus, Rhadamanthus, et Minos secundum quosdam. Sed eis obviat Ovidius dicens de Minoe 'ducis Europaei'.<sup>p</sup> Isti tres apud inferos dicuntur esse iudices.

#### LXIX. DE FILIA DEUS

Deus<sup>102</sup> filia cum in prato luderet et flores cum sororibus colligeret, Iuppiter se iungens puellari choro cum ea in specie serpentis concubuit.

#### LXX. DE FILIA MEMNOSI

Memnosus pastor filiam habuit, cum qua Iuppiter in specie Memnosi concubuit.

101 arctei      102 deoi

p *ibid.*, VIII. 23.

## LXXI. DE NEPTUNO ET EIUS FILIIS

Neptunus cum quadam filia Aeoli regis in specie tauri concubuit. 2. Neptunus in specie Enipei, qui similiter dictus est Aloeus,<sup>103</sup> cum Iphigenia<sup>104</sup> uxore eiusdem concubuit, de qua Zethum et Ephialtem<sup>105</sup> genuit. Qui singulis mensibus uno cubito crescentes, vel singulis diebus uno palmo, altitudinis suae magnitudine caelum scandere manibus moliti sunt. Sed deorum consilio telis Dianae et Apollinis confixi interierunt.

## LXXII. DE FILIA BISALTIS

Bisaltes<sup>106</sup> filiam habuit, cum qua Neptunus, cum aliter non posset concumbere, speciem arietis, quo illa utebatur, assumpsit et sic eam stupravit.

## LXXIII. DE ARIONE

Neptunus cum Cerere in specie equi concubuit, et ex ea Arionem equum Adrasti genuit.

## LXXIV. DE MELANTHO

Melantho filia Protei<sup>107</sup> delphine sedens huc et illuc spatari solebat; cum qua Neptunus in specie delphinis concubuit.

## LXXV. DE ISSE

Issen Macarei<sup>108</sup> filiam Phoebus impatienter amans, cum nec in speciosa forma leonis nec in levi et agili imagine accipitris fallere posset, in specie serpentis eam delusit.

## LXXVI. DE ERIGONE

Icarus Bacchi servus vineam plantaverat. Cuius filia Erigone, dum in vinea vagaretur, Bacchum in uvam conversum subito devoravit, et eadem in deitatis forma reversum succumbens sustinuit et cognovit.

## LXXVII. DE NIOBE

Niobe Tantali et Pleiadis filia neptis Atlantis Neptunum habuit avum, et Amphionis<sup>109</sup> quae<sup>109</sup> uxor totius Boetiae regina prole fecunda exstitit. Septem filiis et eodem filiarum numero claruit. 2. Iucunda multitudine ergo divitiarum et dignitatum et opum et famae praeconio et sui maxime uteri numero elata, Latonam deam non reputans nec partu felicem, sterilem appellavit, et populum ab aris deae prohibens sibi sacrificare coegit. Unde Latona indignans Phoebum et Dianam exacuit contra Nioben, quorum

103 aloas  
macharii

104 effigania  
109 hamantisque

105 ophialtem

106 disalpes

107 prothei

108

alter scilicet Apollo septem filios sagittavit et patrem. Virgines vero septem telis Dianae occubuerunt eodem die. 2. Niobe vero exanimata inter natos et natas et virum nimietate malorum in saxum deriguit, quod usque hodie sudando videtur deflere.

#### LXXVIII. DE LATONA

Latona cum semine Iovis esset fecundata et paritura esset gemellos, a Iunone per Pythonem per mundum agitata, tandem in Delo<sup>110</sup> erratica Apollinem peperit et Dianam. Quibus editis tum ex labore cum ex calore sitim colligens ad lacum venit, ut biberet, et ibi procubuit. Sed prohibita ab agrestibus etiam sibi conviciantibus, ira faciente, conviciantes in ranas mutavit aquosas, quae nunc etiam sub aquis maledicere tentant.

#### LXXIX. DE MARSYA

Pallas usum tibiae invenerat. Cum qua dum cantaret iuxta Triconem paludem, in qua suae buccae vidit inflationem, unde commota tibiam proiecit, dicens 'non est mihi tibia tanti, quod pro tibia patiar me deturpari'. 2. Qua inventa Marsya satyrus eam inflare coepit cantansque cum ea non cessavit iactanter dicere se huiusmodi instrumentum invenisse. Tandem Phoebum invitavit ad cantandum. Apollo igitur diu cantans, cum tibiam eius vincere non posset per citharam, quaesivit ab eo ut versis caneret instrumentis. Qui versa cithara satis bene cantavit, sed tibia per Marsyam nihil resonare potuit. 3. Unde ab Apolline vivus est excoriatus. Sed eius sanguis in fluvium mutatus est, qui a nomine dicitur Marsya Phrygiae liquidissimus amnis.

#### LXXX. DE TANTALO ET PELOPE

Tantalus pater Pelopis, volens deorum tentare potentiam, deos omnes ad convivium invitavit; quibus Pelopem filium suum epulandum apposuit. A quibus epulis ceteris dis abstinentibus Ceres avida sinistrum humerum devoravit. 2. Damnato igitur Tantalo, cum di ab inferis Pelopem vellent revocare, sinistrum humerum abesse senserunt. Pro quo Ceres, vel ut alii dicunt Iuppiter, eburneum ei restituit.

#### LXXXI. DE FILIIS NIOBES

Nomina septem filiorum Niobes: Ismenos, Sipylus, Phaedimus, Tantalus, Alphenor, Damasichthon, Ilioneus. Hi septem per septem portas Thebarum elati sunt ad tumulos.

## LXXXII. DE Tereo ET PROCNE

Pandion rex Atheniensis Tereo regi Thraciae Procne filiam suam desponsavit. Quae sororem suam videre volens oravit Tereum ut Philomelam<sup>111</sup> ad se adduceret aut se illo ire permetteret. 2. Cuius petitioni satisfaciens Tereus, classe parata, ad Pandionem veniens Philomelam<sup>111</sup> secum ducere vix impetravit. Qua imposita navi, navigando ad portum suae patriae rediens, eam in stabulo cinxit et vim faciens devirginavit. 3. Quae cum postea clamaret et se apud deos et homines conquesturam diceret, linguam eius forcipe extractam Tereus truncavit. Et sic eam inclusam dimittens, sorore quaerente ubi esset, eam mortuam esse finxit. Sed Philomela<sup>111</sup> inclusa telam faciens in ea peracta gesta Terei depinxit, telamque tradens ancillae ad Procne sororem suam misit. Qua tela evoluta, Procne mariti sui gesta cognoscens gravi aestuavit ira. 4. Et tunc temporis fiebant festa Bacchica, sed festa dissimulans Procne in cultu Bacchico ad Philomelam<sup>111</sup> pervenit. Quam de stabulis extractam cultuque Bacchico, sicut ipsa erat, velatam secum duxit in domum regiam. 5. Cui cum filius Itys occurreret, eum mater interfecit ut ita se de patre vindicaret. Interfectum coxit; coctum mensis apposuit. Ad has epulas Tereum invitavit in thalamum secretum, fingens de more patrio se sacra tractaturam. 6. Qui cum filium suum appositum comederet, quaesivit ubi filius suus esset. Cui Procne 'intus habes quod quaeris' ait. Trepidus ergo et stupidus dum circumspiceret, Philomela<sup>111</sup> prosiliens caput Ityos in patris vultus coniecit. 7. Unde Tereus insaniens gladio evaginato utramque persequi coepit. Sed divina faciente ultione mutata est Procne in hirundinem, Philomela<sup>111</sup> in lusciniam,<sup>112</sup> Tereus in upupam, Itys in phasianum.

## LXXXIII. DE EURYSTHEO

Pandion tam senecta faciente quam dolore habito de filiarum mutatione interiit. Cui Eurystheus rex Atheniensis successit, qui quattuor filios quattuorque filias genuit. Quare duae scilicet Procris et Orithyia incomparabilis pulchritudinis erant. 2. Procrim duxit Cephalus. Orithyiam cum peteret Boreas nec habere posset vi rapuit; de qua duos filios Zetum et Calaim genuit. Qui in pueritia implumes fuerunt, sed crescente barba et pube creverunt eis et pennae. Hi cum Iasone ad aureum vellus navigabant.

## LXXXIV. DE ARGONAUTIS

Phineus rex Argonautas in hospitio suscepit. Qui quoniam filios suos Polydorum et Polydectorem instinctu Cleopatrae<sup>113</sup> suae uxoris eorum

111 philomen-

112 liciniam

113 ariopatri

novercae excaecaverat, ultione deorum excaecatus est. Praeterea additae sunt mensis eius Harpyiae, quae prandia eius tam foedarent quam cape-  
rent. 2. Hic Argonautis columbam dedit praeviam. Unde Zetus et Calais, removens Harpyias a mensis eius, fugaverunt eas usque ad quasdam insulas, quae Plotae<sup>114</sup> dicebantur, ubi accepta voce ne canes Iovis persequerentur, inde reversi sunt. 3. Et a '<s> trophos', quod est 'conversio', idest a sua conversione, dictae sunt illae insulae <S> trophades. 4. Exinde cum Iasone ad aureum vellus devenerunt, ubi receptus est Iason ab Aeeta<sup>115</sup> rege in hospitio. A quo periculis Iason cognitis cum territus esset, Medea<sup>116</sup> filia regis medicamina sub spe coniugii tribuit. Quibus et tauros ignem vomentes domuit et serpentem pervigilem sopivit et milites de dentibus serpentis natos inter se configendo converti fecit adeo quod Iasoni parcentes se mutuo interfecerunt. 5. Sic habito vellere, Medea in Argo recepta cum Absyrto fratre suo in patriam Iasonis tetendit. Cum Aeeta<sup>115</sup> sequeretur Iasonem exercitu armato, Medea Absyrto fratrem suum interfecit, Cuius membra per loca diversa dissipavit, et in colligendis partibus patrem suum, ne eam sequeretur, tardavit. Et sic evasit manus eius. 6. Locus autem a divisione membrorum Tomis<sup>117</sup> est dictus.

#### LXXXV. DE AESONE

Aeson triumpho filii sui Iasonis non potuit interesse, morbo senectutis eum retinente. Unde Iason Medeam oravit ut de suis annis adderet ad revocandam vitam patris. Sed Medea sine damno Iasonis Aesonem patrem eius fecit iuvenem carminibus et herbis.

#### LXXXVI. DE HELICE ET CYNOSURA

Medea a Baccho rogata nutrices eius Helicem scilicet et Cynosuram in iuventutem revocavit.

#### LXXXVII. DE PELIA

Postea fingens se iratam cum Iasone marito, ut Iasonem vindicaret de Pelia patruosuo, qui Iasonem persequabatur, ad domum Peliae venit; cuius filiae eam receperunt, ubi conqueri coepit de ingrato Iasone, et inter cetera apud Iasonem merita referebat de renovato genitore. Unde spes est subiecta filiabus Peliae patrem suum posse reviviscere. Unde rogantes Medeam vix impetraverunt. 2. Tandem ea permittente, persuasae a Medea, strictis gladiis in thalamum patris moribundi devenerunt. Quem vulnerrantes, ut veterem sic possent exhaurire sanguinem, prudentes interfecerunt. 3. Parato igitur cursu, Medea cum draconibus currum suum trahentibus fugit per aera.

114 plotie

115 oeta

116 media

117 thomos

## LXXXVIII. DE CREUSA

Audito tali scelere, Iason relicta Medea superduxit aliam uxorem filiam scilicet Creontis, quae dicta est Creusa.<sup>118</sup> Cui Medea vestem intoxicatam misit quasi pignus amoris. Qua inducta Creusa<sup>118</sup> periit veneno combusta, sicut Hercules per vestem Deianirae in Oeta monte. 2. Praeterea Medea duos filios, quos de Iasone susceperat, ut ita se vindicaret de Iasone, dedit morti quoniam persimiles erant suo patri. Postea Medea aufugit a facie Iasonis.

## LXXXIX. DE CERAMBO

Cerambus, cum omnia mersa essent in diluvio, oravit nymphas ut sibi ferrent opem evadendi a periculo. Quas invenit faciles ad sua vota, et sic Deucalionas effugit inobrutus undas.<sup>q</sup>

## XC. DE ORPHEO

Orpheo a Ciconibus nuribus interfecto, caput Orphei in Hebrum fluvium proiectum obsequio aquae ad ripam delatum est. Quod cum quidam serpens devorare vellet, mutatus est in lapidem.

## XCI. DE THYONEO

Thyoneus Bacchi filius iuvenum in Ida silva furto rapuit. Quem cum sequeretur et paene teneret cuius erat iuvenum, Bacchus iuvenum illum in cervum mutavit. Et sic Thyoneus evasit.

## XCII. DE CORYTHO

Corythus patrem habuit sibi propitium. Quem quoniam dictis sprevit et turpibus opprobriis infestavit, a dis interfectus periit, honore sepulturae ei denegato. Quem cum filius suus sepelire vellet, ne illud posset, fulminatus est a Iove.

## XCIII. DE MAERA

Maera genere et loco Lydia, quia deos contemnens eis inferebat convicia, sic punita fuit, quod a superis in canem est mutata. Secundum alios uxor fuit Herculis, quam absente marito suo Hercule filii sui prostituerunt. Quos reversus Hercules iusta concitus ira interfecit. Maera vero non leviter dolens mutata est in canem. 3. Quod factum expiari non potuit donec victis Lacedaemoniis Hercules templum fecit, in quo nobilium virgines

<sup>118</sup> cerusa

<sup>q</sup> *ibid.*, VII. 356.

sacrificari statuit. Ad quod sorte ducta fuit Helena, sed eam, ne sacrificaretur, rapuit aquila. Unde cognitum est et deos posse placari et Helenam veraciter Iovis esse filiam.

#### XCIV. DE FILIABUS COEI

Cum Hercules ab Hispania rediret, victo Geryone rege Hispano tricorpore, apud Eurypylem civitatem receptus est in hospitio ab eiusdem civitatis rege scilicet Coeo; ubi dum de sua loqueretur persecutione sibi immissa a Iunone, filiae Coei compatientes Herculi coeperunt convicia inferre Iunoni. Sed eas Iuno, ut quidam dicunt, mutavit in vaccas, secundum alios in cervos cornutos.

#### XCV. DE TELCHINIBUS

Telchines<sup>119</sup> tres fuerunt fratres qui tanta exarserunt invidia quod de omnium rerum successu graviter torquerentur. Invidia Siculi non invenere tyranni maius tormentum; invidus alterius macrescit rebus opimis.<sup>r</sup> De eodem alibi dicitur iustius: 'Invidia nihil est <gravius> quae protinus ipsum auctorem rodit excruciatque suum'.<sup>s</sup> Praeter hanc poenam dedit Iuppiter aliam, quia fratres in mare submersit. 2. Aliter isti fratres livore ducti fertiles vicinorum agros Stygiis aspergebant aquis, ut redderent steriles. Sed ne amplius sic nocere possent, Iuppiter eos in mari submersit.

#### XCVI. DE ALCIDAMANTE ET EIUS FILIA

Alcidas filiam habuit, quae miseratione deorum mutata est in columbam. 2. Aliter Alcidas et filia sua, colentes praecipue Veneris sacra, adeo mutuo nexu se diligebant quod deos oraverunt ne alter viveret post alterum. Unde faciente Venere mutati sunt in columbas.

#### XCVII. DE HYRIA ET EIUS FILIO

Phyllius<sup>120</sup> amavit filium Hyriae. Cum ergo illi multa animalia domita dedisset satisfaciens protervitati eius, taurum ab eo quaesitum ei dare noluit. Unde puer indignabundus de alta rupe se praecipitans miseratione deorum mutatus est in olorem. Cuius mutationis Hyria mater nescia diu lacrimando delicuit stagnumque suo de nomine fecit.<sup>t</sup>

119 theleschine

120 phillirus

<sup>r</sup> Hor., *Epist.* I. 2. 58-59, 57.

<sup>s</sup> H. Walther, *Proverbia... Medii Aevi*, vol. II, 2, no. 12753.

<sup>t</sup> Ovid., *Met.* VII. 381.

## XCVIII. DE COMBE ET EIUS FILIIS

Combe<sup>121</sup> filia Ophii plures filios habuit. Quae mortuo patre tres civitates Aetoliae rexit Pleuron, Olenon, et Calydonem. Cuius filii cum eam ardenti desiderio interficere vellent, miseratione deorum in avem mutata est et sic effugit filios et mortem.

## XCIX. DE ALCYONE ET CEYGE

Alcyone uxor et regina, Ceyx<sup>122</sup> quoque rex et maritus Alcyones mutati sunt in aves marinas. Quae usque hodie a nomine uxoris vocantur alcyones.

## C. DE MENEPRONE

Menephron vesana correptus libidine Cinyreio<sup>123</sup> more ferarum accubiturus erat cum matre. Sed mutatus est in canem, vindicta dei faciente.

## CI. DE NEPOTE CEPHISI

Cephisus deus fluvii pater Narcissi<sup>124</sup> sicut filium habuit contemptorem hominum; sic habuit nepotem contemptorem deorum. Qui quoniam Phoebus se praetulit, Phoebus eum in phocam piscem marinum mutavit.

## CII. DE FILIA EUNOCHII

Eunochius filiam habuit, quam, dum Mercurius vellet opprimere, in avem mutatam amisit. Secundum alios Mercurius ab ea spretus eam mutavit in avem.

## CIII. DE CURETIBUS

Curetes prius Ephyren<sup>125</sup> et Corinthum habitaverunt, ubi regnavit Pyrrhus, a quo dicta est illa regio Epirus. Deinde Curetes in Cretam venerunt, ubi primitus sacra colentes, postea in ingluviem sacra verterunt. Unde Iuppiter eos aqua delevit. Postea cum arae starent sine honore, quia per aquas eos deleverat, reparavit deletos per fungos ex aquis pluvialibus exortos.

## CIV. DE AEGEO ET THESEO

Aegeus rex Atheniensis pater Thesei Medeam fugientem hospitio recepit. Et iterum reverso Theseo post longa bellorum exercitia nec a patre cognito, aconita et venenosa illi Bacchi pocula ministrantur, quae a patre sibi propinata. Cum Theseus esset haustus, a patre recognitus, excusso potu, per intersignia capuli liberatus est. Tunc fugit illa necem nebulis per carmina motis.<sup>u</sup>

121 cormbe

122 coix

123 senareo

124 narisi

125 euphiren

u *ibid.*, 424.



## CV. DE HERCULE ET CERBERO

Cum Hercules ad inferos descendisset, Iuno ibi eum voluit retinere, obiecit illi in statu terribili Megaera. Propter quam Hercules non solum non remansit, sed exiens Cerberum triplicem custodem inferni ad superas secum auras, vellet nollet, extraxit. 2. Qui visa luce caelesti eructando spumam emisit, quae cadens super caute ex se creavit venena. Quae quia nascuntur dura vivacia caute, agrestes aconita vocant, idest a caute nata.<sup>v</sup>

## CVI. DE PHINEO ET PERIPHANTE

Phineus rex Lacedaemonum Athenienses debellavit. Quibus de more vincentium triginta viros praefecit. Sed dum iniusto eos regeret imperio, illis in furorem conversis et Phineum persequentibus, ipse Phineus et Periphas filius suus vel vicarius et Polypemon<sup>126</sup> nepos Phinei mutati sunt in aves.

## CVII. DE THESEO ET TAURO MARATHONIS

Taurum eiectionem in Marathona civitatem Atticae regionis Theseus Aegei filius interfecit. Quodam tempore Minos Iovi patri volens immolare rogavit dignam talibus sacris hostiam. Et cum taurum ad id missum accepisset, motus illius specie ducem sui armenti constituit. 2. Taurum quoque ad omnia exagitanda Furiis exagitavit. Hunc postea iussis Eurysthei Hercules Argos duxit, quem Eurystheus volens sacrificare ante aras constituit. Saturnia vero hoc ad laudem Herculis ascribendum esse sentiens sibi illud sacrificium invidit, et in Ortygiam regionem Furiarum instinctu depulit. 3. Quem ibidem Theseus in Marathone silva vel civitate interfecit.

## CVIII. DE MINOE ET TAURO

Minos taurum speciosissimum in mari dicitur vidisse impetravitque a Neptuno ut emitteretur quatenus ipsi sacrificaretur. Tauro ergo fraudulenter accepto nec immolato, Neptunus iratus fecit eum rapacissimum et totius terrae vastatorem. 2. Postea Hercules eum cepit et in Marathone monte secundum quosdam alligavit. Sed per successum temporis ab incola quodam solutus est et emissus. 3. Quem postea Theseus occidit et sic totam patriam ab illo liberavit.

## CIX. DE CREMONENSIBUS

Cremonenses a latronibus vexabantur, quos Hercules interficiens Cremonenses liberavit. Aliter regis cuiusdam tyrannide urgebantur praedicti cives, quem tyrannum Theseus interfecit manu auxiliari.

126 polifemorus

v *ibid.*, 418-419.

## CX. DE ERICHTHONIO

Erichthonius semideus, quem tres filiae Cecropis in custodia habuerunt, adultus indigenas cum clava premebat et persequabatur. Quem Theseus interfecit et Epidauricam regionem a tanto monstro liberavit.

## CXI. DE PROCRUSTE

Procrustes super Cephisum fluvium habitans transeuntes hospitio benigne suscipiebat, sed dormientes de nocte interficiebat. Hunc Theseus in eodem hospitio susceptus, cum interfici deberet, interfecit.

## CXII. DE CERCYONE

Cercyo<sup>127</sup> gigas crudelissimus in civitate Eleusina<sup>128</sup> habitavit, quam Trip-tolemus<sup>129</sup> dictam a nomine patris sui Cereri sacravit, et ibidem ei sacra constituit. Hic Cercyo<sup>127</sup> laqueos arboribus alligabat, ubi, dum stulti capita sua infigerent, arboribus in altum regredientibus, strangulabantur. Hic lavaturus pedes hospitem suorum in arboribus inclinatis eos sedere faciebat, et dato libero in aera reditu in mare eos praecipitabat.

## CXIII. DE SCIRONE

Sciron<sup>130</sup> latro absconditus in silva, quae intererat qua iter erat ad Alcaethoen urbem, ubi regnavit Lelex<sup>131</sup> frater Aethrae<sup>132</sup> matris Thesei, transeuntes exspectabat. Quos<sup>133</sup> in praecipiti loco sedere cogebat, et pedes illorum lavaturus praecipitabat in cavernas ab alto. Vel secundum alios se adorare cogebat nolentes praecipitando, volentibus hereditatem auferendo. 2. Hunc Theseus vel adorantem vel pedes lavantem suo iugulavit gladio. Dum illum praecipitem misit ab alto eiusque ossibus tam in mari quam in terra negatis sedibus, tandem illa in lapides et scopulos abierunt, quibus usque hodie nomen Scironis<sup>130</sup> inhaeret.

## CXIV. DE ANDROGEO

Minos rex Cretensis Androgeum filium suum Atheniensibus magistris tradidit erudiendum. Qui in brevi non solum condiscipulos suos sed etiam sapientia et arte suos superavit magistros ita quod non iam discipulus sed magistrorum dicebatur maximus. 2. Facta igitur conspiratione, ceteri invidentes furtim et noctu eum circumvenientes de summa turri praecipitando interfecerunt. Quo audito Minos Aecum fratrem suum filium Iovis et Aeginae auxilium petiit; qui Aeacus tres filios genuerat Telamonem, Peleum, et Phocum. Sed Aeacus Minoi auxilium contra Athenien-

127 gerio  
133 quas

128 eleusi

129 tritholemus

130 chiro-

131 belex

132 ethie

ses denegavit. 3. Unde Minos utilius credens minari quam bellum gerere et quam vires ibi praesumere, exercitu Cretensi collecto, Atheniensem civitatem obsedit; obsessam debellavit. Debellatis gravem poenam addidit, quod scilicet singulis annis mitterent Minotauro septem civium corpora pro tributo. Et sic rediit cum tributo.

#### CXV. DE ARNE

Arne Sithonis dicta sic a patre, auri sacra fame inflammata, auro accepto, patriam vendidit et prodidit. Sed hanc prodicionis suae poenam recepit quod in avem monedulam fuit mutata. Quae nunc quoque diligit aurum, nigra pedes, nigris velata monedula pennis.<sup>w</sup>

#### CXVI. DE MYRMIDONIBUS

Aecus civitatem suam, quae<sup>134</sup> prius dicebatur Oenopia,<sup>135</sup> a nomine matris suae scilicet Aeginae denominavit. Unde Iuno offensa civibus illius civitatis gravem pestilentiam immisit, quae tam homines quam cetera animalia indifferenter rapuit. Sed Aecus tanti doloris immanitate commotus oravit Iovem ut tantae cladi faceret finem. Visa quoque in quercu multitudine formicarum, petiit a Iove sibi tantum dari civium exercitum. 2. De singulis ergo formicis singulis hominibus factis, dicti sunt homines illi Myrmidones ab origine sua, 'mirdon' Graece, 'formica' Latine.

#### CXVII. DE PROPHETISSA DIANAE

Quaedam vates Dianae adeo obscura dabat responsa quod a Thebanis non poterant solvi. Sed tandem Naiades illa solverunt, unde Thebani illam vatem praecipitaverunt. Unde Diana irata quandam eis bestiam immisit agrorum vastatricem, quam canicula Cephali insequens cum ea mutata est in lapidem.

#### CXVIII. DE SPHINGE

Sphinx, ut alii volunt, proposuit Thebanis problema, quod non intellexerunt. Hoc etiam monstrum scilicet Sphinx, in scopulo residens, praeter-euntibus problema proponebat, et solve non valentes unguibus et dentibus laniabat. 2. Unde vates Dianae, vel secundum alios dea Themis, consulta quia solve non potuit, a Thebanis est praecipitata. Quod Naiades quondam per Oedipum vel per seipsas solverunt, et a suae rupis altitudine Oedipus illam praecipitavit. Propter quod fera Thebanis est transmissa. 3. Ali-

134 qui      135 eriochia

<sup>w</sup> *ibid.*, 467-468.

ter responsum Sibyllae de duabus bestiis tale propositum fuisse dicitur 'altera alteram sequitur, non alter consequitur'. Quod quia vates monitu Thebanorum solvere non potuit, praecipitata de rupe periit. Unde Diana irata feram illis immisit. Quae, cum fugaretur a Laelape<sup>136</sup> Cephalic caniculo, in saxum cum eodem cane est mutata.

#### CXIX. DE CEPHALO ET PROCRI

Procrin filiam Erechthei regis Atheniensis sororem Orithyiae, quam Boreas rapuit, Cephalus desponsavit. Et iam sextus erat post sacra iugalia mensis cum repente Cephalum venantem in silvis Aurora vidit. Visum rapuit renitentemque de Procri tristia minata ad propria remisit. 2. Ille autem exemplo Leucones matris admonitus et aetate et decore sponsae et absentia sui anxius statuit uxoris pudicitiam attentare. Quod ut melius facere posset incognitus, Aurora formam eius mutavit. Sed longis precibus apud Procrin nihil proficiens, tandem adeo magna et multa promisit quod eam dubitare coegit. 3. Quo facto, speciem falso assumptam exuens, se prodidit. Unde Procris anxiosa per nemora fugiens discurrere coepit. Tandem multa Cephalic excusatione facta reconciliatione uxorem ipse recepit et, in pignus amoris, telum inevitabile cum caniculo Cynthiae dono. 4. Temporis vero mora imposita, incusatus est Cephalus quod nympham diligeret nomine Auram, cum qua in silvis adulterabat frequenter. Quia ergo credula res amor est, Procris credidit. Et locum, ubi audierat frequenter Auram ad se vocare et vocatam venire, petens in frondibus latitat.<sup>137</sup> Quam latitantem et se moventem dum Cephalus sentiret, credens feram, iaculum post eam contorsit, et incautus uxorem suam subito interfecit. Unde causam lacrimandi perpetuam sibi peperit.

#### CXX. DE SCYLLA

Nisus pater Scyllae regnans in urbe Alcatheae crinem splendidum ostro ferebat in capite; de quo erat in fatiis quod tamdiu viveret quamdiu crinis ille capiti adhaereret. Urbem huius Minos obsedit quia cum Cecropidis<sup>138</sup> fuerat confederatus. 2. Diutina igitur obsidione Scyllae filiae Nisi cognitus Minos eam impatienter accendi fecerat suo amore. Tandem de<sup>139</sup> nocte patri crinem sectum ad castrum Minonis veniens pro suo concubitu ei obtulit. Sed Minos ut iustissimus auctor, crinem retinens, armato exercitu urbem carentem de facili intravit et accepit. 3. Legibus super victos impositis cum navigando recedere vellet, Scylla relicta navibus eius insiluit. Quae in avem, quae a cirro tonso ciris dicitur, mutata fuisse refertur. Quam

136 lepada

137 latiat

138 cecropidis

139 adde

pater ut vidit, modo factus avis fulvis haliaetus in alis,<sup>x</sup> ruit ut interficeret, et ab illa die usque in hodiernum diem eam persequitur.

#### CXXI. DE PASIPHAE ET MINOTAURO

Pasiphae filia Solis uxor Minois, coniuge suo in Actaeo bello super ultione filii moram faciente, taurum pulcherrimum insano amore correpta amavit. Et facta sibi vacca acerna arte Daedali, cum eo concumbens, optatum furorem adimplevit. 2. De quo concubitu iam maturo partu Minotaurus semibos et semivir generatur. Cuius monstri novitate Minos attonitus, ad dedecus suum celandum Daedali arte sibi facta flexuosa domo, in ea Minotaurum inclusit. Qui cum multa corpora Atheniensium devorasset, tandem cecidit sors super Theseum ut illuc iret. Qua navigans duplicia vela detulit secum, alba et nigra. Nigra ferebat in malo extensa per quae notaretur sui cunctis tristitia. Alba ferebat implicita in nave, quae nigris depositis posset in altum erigere ut ita essent, si victor rediret, signum suae victoriae et suae laetitiae. 3. Quo viso Ariadne filia Minois consilio Daedali, pacto sibi a Theseo coniugio, dedit ei filum et picem, docens usum utriusque. Theseus ergo intrans labyrinthum, altera parte fili posti ligata, alteram explicando post se trahens ad Minotaurum tandem venit. Qui dum aperiret ad devorandum Theseum, Theseus picem in os eius iecit. Quam dum Minotaurus masticaret, Theseus caput eius gladio amputavit. Deinde filum sequendo labyrinthum exivit. 4. Postea Ariadne cum Phaedra sorore sua navi imposita navigavit, sed Ariadnem in litore Chios insulae dormientem relinquens cum Phaedra in patriam rediit. Cuius navem dum Aegeus pater suus a longe videret nigra vela habentem, sui enim comites pro laetitia obliti erant vela mutare, filium suum putans esse devoratum, praecipitavit se in mare. In quo mersus nomen ei indidit; nam ab eius casu dictum est mare Aegaeum.

#### CXXII. DE ARIADNE ET HYPSPYPYLE

Ariadne relicta a Theseo dormiens cum excitata esset a somno et de Theseo conqueretur, Bacchus de India rediens eam vidit. Visam adamavit et in curru suo sustulit et pro mercede concubitus sui eam in caelo stellificavit. Ipsam quoque desponsatam a nomine suo, quod est Liber, Liberam appellavit. 2. De qua natus est Thoas, qui in Lemno regnans Hypsipylem genuit. Quae, cum ceterae Lemniades patres interficerent vel maritos vel quoslibet et genere vel affinitate sibi coniunctos, patri parcens eum navi imposuit. Qui obsequio navis in Chion delatus est et iterum ibi regnavit. Postea cum Iason et Argonautae ceteri per Lemnon transirent ceteraeque Lemniades

<sup>x</sup> *ibid.*, VIII. 146.

eos reciperent, Hypsipyle Iasonem recipiens et in hospitio et in thalamo duos filios suscepit de illo. 3. Postea cum recessissent Argonautae, Hypsipyle sentiens vulgi murmur increbescere, metuens ne perimeretur quia sola patri suo pepercerat, filiis suis commendatis Lycastae nutrici, ad litus, ut effugeret, accessit; ubi a praedonibus inventa et rapta translata est in Thraciam et facta nutrix Lycurgi. 4. Filium eius Opheltem<sup>140</sup> nutriti donec eum ab Hypsipyle super herbam temere depositum serpens interfecit, dum ipsa duceret ad aquas sitientem Adrasti exercitum. Quam cum Lycurgus in vindictam filii interficere vellet, ab exercitu Graeco prohibitus est.

#### CXXIII. DE DAEDALO ET ICARO

Quia Ariadne consilio Daedali filum cum pice dederat Theseo consilioque eiusdem Pasiphae concubuerat cum tauro, Minos Daedalum inclusit in labyrintho, ubi Daedalus multa excogitans tandem sibi fecit alas et filio. Quibus tute effugiens respexit filium nimis alte volantem, sed non sine periculo. Nam in civitate Solis regimine cerae soluto decidit in mare; in quo submersus nomen ei indidit a suo nomine.

#### CXXIV. DE PERDICE

Cum filium suum intumularet Daedalus, perdix in aere plaudebat pro Daedali luctibus, quia per Daedalum in avem fuerat mutatus. Soror enim Daedali hunc Perdicem filium suum nepotem Daedali fratri suo Daedalo erudiendum commiserat. 2. Qui brevi tempore eruditus non solum scientia Daedalum devicit, sed et primus falcis et serrae usum repperit. Cui Daedalus invidens eum de arce Palladis praecipitem dedit. Sed quae favet ingeniis, miserata, eum mutavit in avem sui nominis; qui memor antiqui casus, sublimia vitans, praeter humum volitat, ponit in saepibus ova. 3. Postea Daedalus volando Cumas in templo Apollinis alas sacravit, ubi et totam historiam de Androgeo scripsit et de Icari casu bis scribere tentavit, sed dolore retinente non potuit.

#### CXXV. DE MELEAGRO ET ATALANTA

Oeneus rex Calydoniae, cum sacrificaret omnibus dis, Dianam praetermisit. Unde Diana irata aprum misit in sua regna, a quo devastabantur omnia—homines, segetes, greges, armenta. Propter quod corrui tota iuventus Graeca ut eo et removeret damnum et suae virtutis daret experimentum. 2. Meleager inter alios ad aprum interficiendum venerat eumque Atalanta, cuius amore Meleager tenebatur, primo vulneravit cum sagitta. Unde Meleager gratulabundus, aprum postea a seipso interfectum cum excoriasset,

caput et pellem dedit Atalantae, primae scilicet vulnerationis insigne. Unde invidia ducti Evippus<sup>141</sup> et Plexippus<sup>142</sup> avunculi Meleagri donum eius Atalantae abstulerunt. Quo dolore Meleager motus avunculos interfecit donumque ablatum Atalantae restituit. 3. Pro quorum morte irata mater Meleagri Althaea stipitem in igne ponens, eo combusto, filium quoque fecit comburi. De hoc stipite dicitur quod in nativitate pinum in igne posuerunt tres Parcae, dicentes 'quamdiu durabit iste stipes, tamdiu et non ultra durabit puer natus'. Stipite ergo de igne raptο et bene conservato, Meleagri sic conservaverat vitam. Postea interfecti conscita sese interfecit manu propria. 4. Alceus quoque rex vicinus, Oeneo de regno expulso, regnum eius obtinuit. Tydeus, ope negata patriae, usque in terram Adrastris exsulavit. Sorores Meleagri praeter Gorgen et nurum nobilis Alcmenae, scilicet Deianiram, omnes sunt mutatae in aves, quae usque in hodiernum diem Meleagrides appellantur.

## CXXVI. DE NAIADIBUS

Naiades, mactatis bis sex iuvcns dis, Acheloum praetermiserant, eius immemores. Unde iratus aeri intumuit et undis, et eas, dum in ripa sua facerent choreas, impetu suo in freta provolvit. Quae miseratione deorum in insulas mutatae sunt, et maris et torrentibus aquis Acheloi dispersae sunt in plures Echinadas.

## CXXVII. DE PERIMELE

Perimelen Hippodamantis<sup>143</sup> filiam diu multumque amatam Achelous devirginavit; quod pater comperiens eam de rupe crudeliter praecipitavit. Quae diu sublata et sustentata, Acheloo mediante, per Neptunum in insulam est conversa, quam Perimelen nauta dicit.

## CXXVIII. DE PHILEMONE ET BAUCIDE

Philemon et Baucis Iovem et Mercurium in specie mortalium mundum lustrantes receperunt hospitio; quos etiam, prout eorum erat copia, cibo benigne foverunt. Unde gratiam numinum invenerunt. Tandem in tina requiescente deos esse veros recognoscentes, anserem unicum dis sacrificare voluerunt. Quem Mercurius et Iuppiter, cognita eorum vera pietate, interfici prohibentes, dominos ambos de vicinia sua egredi iusserunt. 2. Et, eversis ceteris eiusdem vicinae domibus, casa eorum straminea in templum marmoreum est conversa, ubi ipsi reliquos dies aetatis suae facti sacerdotes eiusdem templi peregerunt. Et sicut voto conceperunt, alter alterius stamen morte non praecessit, sed ante gradus templi, dum eventus forte suos colligerent, in arbores vicinas sunt mutati.

141 exippus

142 flexippus

143 ypondomentis

## CXXIX. DE ERYSICHTHONE ET EIUS FILIA

Erysichthon<sup>144</sup> deorum contemptor scelerata securi arborem succidit, quam alii abhorrebant. Nec propter sanguinis fluxum a trunco fluentem cessavit, nec deae Cereris alumnae in arbore clamanti et tristia fata vaticinanti pepercit. Monitorem quoque versa in eum securi interfecit. 2. Unde Ceres irata habitantem Famem in lapidosis agris per ministram in ultionem huius sceleris suscitavit. Quae veniens Erysichthoni<sup>144</sup> dormienti validam famem inspiravit. Qui cum omnia, quae habebant, consumpsisset, merso in viscera censu, filiam, quae sibi restabat, vendidit. 3. Quae impatiens domini, invocato Neptuno suae virginitatis raptore, in virilem<sup>145</sup> vultum mutata, domino suo sequenti frustrato, in pristinam rediit formam. Et a patre saepius vendita, nunc equus, nunc ales, modo bos, modo cervus abibat praebebatque avido iniusta alimenta parenti.<sup>y</sup> 4. Tandem consumpta omni materia ipse suos artus lacero divellere morsu coepit, et infelix minuendo corpus alebat.<sup>z</sup>

## CXXX. DE ACHELOO ET HERCULE

In hunc modum Proteus deus marinus se mutabant et Achelous Acarnanum fluvius. 2. Achelous Deianiram filiam Oenei et Althaeae Meleagri sororem amavit; ut in uxorem duceret ab Oeneo quaesivit. Sed Hercules, astutum suum impediens, ei saepius conviciabatur. 3. Postquam ab ipsis ventum est ad iurgia verbis, et a iurgiis ad pugnam pugnis susceptam. Diu pugnaverunt sed Achelous viribus Alcidae tandem defatigatus ad artis suae profugit auxilium, varias se mutando sumens figuras. 4. Cuius fraudes Hercules tandem percipiens Acheloum denique mutatum in taurum fortius tenuit, et implicato illo rigidum fera dextera cornu dum tenet, infregit truncumque a fronte revellit.<sup>a</sup> Quod pomis et odore repletum Naiades deae Copiae sacraverunt.

## CXXXI. DE NESSO ET DEIANIRA

Habita de Acheloo victoria, Hercules in patriam suam redibat victor cum Deianira. Sed ad Evenum<sup>146</sup> fluvium veniens pro incremento fluvii transire non poterat. Nessus autem Deianirae amore aestuans dixit quod eam transferret, et tunc de facili eum posset sequi Hercules natando. 2. Qui ad ulteriorem ripam veniens cum Deianira, relicto Hercule in opposita ripa, ut

144 *eristo-*145 *virisem*146 *hebenum**y* *ibid.*, 873-874.*z* *ibid.*, 877-878.*a* *ibid.*, IX. 85-86.



eam opprimeret, fugiebat fretus ope equina, cum subito ad vocem eiulantis Alcides infrendens missa secutus est cum sagitta. Unde se morientem Nessus comperiens vestem suam sanguine cruentatam toxicoque Herculeae<sup>147</sup> sagittae<sup>148</sup> venenatam dedit in pignus amoris, fingens quod per eam marito irato reconciliari posset, si quo tempore sibi ostensa<sup>149</sup> esset. 3. Quam vestem Deianira diu servavit. Tandem Eurytus rex Oechalis<sup>150</sup> Herculi filiam suam Iolem promisit. Sed cum promissam nollet reddere, Hercules eo impugnato Iolem rapuit; raptam abduxit. Quam cum adduceret, adeo amavit quod eam Herculeae veste, se vere vestibus Ioles induit. 4. Quo audito Deianira vestem a Nesso sibi datam Herculi misit per Licham. Qua indutus statim veneno exarsit. Considerans autem Hercules quod mortem per pestem sibi datam dederat Lichas, eum<sup>151</sup> more fundae<sup>152</sup> rotatum misit in aera. Qui deriguit in lapidem, qui usque hodie in Euboica regione humanam servat formam. Quem nautae videntes usque in hodiernum diem Licham narrant.

#### CXXXII. DE HERCULE

Hercules doloris impatientia victus, Philoctete ministro Pocante<sup>153</sup> nato pyrae exstructae spoliis omnibus impositis, declinata<sup>154</sup> cervice, clava accensa in igne a Philoctete, pro qua re meruit Herculis sagittas ut successor habere, quasi conviva<sup>155</sup> superincubuit. Sic ubi mortales Tirynthius exiit artus, parte sui meliore viget.<sup>b</sup> Quem auctorizatum, consilio deorum operante, summus pater inter cava nubila raptum quadriugo curru radiantibus intulit astris,<sup>c</sup> conciliataque sibi Iunone, desponsata fuit Herculi Iunonis filia Hebe.

#### CXXXIII. DE IXIONE

Ixion consecrarius Iunonis interpellavit Iunonem de stupro. Cuius importunam instantiam Iuno non sustinens nubem ei opposuit. Ille vero impatiens libidinis semen in nubem effudit. Unde geniti sunt Centauri sic dicti, quasi geniti ex aura. Qui etiam nubigenae appellantur, quasi geniti a nube. Hos Hercules interfecit. 2. Sed quia unum de factis Herculis duodecim, quae in memoria potissima habentur, cum minimo transitu expositionem integumentum ponere plurimum in serviendo utilitati pro antonomasia personae, istud ceteraque duodecim dignum duximus explanare. Hercules interpretatur quod lite vel certamine gloriosus; 'hores' enim Graece,

147 herculeo	148 sagitto	149 ostensus	150 acholis	151 cum	152
fundo	153 penate	154 decinata	155 omnia		

b *ibid.*, 268-269.

c *ibid.*, 271-272.

'lis' Latine, 'cleos' 'gloria'. Hercules accipitur pro vita contemplativa, idest theorica; Iuno pro activa. Per Centauros monstruosa habemus facta, quae devicit sapiens; quae fiunt in activa vita. 3. Quod Ixion Iunonem interpellavit, hoc est Ixion quasi Anxion dicitur ab anxietate et ponitur pro quolibet inique agente in activa vita. 4. Nubes opposita sunt divitiae et alia huiusmodi, quae in corde et oculis velamen constituunt. 5. Quod Iuno dicitur noverca Herculis et non amica ipsi, iusto velatur integumento, quia omnis noverca est mala suo privigno. Similiter activa vita contraria est contemplativae. 6. Historia talis. Hercules rex fuit Graeciae. Ixion tyrannus fuit, qui volens vastare totam Graeciam centum equites imposuit in equis. Quod videns populus adhuc rudis eos putabat non esse in terra, sed in aere ad modum avium volando sublevari. Et inde dicti sunt Centauri quasi centum in aura volantes, et illos Hercules virtute sua perdomuit.

#### CXXXIV. DE HERCULE ET LEONE

Leonem in Euxinea<sup>156</sup> silva habitantem omniaque loca vicina devastantem Hercules virtute sua interfecit. Cuius spolio insigne virtutis suae se induit. Per leonem intelligimus superbiae elationem, quam deditus virtuti, idest Alcides, gloriose debellavit.

#### CXXXV. DE PHINEO

Phineus filios suos ab uxore noverca filiorum accusatos crudeliter excaecavit. Quem deorum ordo eadem poena condemnavit. Praeterea additae sunt Harpyiae, quae prandia eius foedare possent et rapere. Hercules in hospitio ab eo receptus illas auxilio Zeti<sup>157</sup> et Calais filiorum Boreae et Orithyiae fugavit. 2. Integumentum tale. Phineus a faenerando dicitur. Faenerator alios excaecat, qui bona aliorum rapit. Quod Harpyiae foedabant mensas eius, est intelligere aliquem faeneratorem avarum et sordide vivere. 3. Dictae sunt autem Harpyiae a Graeco 'arpere', idest 'rapere'. Trium Harpyiarum haec sunt nomina: Aello, Ocypete, et Celaeno. Aello interpretatur alienum invadens, Ocypete cito capiens, Celaeno, idest celans et rapta denigrans. 4. Et Hercules, idest sapiens vel virtuosus, illas fugavit auxilio Zeti<sup>157</sup> et Calais, idest imitatione boni. Zeton interpretatur aemulatio, calon bonum. Ideo filii Boreae dicuntur quia aemulatio non terrena sed caelestis est et spiritualis. 5. Aello cupit; Ocypete rapit; Celaeno recondit.

#### CXXXVI. DE ATLANTE ET EIUS FILIABUS

Atlas rex Hispaniae filias habuit auream habentes arborem, vel aureum fructum, a pervigili dracone custoditam. Quo perdomito Hercules victor

poma rapuit. 2. Atlas optimus fuit astrologus et ponitur pro sapientia, a quo Hercules didicit sapientiam. Ideo dicitur rapuisse aurea poma quia sapientia aurea est, unde Vergilius: 'Aurea mala decem misi;<sup>158</sup> cras altera mittam',<sup>d</sup> scilicet decem eclogas aureo eloquio conscriptas. 3. Per draconem pervigilem intelligitur vigilantia quia sine vigilantia non acquiritur sapientia, unde Horatius:<sup>159</sup> 'Ut iugulent<sup>160</sup> homines, surgunt de nocte latrones; ut teipsum serves, non expergisceris?'<sup>e</sup> 4. Atlas in montem ideo fingitur mutatus quia quanto magis aliquis sapientiae intendit, tanto magis crescit. 5. Filiae Atlantis dicuntur tres vel quattuor esse propter tres vel quattuor animae vires, quae sunt naturalis vis intelligendi. Sunt enim tres capitis cellulae: fantastica, logistica, memorialis. Quarta similior eloquentiam et matrimonium verborum signat, de qua Tullius dixit quia sapientia parum valet sine eloquentia.<sup>f</sup>

## CXXXVII. DE CERBERO

Cerberus tria habens capita Tartareae sedis ianitor in specie terrae accipitur. Unde Cerberus quasi ceros boros, idest carnes vorans. Terra tria habet capita Asiam, Europam, Africam; quae devorat omnia. Cerberon, idest terrenae molis gravedinem, Hercules, idest virtute venerabilis et sanctitate, vincit et captivat, dum nostrae sensualitatem virtutis galea et armis bonorum operum domat.

## CXXXVIII. DE DIONYSIO

Dionysium, qui hospites necabat et corpora equabus dabat devoranda, Hercules vicit. Victum et interfectum equabus ipsius Dionysii devorandum apposuit, iuxta illud: 'Nec enim lex iustior ulla est quam necis artifices morte perire sua'.<sup>g</sup> Cui consonat illud philosophicum: 'Patere legem quam ipse tuleris'.<sup>h</sup> Et in divina pagina dicitur: 'Eadem mensura qua mensi fueritis, remetietur vobis'.<sup>i</sup> 2. Historia talis. Dionysius tyrannus erat. Imponens homines equabus, quia multo velociores sunt equis, Graeciam vastabat. Hercules autem rex Graeciae clausit ei viam rapinae. Sed postquam ei non licuit rapere aliquem, substantiam suam dedit equabus suis devorandam et sic fuit pabulum equabus. Deinde ipse periit fame. Simile datur intelligi de Actaeone a canibus suis frustratim dilacerato.

158 iasis

159 horum

160 vigilant

d Verg., *Ecl.* III. 71.e Hor., *Epist.* I. 2. 32-33.f cf. Cic., *de Inv.* I. 1.g Ovid., *A. A.* I. 655-656.h *Dist. Cat.* 49 (Boas p. 27).

i Matt. VII. 2; Marc. IV. 24.

## CXXXIX. DE HYDRA

Hydra serpens fuit in Graecia mirae magnitudinis, quae terram sibi vicinam vastando reddebat desertam et sterilem. Cum autem Hercules eam domare vellet, absciso uno capite, repullulabant duo vel tria. Unde Hercules stupidus eam animoso labore devicit. 2. Veritas talis est. Hydra fuit quaedam palus. Quam cum Hercules vellet desiccare, erat enim nociva circumiacentibus aquarum copia, clauso uno rivulo duos pullulare mirabatur. Tandem arte mirae calliditatis supposito aquae igne sulfureo vel Graeco, totius aquae incrementum tali suppositione redegit ad nihilum et de inarabili terra arabilem, de sterili fertilem effecit.

## CXL. DE ACHELOO

Illi fabulae, qua dicitur Achelous superatus ab Hercule, talis subest veritas. Cum Hercules rex Graeciae Deianiram filiam Oenei vellet ducere, eam secum asportans venit ad quendam fluvium Acheloum nomine. Quem cum pro ipsius magnitudine transire non posset, divisit in plures rivulos et sic transivit. Cornu autem sacraverunt nymphae ipsi Copiae, quia terra digestionem rivulorum fuit fecundata et omni genere fructuum copiosa.

## CXLI. DE ANTAEO

Antaeus fuit filius Terrae, cum quo Hercules luctatus est. Ille autem quotiens defessus erat, totiens se humi sternebat, haustoque spiritu de gremio terrae fortior et integer resurgebat. Vires namque sic prostratus resumebat. Quod ut Hercules tandem sensit, illum in aerem sublevavit, dicens 'huc, Antae, cades' diuque in aere compressus tandem interiit. 2. Historia talis. Antaeus regnavit in Libya; quem saepe Hercules devicit intra sua regna. Ille autem victus vires recolligebat et iterum contra Herculem resurgebat. Quo tandem animadverso, Hercules a regno Libyae eum retraxit et, quia virium defecit collectio, irrecuperabilis secuta est eum confusio. 3. Secundum altiore sensum per Antaeum possumus intelligere contrarietatem vitiorum. 'Anti' enim contrarium dicitur, unde Antarcticus, antidotum, Anticyra, anticipatio, antipodes, Antichristus. Hercules vero vir sapiens Antaeum, idest contrarietatem vitiorum, animosus<sup>161</sup> armis debellat, dum illum a regno suo, idest a carnis potentis domicilio, castigando corpus et carnalitati non consentiendo segregat.

## CXLII. DE CACO

Cacus filius Vulcani fraudulenter luco Molorcho iuxta antrum habitans in spelunca. Qui furatus est Evandro boves suos et Herculi similiter, et

161 animo sui

conversis vestigiis illas abstraherat ne possent inveniri. 2. Per Cacus mali accipiuntur et fures. 'Cacon' enim Graece, 'malum' Latine, per Evandrum bonum signatur. Evandro, idest bono viro et iusto, Cacus, idest malus et raptor, boves suos et bona sua subtrahit. Antrum inhabitat quia qui male agit, odit lucem. 3. Illum Hercules interfecit quia vir lite gloriosus malos et mala vincit. Vel Cacus accipitur in designatione malitiae. Cacos enim malum interpretatur, ut dictum est, qui bobus, idest substantiae boni viri, invidet, et similiter nocet Herculi, idest sapienti. 4. Sed quae aufert, transversis ducit vestigiis quia abiecta itineris ratione abducit. In antro celat quia malitia semper alitur latere famam evitare, quia excaecat ut fumus oculos. Et nox est contraria luci. Sed ab Hercule extrahitur; extractus abscinditur quia malitia a sapiente occiditur.

#### CXLIII. DE PRIAPO ET LOTO

Lotos sive Lotis ista fuit quaedam virgo, de qua habetur in Ovidio de Fastis. Quae fugiens Priapum miseratione deorum mutata est in arborem sui nominis. 2. Priapus iuvenis quidam fuit qui propter magnitudinem virilis virgae eiectus est ab Hellesponto. Sed a matribus fingitur deificatus et deus hortorum propter fecunditatem dicitur. Hic Lotiden vel Loton in festo Bacchi apprehendit dormientem. Quae excitata per vocem asini Sileni fugiens arbor est facta, unde Priapo asinus sacrificatur. 3. Hic dicitur Beelphegor, idest deus tentiginis. Idem dicitur Beelzebuch, idest deus muscarum; ad cuius optimum sacrificium conveniebant muscae. 'Beel' dicitur 'deus', 'phelgor' 'tentigo', 'zebuch' 'musca'.

#### CXLIV. DE HERCULE ET APRO

Aper in Arcadia grandi corpore morabatur, quo tota regio devastabatur. Erat enim pestilens frugibus, animalibus, et hominibus. Hunc Hercules devincens suam ei pellem eripuit. 2. Allegoria talis. Arcades rudes et bestialiter viventes Hercules, idest sapiens, sapientia sua docuit adeo quod pellem, idest stultitiam suam, eis diripuit eosque fecit confiteri falsum esse quod prius asserebant, scilicet se Proselenos, idest ante lunam genitos.

#### CXLV. DE HERCULE ET ATLANTE

Hercules extremam manum laboribus suis appositurus, omnibus monstris iam perdomitis, caelum quoque suis humeris sustinuit. Veniens namque versus occidentem ad domum Atlantis Gigantis, qui caelum capite suo sustinebat et humeris, pro eodem ut respiraret caelum sustinuit. Unde et ipse deificatus ab eodem caelo sustineri meruit. 2. Veritas talis. Atlas, ut exposuimus, astrologus fuit. Dicitur ergo ille caelum sustinuisse, idest caelestium siderum tam fixorum quam vagantium scientiam meruisse. Apud hunc Hercules aliquamdiu manens astronomiam ab eo didicit. 3. Illo vero

respirante Hercules caelum sustinuit, quia post mortem eius, quae est respiratio et requies philosophis a laboribus et sudoribus vitae praesentis, Hercules contemplationi caelestium vacavit. Et hoc fecit devictis omnibus monstris, quia nemo debet accedere ad contemplationem caelestium nisi vitiis omnibus excussis. 4. Hic enim debet esse ultimus labor Herculis. Sicut est quod ad cognitionem creatoris a cognitione creaturarum procedimus, et ad cognitionem theologiae a praeludio artium. Haec duodecim facta Herculis antonomasice dicta et per involucra<sup>162</sup> exposita sufficiant legentibus.

#### CXLVI. DE BUSIRIDE

Busiris Aegypti rex peregrinos hospitio suscipiebat; susceptos immolabat. Hic ergo, cum de more nefario Herculem vellet interficere, ab Hercule est interfectus.

#### CXLVII. DE GERYONE

Geryonem regem Hispaniae idem Hercules superavit; superatum spoliavit; boves eius inde abduxit. Tricorpor iste fingitur vel quia regna habuit, vel quia secundum quosdam tres eiusdem nominis vel fratres vel similes in eadem Hispania debellavit, et ipsis debellatis suas possessiones eripuit.

#### CXLVIII. DE AMAZONIBUS

Thermodon fluvius est qui dividit regnum Amazonum a finitimo regno. Cuius terrae regem Amazones superantes arma eius et balteum sustulerunt, quae omnia virtute Herculis ei sunt restituta.

#### CXLIX. DE GALANTHIDE

Galanthis una ministrarum Alcmene, ipsa matre in partu septimo die laborante, sensit nescio quid nocere dominae parturienti. Et dum saepe intraret et exiret, vidit Iunonem residentem in ara et genua sua digitis conexa tenentem. Et 'quaecumque es' ait 'dominae gratare; levata est Argolis Alcmene'.<sup>j</sup> Et peperit citius dicto. 2. Numine decepto risisse Galanthida dicunt, sed illam diva capillis traxit et in mustelam mutavit. Sed quia mendaci parientem iuverat ore, ore parit nostrasque domos velut ante frequentat.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>162</sup> involvere

<sup>j</sup> Ovid., *Met.* IX. 312-313.

<sup>k</sup> *ibid.*, 322-323.

## CL. DE DRYOPE

Dryope consanguinea Ioles amicae Herculis virginitatis florem a Phoebō perdiderat; quam postea Andraemon<sup>163</sup> in uxorem duxit. Quadam igitur die illa coronas nymphis latura, dum flores colligeret, de aquatica loto fortuito carpsit flores. Quos dum puero, quem sinu fovebat, porrigeret, ecce repente arbor intumuit sanguineis distillans guttis. 2. Lotos in hanc nympha, fugiens obscena Priapi, contulerat versos, servato nomine, vultus.<sup>1</sup> Dryope autem omnium horum nescia, iam iamque recessura, in loton etiam est mutata, vale dicto patri suo Euryto et sorori suae Iolae et marito Andraemoni<sup>163</sup> et laurenti filio suo Amphisso.

## CLI. DE ETEOCLE ET POLYNICE

Iolai adventum dictari orditi fuimus, ut auditores magis certos inde redamus. 2. Eteocles et Polynices fratres fuerunt, filii Oedipodis regis Thebani et Iocastae. Qui, patre suo excaecato, cum vellent communiter regnare, alternis regnis constituerunt succedere. 3. Primo ergo regnum sortito Eteocle, Polynices interim eligens exilium devenit in Graeciam ad regem Adrastum, cui fataliter destinatus erat in generum. Ducta itaque uxore filia Adrasti, cum finito anno regnum a fratre reposceret et ille non redderet, socerum suum et cum eo alios duces Graeciae movit ad bellum contra fratrem suum. 4. Duces autem erant hi: Tydeus, Capaneus<sup>164</sup> contemptor superni, Amphiaras<sup>165</sup> sacerdos, Parthenopaeus, Hippomedon. Sed cum exercitum videret haesitantem propter Amphiarum,<sup>165</sup> qui multis modis dehortabatur bellum praedicans malum et tristem eius exitum, uxor Polynicis Argia quoddam monile infaustum Eriphylae uxori Amphiarai dedit, ut viro suo suaderet ad bellum ire, vel ut vellet latentem prodere. Hoc autem erat monile quod fabricasse dicitur Vulcanus privignae suae Hermionae filiae scilicet Martis et Veneris; quod multiplici tabe veneni infectum omnibus habentibus fuit perniciosum. 5. Amphiaras ergo praemio illo ab uxore proditus, ad bellum vadens, a terra est absorptus. Unde Alcmaeon filius eius, dolore commotus et in furorem accensus, in ultionem patris matrem occidit. Deinde avunculus eius Phegius<sup>166</sup> eum occidit in ultionem suae sororis. 6. Parvis adhuc existentibus filiis Alcmaeonis, tunc Callirrhoe uxor Alcmaeonis impetravit a Iove filiis suis adhuc impuberibus arma et vires addi, quibus ab ipsis pater suus, occiso Phegio,<sup>166</sup> posset vindicari. Quod Iuppiter per Heben filiam Iunonis fieri concessit eidem Callirrhoe. 7. Sed haec ipsa

163 andromo-

164 sapaneus

165 amphiaranu-

166 flegi-

1 *ibid.*, 347-348.

Hebe Iolao primos ante hoc tempus restituerat annos. Iolaus iste fuit socius Herculis sive filius; qui novercam suam iussu Herculis post Herculem duxit in uxorem. Hercules deificatus Heben unicam filiam Iunonis uxorem duxit eamque oravit ut filio suo Iolao iuventutem daret, ut esset patronus filii sui Hyli et uxoris suae et totius progeniei.

#### CLII. DE TITHONO

Tithonus maritus Pallantidos, idest Aurorae filiae Pallantis, frater Laomedontis fuit; qui vetustate in cicadam est mutatus.

#### CLIII. DE IUDICIBUS INFERNI

Acacus et Rhadamanthus Iovis et Aeginae filii, Minos vero Europae, quia verissimi iudices in terra vixerunt, iudices inferni constituti sunt.

#### CLIV. DE MILETO ET EIUS LIBERIS

Miletus Phoebo patre superbus formidini multis erat urbibus et provinciis ita quod et ipse Minos, olim multarum terror urbium, iam gravis annis cum pertimuit. Quam suspicionem ut a se Miletus expelleret, in exilium ire constituit, ibique filiam Maeandri<sup>167</sup> nympham praestanti corpore, dum sequitur patriae curvamina ripae, cognovit. Et ex ea Caunum et Byblidem suscepit. 2. Haec Byblis enormi amore fratrem suum Caunum adamavit. Quem cum saepe ad amorem invitaret, negata sibi spe concubitus, fratrem fugientem persecuta, inconsolabiliter plorans tota defluxit in lacrimas adeo quod de eius lacrimis factus est fons, qui usque nunc nomen habet dominae.

#### CLV. DE IPHIDE

Ligdus<sup>168</sup> pauper, rei familiaris inopia desperans, Telethusae uxori suae praecepit ut si filium pareret, reservaret; si vero filiam, interficeret. Instante ergo tempore partus, illa et curis anxia et fetu gravida, Isis miseratione dolentis commota nocte ei apparuit in somnis et quicquid pareret reservare iussit. 2. Ignaro<sup>169</sup> denique patre, femina nata, mater mentita puerum iussit ali, dato ei a patre nomine avito scilicet Iphis. Ei vero quartum decimum annum agenti desponsata est Ianthe Dictaeo nata Teleste. Cum igitur iam dictus dies, nuptiarum instaret, Telethusa mater iam diu anxia et multum dilato tempore nubendi variarum commento causarum iam omnem materiam ficti consumpserat. 3. Tandem solo die restante, crinalem vittam sibi et filiae subtrahit, aram Isidis Inachidos sparsis complexa capellis, deae supplicans tota mentis intentione, obiecta ei visione

167 in eandem

168 sidus

169 igudro



et specie qua sibi praegnanti apparuerat. Post haec, commotis foribus templi, mater concreditur; comes Iphis iam maiore gradu et vigore matrem sequitur. Nam quae femina nuper erat, puer est,<sup>m</sup> donaque solverunt tali titulo 'dona puer solvit quae femina voverat Iphis'.<sup>n</sup>

#### CLVI. DE ORPHEO ET EURYDICE

Orpheus Rhodopeius uxorem duxit Eurydicem. Quae dum quadam die turba Maenadum comitante flores colligeret, serpentis dente in pede recepto, occubuit. 2. Inconsolabiliter ergo dolens ipse Orpheus ausus est ad Stygia descendere, ubi, motis ad carmina nervis, deos infernales ita movit quod Persephone Eurydicem illi reddi fecit, sed tali lege ne respiceret donec inferos exiisset. Sed ille videndi impatiens, nondum egressus, oculos reflexit et protinus illa relapsa est. Et ille obstupuit et, cum ad inferos vellet redire, prohibitus est a ianitore. 3. Et septem diebus squalidus in ripa Cereris sine munere mansit, ibique chordis pollice praetentatis varia edidit carmina. Tandem, quia in matres transtulit vitium, interfectus est a matribus Ciconum. Cuius caput ab Hebro exceptum et in litore Lesbii<sup>170</sup> expositum dum ferus anguis devorare vellet, Phoebus sui vatis et filii non immemor prohibuit, et draconem illum in lapidem convertit.

#### CLVII. DE CERBERO ET RUSTICO

Rusticus quidam videns Cerberum ab inferis extractum adeo stupuit quod de nimio stupore mutatus in lapidem derigit. Fuit autem rusticus ille Laconensis vel, ut alii dicunt, socius erat Herculis.

#### CLVIII. DE OLENO ET LETHAEA

Olenus uxorem habuit nomine Lethaeam; quae de pulchritudine sua superbiens Iunoni se praetulit. Unde in lapidem derigit. Cum vero Olenus maritus eius universam in Iunonem effunderet culpam et magis invidiae causa quam ultione iusta id factum fuisse assereret, indignans Saturnus illum quoque in silicem figuravit. 2. Aliter Lethaea conviciis et contumeliis Iunonem molestaverat; Iuno marito illius conquesta fuerat. Illo ergo correctionis admonitionem negligente et insuper non digna deae respondente, utrumque Saturni filia convertit in lapidem.

170 lesberi

m *ibid.*, 790-791.

n *ibid.*, 794.

## CLIX. DE ATTIDE

Attis<sup>171</sup> puer decorus amatus Cybelae matri deorum se promisit numquam alii censendum. Sed postea concubuit cum Sagaritide<sup>172</sup> nympa. Quare Cybele cum eum frequentius interciperet, dicitur ipse puer ad satisfactionem testiculos sibi amputasse. Cui dolori solacium Cybele adhiberi desiderans mutavit eum in pinum acutam.

## CLX. DE CYPARISSO

Cyparissum Phoebus nimio dilexit amore. Unde secundum quosdam cervum egregiae formae et domitum ei tradidit. Quem miro puer amore sibi iungebat, coronas floreas capiti eius innectens, dorso eius quandoque insidens, pabulum et aquam saepius ministrans. Quem cum forte subito visum Cyparissus acuto fixisset telo putans non esse suum, mori statuit. Quem consolatus Apollo ut leviter pro materiaque doleret monuit et eum in arborem sui nominis figuravit.

## CLXI. DE GANYMEDE

Ganymedis Phrygii filii Trois amore Iuppiter succensus et aquilinam dignatus est sumere formam, dilectumque puerum in Ida silva venationi deditum fulvis alis extollere, conferens ei offi ium pincernae, quod possedit prius Hebe unica Iunonis filia.

## CLXII. DE HYACINTHO

Hyacinthus de Amyclis natus Phoebus fuit dilectissimus adeo quod, relictis suis operibus,<sup>173</sup> baiulans plagas et disponens retia in venatione cum saepe sequebatur. Illis ergo ambobus certamen disci ineuntibus, diva Tellus discum a Phoebum missum in vultus pueri reiecit, et sic puerum exspirare coegit. 2. Illum ergo Phoebus diu fovendo, cum nec herbis nec carmine posset in vitam revocare, in florem mutavit, formamque dedit quam lilia, si non purpureus color his, argenteus esset in illis.<sup>o</sup> Propterea Apollo ipse suos<sup>174</sup> gemitus foliis inscripsit, et AI<sup>175</sup> flos habet inscriptum funestaque littera dicta est.<sup>p</sup> 3. In hunc florem Ajax se addidit, unde Hyacinthia dicunt ludos in memoriam illius Phoebus singulis annis celebratos.

## CLXIII. DE PROETIDIBUS ET CERASTIS

Proetides<sup>176</sup> Proeti<sup>177</sup> filiae de Amathunte civitate Veneri se praetulerunt.

171 ithis

172 sagarrade

173 temporibus; cf. CLXVI. 2

174 sensus

175 IA

176 prothetid-

177 prothei

o *ibid.*, X. 212-213.p *ibid.*, 215-216.

Unde dea irata secundum quosdam in equas, secundum alios in iuvenas mutavit. 2. Aliter Proetides<sup>176</sup> Venerem deam negabant. In cuius sceleris poenam corpora sua vulgantes turpiter se prostituerunt pudoreque omni consumpto, Venere nondum satiata, in lapides deriguerunt. 3. Rusticos quoque quosdam, qui hospites suos in ara Veneris immolabant, Venus reprobans pro tali sacrificio qua poena afficeret diu multumque cogitavit. Ast ubi vultum flexit ad cornua, in torvos iuvenos eos mutavit. Qui gerentes fronte cornua aspera nomen traxere Cerastae; ceros enim cornu, inde Ceraunia<sup>178</sup>, cornuti montes, et rhinoceros.

## CLXIV. DE PYGMALIONE

Pygmalion, vocata turpitudine Proetidum<sup>176</sup> corpora sua vulgantium, sine coniuge celeberrime vivebat. Hic igitur forte mira arte eboream<sup>179</sup> sculpsit<sup>180</sup> imaginem mulieris tantae pulchritudinis quod nec etiam vera mulier poterat inveniri ei similis. 2. Illam ergo sociam tori ante omnes aspirabat. Tandem veniente festo Veneris, Pygmalion ei sacrificans oravit ut suam imaginem faceret veram puellam. Postea veniens in thalamum eam invenit mutatam in virginem, eamque duxit filiamque genuit ex ea nomine Paphum, de quo tenet insula nomen. De qua natus fuit Cinyras.

## CLXV. DE CINYRA

Cinyras iste filiam habuit Myrrham, quae patrem suum amabat. De cuius amore cum desperaret, nocte media surgens, facto de zona laqueo cum se vellet suspendere, patrem salutavit dormientem. Quam nutrix audiens surrexit, deprehensoque laqueo, tam blandiendo quam minando confiteri amorem coegit. 2. Postea eius consilio, cum regina esset absens Cereris intendens sacrificiis, illa cum patre concubuit semel et iterum donec gravida fuit. Tandem pater eam cognoscere voluit. Qui lumine inlato, ea cognita, de criminis sui perpetratione dolens, verbis deficientibus, eo actus vagina liberat ensem; filiam furibundus persequitur. 3. Quae patris aspectum fugiens tandem terra requievit fessa Sabaea,<sup>q</sup> ibique dis invocatis ne vel superstes violaret vivos, mortua exstinctos, in arborem sui nominis est mutata. Flet tamen, et tepidae manant e corpore guttae.<sup>r</sup> Est honor et lacrimis stillataque robore gutta nomen erile tenet.<sup>s</sup>

178 ceraunna

179 ebora

180 sulpsit

q *ibid.*, 480.r *ibid.*, 500.s *ibid.*, 501-502.

## CLXVI. DE ADONE

Adonis filius Myrrhae, matre iam mutata Lucinaque a ramo stante et verba<sup>181</sup> puerpera referente, natus fuit, Ovidio teste in quo Myrrha paelex matris et adultera patris et mater fratris et soror nati perpenditur.<sup>t</sup> Sed ex matre praedictus puer genitus vel potius ab arbore, cuius faciem Livor quoque laudaret, similis Cupidini demptis illi vel additis isti sagittis, modo formosissimus infans, iam iuvenis, iam vir, iam se formosior Veneri placitus matris ulciscitur ignes.<sup>u</sup> 2. Dum in ipso Cytherea extenta hac harundine ipsius Cupidinis matrem osculantis saucia magis et magis intenditur, et relictis omnibus suae dignitatis operibus soli Adoni die ac nocte adiungitur, eumque in venatione sequitur. Tandem cum admonens ne bellicosis sed fugacibus instaret feris, in aetherea sede est recepta. 3. Tum repente Cinyreus heres inspecto apro virtutis suae memor Venerisque immemor eum obliquo fixit venabulo. Tum repente illius dente recepto in inguine, in silva exstinctus prosternitur. Quo comperto Venus nimio dolore convincitur, sparsoque sanguine pueri odorato nectare, extemplo flos concolor de cruore<sup>182</sup> suo exoritur Punicorum florum similis.<sup>v</sup> Brevis est tamen usus in illo; namque male haerentem<sup>183</sup> et nimia levitate caducum excutiunt idem, qui praebent omnia, venti.<sup>w</sup>

## CLXVII. DE HIPPOMENE ET ATALANTA

Atalanta Schoenei<sup>184</sup> filia ex responso divino mutandam esse se sciens, si coniugi nuberet, fugiebat coniugis usum. Pedum vero agilitate non mediocriter confisa, velociori se coniugem spondebat; tardiori mortem pro poena discernebat. 2. Hippomenes ergo filius Megarei pronepos Neptuni, quamvis huius legis condicione plures vidisset decapitari, mortis abiecta formidine, illius inestimabili cupidine ardens, inspecto corporis habitu, posito velamine, cursu contendere instituit. Vocato igitur Veneris auxilio, tria aurea poma ab ea recepit, quae nymphae praecurrenti obiciens in via. Illa partim cupidinis caecitate, quia et ipsa iam caelibatum pellere amore Hippomenes proposuerat, partim habendi satia fame retenta... 3. Tandem victor exstitit potiturque optato conubio. Quia vero Veneris immemor nulla ei sacra constituit, intempestiva succensus<sup>185</sup> libidine in templo matris deorum cum uxore sua concubuit. Unde Cybele irata eos in leones mutavit

181 ubera

182 ore

183 habentem

184 cenei

185 succendus

t *ibid.*, 347-348.u *ibid.*, 522-524.v *cf. ibid.*, 735-737.w *ibid.*, 737-739.

et suo curru subiuavit. Et ne coirent secum in uno pardus et lea, leo et parda, constituit.

## CLXVIII. DE EDONIBUS

Orpheo interfecto et capite eius vi Hebri<sup>186</sup> delato et, ut dictum est, serpente illud devoraturum iam in saxum converso, Bacchus vatem suum amisum dolens Edonidas matres, dum videre nefas, torta radice ligavit.<sup>x</sup>

## CLXIX. DE MIDA

Ruricolae Phryges Silenum titubantem invenientes ad regem praedae spe duxerunt Midam. Quem, quia et ipse sacerdos Bacchi fuerat, Mida cognoscens, per bis quinque dies splendide epulatus, sanum et incolumem illum Baccho in Libya restituit. 2. Hoc igitur munere gratissimo Bacchus excitatus promisit regi quicquid sibi praemii optari voluisset. At ille ait 'effice, quicquid contigero corpore, fiat aurum'. Adnuit et Bacchus. Contactu ergo suo saxum, globam fecit auream. 3. Mensis vero positus, ubi singula in aurum mutari conspexit, attonitus novitate mali, miser effugere optat opes,<sup>y</sup> conversisque in contrarium precibus, se peccasse confitendo, Liberum patrem multotiens sacri datorem invocat, exauditusque decreto ipsius dei in aquis Pactoli lavatur. Et aureis harenis factis auri potentia in fluvio remanente, deinceps cavit et perosus opes silvas et rura incoluit et Pana.<sup>z</sup> 4. Quodam autem tempore Pane et Phoebus certantibus victoque<sup>187</sup> Pane scientia Tmoli et iudicio omnium, solus Midas pertinaciter Phoebum vicisse negavit, suumque deum victorem asseruit. Unde Phoebus asininas auriculas ei attribuit. 5. Quas forte nesciens servus capillos domini respiciens apud se retinere non potuit, sed, facta in terra fissura, visa terrae inde murmuravit. Itaque locus incertus harundine ꝑrimum pleno maturus edo perdidit agricolam deumque coaluit auris.<sup>188</sup>

## CLXX. DE LAOMEDONTE ET HESIONE

Cum Laomedon primo Troiae fundaret moenia, Neptunus et Phoebus mortalem induti formam muros aedificaverunt. Pacto modio auri cum aedificati essent, perfectoque opere Laomedonte pactum denegante, aquae maris a Neptuno ad muros inclinantur—facto Troiae diluvio quod non cessavit donec Hesione filia Laomedontis de rupe ligata exposita fuit marinis monstris. 2. Quam Hercules pactus albos equos liberavit. Sed

186 ehir

187 vicitque

188 cf. Ovid., *Met.* XI, 191-193x *ibid.*, XI. 69-70.y cf. *ibid.*, 127-128.z *ibid.*, 146-147.

cum eos denegaret Laomedon Herculi, Troiam obsidens Hercules bis periura capit moenia Troiae. Nec, pars militiae, Telamon sine honore recessit.<sup>a</sup> Immo quia primus muros Troianos ascendit, Hesione sorore Priami filia Laomedontis potitur ab Hercule sibi data.

#### CLXXI. DE PELEO ET THETIDE

Peleus Telamonis frater et Phoci, cum Thetidem amaret, vim ei inferre paravit. Illa autem in diversas figuras se transfiguravit. Sed doctus ergo Peleus a Proteo qualiter eam teneret, dormientem et incautam laqueis implicat. Potitur votis ingentique implet Achille.<sup>b</sup>

#### CLXXII. DE DAEDALIONE ET CHIONE

Daedalion frater Ceycis filius Luciferi filiam habuit Chionem forma dotatissimam. Haec ergo duobus diis placita, Mercurio scilicet et Phoebo, duos ex illis duobus suscepit filios. Autolycus<sup>189</sup> natus est de semine alipedis dei, patriae non degener artis, candida de nigris et de candentibus atra<sup>c</sup> peritus facere; e Phoebo vero cantu vocali clarus citharaque Palaemon.<sup>d</sup> 2. Obest quoque gloria mentis? Obfuit huic certe, quia confisa suae laudis praeconio ausa est se praeferre Dianae et faciem culpae deae.<sup>e</sup> Unde irata Diana linguam eius harundine traiecit et subito illam cum sanguine vita reliquit. 3. Quod ubi Daedalion sensit, de Parnaso monte se praecipitare voluit. Sed Apollo miseratus subitus sustulit alis, et ille factus accipiter, nulli satis aequus, in omnes saevit aves aliisque dolens fit causa dolendi.<sup>f</sup>

#### CLXXIII. DE PELEO ET LUPO

Peleum felicem nato et coniuge sed fraterno sanguine sontem, expulsum domo, patria tellus recepit Trachinia, Ceyce filio Luciferi ibi regnante. Qui et ipse maerens dissimilisque sui fratrem lugebat ademptum,<sup>g</sup> cui nomen Daedalion, de cuius mutatione et casu praediximus. 2. Peleo vero in pace apud regem praefatum crescente, subito advolat Phoeus Onetor<sup>190</sup> custos armenti ab ipso Peleo exsule advecti; qui adveniens lupum nuntiabat

189 autilocus

190 anetor

a *ibid.*, 216.

b *ibid.*, 265.

c *ibid.*, 314-315.

d *cf. ibid.*, 317.

e *cf. ibid.*, 320-322.

f *ibid.*, 344-345.

g *ibid.*, 273.

silvis palustribus egressum, in armentum |graviter saevire, hostiliter tam custodes quam boves sternere. Quo audito Peleus, conscientia qua se iudice nemo nocens absolvitur confusus, poenam commissi fore hanc cognovit. 3. Rege ergo et ceteris arma parantibus et Alcyone Ceycis uxore eundem ipsum retinere festinante, Aeacides acrius nil agendum asseruit sed magis numen pelagi votis adorandum. Peleus ergo cum rege rupem altissimam ascendit. Unde sui damni iacturam et boum suorum caedem prospectans, caeruleam Psamathem,<sup>191</sup> ut finiat<sup>192</sup> iras, orat, opemque ferat.<sup>h</sup> 4. Qua renuente, Thetissupplex pro coniuge, accepta venia, in marmor[em] lupum mutavit. Lapidis color indicat illum iam non esse lupum, iam non debere timeri.<sup>i</sup> Fatis insuper agitantibus, habitandam sibi nondum invenerat Aeacides civitatem, et ideo Magnetes adiit et sumit ab Haemonio purgamina caedis Acasto.<sup>j</sup>

## CLXXIV. DE PHORBANTE ET PHLEGYA

Phorbas tyrannus viarum strata obsidebat transeuntesque multitudine armata adiutus interficiebat. Unde ostensus est Phlegyas, idest talis qualis erat Phlegyas; cuius filiam Coronidem occidit Phoebus pro adulterio matrem Aesculapii, de qua dictum est superius. Phlegyas autem temeritate sceleris et impatientia doloris praesumptuosus et audax in ultionem filiae suae templum Phoebi<sup>193</sup> succendit.

## CLXXV. DE ALCYONE ET CEYCE

Alcyone filia Aeoli uxor Ceycis maritum suum super morte fratris sui Daedalionis anxium et monstrorum varietate territum et ea propter ad domum divini oraculi properantem, obstruso Delphico itinere Phorbantis immanitate, iterum retinere oratione sua et blanditiis festinabat. Quod ut longa dissuasione efficere non suffecit nec se simul provehi obtinere potuit, celeriter, idest post mensem alterum, pacto recursu, licet tristis et anxia voto mariti adnuit. 2. Tandem Ceyx navem ingreditur. Sed, dum navigat, de nocte exoritur tempestas; decimo fluctu navis confringitur. Ceyx Alcyonem super omnia clamans undae immergitur. 3. Alcyone omnium horum ignara pro viri sui incolumitate et prospera navigatione votiva templis ferebat sacrificia, sed Iunoni praecipue ante cetera numina. Unde Iuno deum oravit somnii ut aliquem de filiis suis ad Alcyonem mitteret sub

191 samaten

192 firmat

193 plebi

h *ibid.*, 398-399.i *ibid.*, 405-406.j *ibid.*, 409.

specie Ceycis. Ille autem quendam filium suum nomine Morphea misit ad Alcyonem; qui filius in specie naufragi ei apparuit seque submersum esse manifestavit. 4. Quae cum mane surgens scopulum ascendisset, viso corpore Ceycis per aquam fluitantem, insiluit et tamdiu flevit quod miseratione deorum uterque mutatus est in avem. Quae aves alcyones in mari nidificant, et dum nidificant mare est pacatum.

#### CLXXVI. DE FILIIS PRIAMI

Priamus rex Troiae filius fuit Laomedontis. Qui multos habuit filios ex pluribus uxoribus, Aesacon ex Alexiroe.<sup>194</sup> Qui<sup>195</sup>, quia Hesperie<sup>196</sup> filia Cebrenis<sup>197</sup> amica sua morsu serpentis obiit, dolore commotus, se de scopulo praecipitans mergere voluit. Sed factus est avis, qui se nunc mergere nitatur. Unde a frequenti submersione mergus appellatur. 2. Priamus quoque de Hecuba genuit Hectorem virum fortem maritum Andromaches, de qua Astyanactem genuit; quem Pyrrhus coram patre suo occidit, postea vero patrem. 3. Helenum quoque Priamus genuit vatem, quem Ulixes captum coegit dicere quomodo Troia capi posset. 4. Genuit et Priamus Polyxenam et Cassandram vaticinatricem,<sup>198</sup> Deiphobum, Polydorum, et Ilionam, quam dedit Polymestori regi Thraciae nuptam. 5. Priamus etiam in initio Troiani belli Polydorum Polymestori commendavit cum pondere auri maximo. Qui, audito Troiano excidio, ductus cupiditate puerum occidit. Quem Hecuba, cum abduceretur ab Ulixē, invenit. Unde Polymestorem excaecavit et postea facta est canis. Haec Maera dicta est et Cisseis a Cisseo patre et a matre Dymante Dymantis.<sup>199</sup> 6. Haec Paridem paritura somniavit se facem parere; quo cognitus est Paris Troiae destructor. Unde eum Priamus occidi iussit, sed Hecuba latenter nutrirī fecit a pastoribus. Qui tauro suo, quia alienum taurum devicerat, coronam fecit. Postea alienus taurus taurum Paridis vicit, cui quia Paris coronam tauri sui dedit, a paritate iudicii dictus est Paris. Alexander vero dictus est quia virtuosus et quia verus iudex in hoc fuerat; ideo Iuppiter iudicio eius deas apposuit. Qui dum pastor erat, Oenonem nympham amavit. 7. Tandem cognitus filius Priami missus est in Graeciam ut adduceret Hesionem sororem Priami, quam Telamon pater Aiakis abduxerat. Forte Helenam Tyndarei et Ladae filiam sororem Clytaemnestrae, Castoris quoque, et Pollucis matrem Hermiones uxorem Menelai regis in fano Veneris visam et dilectam rapuit. 8. Quo audito Oenone scripsit Paridi: Helenam de divino semine natam consciat. Quae a tempore Thesei fuit, qui eam ra-

194 allixiore

195 que

196 ephire

197 crebeni

198 vatinatritione

199 dimantia



puit. Sed Castori et Polluci intactam reddidit?<sup>k</sup> Quae etiam usque in destructionem Troianam duravit. 9. Hanc quia Stesichorus<sup>200</sup> dixit adulterari, a fratribus eius excaecatus est. Sed omnibus recantatis lumen recepit.<sup>1</sup>

## CLXXVII. DE IPHIGENIA

Hanc Helenam Graeci sequuntur, facta coniuratione in Aulide insula ubi Iphigeniam mactari debere persuasit Ulixes, cum ultra navigare non posset, Diana offensa, cuius cervam in Aulide insula interfecerant. Sed Iphigeniam super aram impositam Diana in Tauricam regionem transmisit, cerva loco puellae in ara supposita. 2. Quam cum Agamemnon sacrificasset, ibidem serpens bis quattuor ab arbore fetus et postea matrem devoravit. Quod Calchas filius Thestoris exponens dixit quod novem annis pugnando laborarent, in decimo anno vincerent.

## CLXXVIII. DE BELLO TROIANO

In egressu navium occiditur Protesilaus. Fatatum ante erat quod prius exiret de navibus, prius moreretur. Unde Phylace civitate primus obiit. Eius imaginem habebat Laodamia eius uxor quae, audita morte viri, in amplexu suae imaginis expiravit. 2. Duces Troianorum quadraginta novem, naves mille centum triginta, secundum Homerum<sup>m</sup> bis septem velae<sup>201</sup> minus quam mille ducentae. Pugnatum est primo octoginta duabus alias, idest in alio tempore, triginta alias, duodecim alias, septem alias, sex. Annis novem duravit pugna et mensibus sex et diebus duodecim. 3. Post bellum autem diutinum censuit Antenor Helenam reddi, Paride obiurgato. Unde capta Troia incolumis dimissus, captis auguriis fecit urbem, quam a petitu avium Patavium<sup>202</sup> appellavit.

## CLXXIX. DE CYGNO ET CAENEO

Cygnus Achilli congressus, quamvis impenetrabilis esset, tandem ab Achille est iugulatus. Quem cum victor armis vellet spoliare, non invento corpore, cygnum avem de illo vidit exire, Neptuno patre Cygni Cygnum sic mutante. 2. De tali mutatione mirante Achille, dixit Nestor se simile vidisse de Caeneo, qui prius fuit Caenis filia Elati. Quam Neptunus devirginans obtulit ei ut quicquid vellet ab eo peteret. Quae petiit ut, quod passa fuerat,

200 tarsicorus

201 velie?

202 petavium

k cf. *idem*, *Her.* V.

l cf. Pausanias III. 19. 11-13.

m cf. Homer., *Il.* II. 493 ff.

amplius pati non posset. Et statim mutata est in virum fortem, cui etiam dedit Neptunus fore impenetrabilem et nominavit Caeneum. 3. Hic in bello Lapitharum et Centaurorum multos penetravit nec penetrari potuit. Tandem a tota multitudine strue lignorum obrutus fuit. De eius corpore avis unica scilicet phoenix exivit, quae cum quingentis annis vixerit, collectis speciebus diversis, super eas in suo exaltat nido. Sed de herbis et de pulvere eius per calorem combusti alius nascitur phoenix.

#### CLXXX. GENEALOGIAE

Iuppiter ex Electra filia Atlantis Italici uxore Corythi, qui condidit Corythum, genuit Dardanum, qui Iasium fratrem suum occidit. Quare de Tuscia fugiens versus Phrygiam parvam Troiam ibi fundavit. Quo mortuo Teucer Cretensis muros cum sociis Dardani auxit. 2. Dardanus genuit Troem; Tros Ilum et Assaracum et Ganymedem, quem rapuit Iuppiter, et Capym patrem Anchisae. 3. Ilus genuit Laomedontem et Tithonum maritum Aurorae; Laomedon Priamum. Quos autem genuerit Priamus dictum est superius.

#### CLXXXI. DE LEUCIPPO ET EIUS FILIABUS

Leucippus<sup>203</sup> duas habuit filias Phobem et eius sororem, quibus viros desponsavit. Sed eas Castor et Pollux rapuerunt. Unde Leucippus et diu cum eis conflixit et Castorem occidit; quem in ultionem fratris Pollux occidit. Idas autem alter procorum in Pollucem tetendit, sed vix Iovis igne est repulsus. Qui ibi moriens deitatem suam fratri impertitus est.

#### CLXXXII. DE PELEO ET THETIDE

Thetis nympa marina filia Nerei, missa a Iove ad videndum ne Prometheus, qui in fundo maris dicitur esse ligatus, catenas suas rupisset, audivit a Proteo quod pareret filium maiorem patre. Ne ergo maius Iove mundus haberet, Iuppiter abstinuit a Thetide. 2. Quam Peleus favore deorum, auxilio Protei, ligatam duxit in uxorem in antro Chironis, ubi omnes di convenerunt vocati praeter Discordiam. Quae convivio pomum aureum pulcherrimum iniecit, in quo scriptum erat 'pulchrior me obtineat'. 3. Tres autem deae, scilicet Iuno, Pallas, et Venus, de pomo habendo contententes iudicium Paridis subierunt. Qui contemnens divitias a Iunone sibi promissas et sapientiam promissam a Pallade Veneri, quae feminam pulcherrimam ei promisit, pomum adiudicavit.

## CLXXXIII. DE ACHILLE

Thetis, cum videret Paridem cum Helena rapta redeuntem, metuens de filio quem Chiron docebat in aula Lycomedis, qui rex erat Scyros insulae, cum filiabus eius abscondit, ubi tandem Achilles de Deidamia genuit Pyrrhum, ubi tandem Achillem Ulixes cum Diomede socio et Agyrte tibicine invenit et ad Troiam duxit, quia a fati poscebatur. Hunc in pueritia mater in Styge balneaverat, excepto in planta qua eum tenuit dum submergeret, ut impenetrabilis esset. Sed in planta percussus est ad mortem. 2. Achilles amore Troili captus ei palumbes obiecit, quibus ipse delectabatur. Quas cum capere vellet Troilus, ab Achille detectus eius amplexibus periit. 3. In itinere autem versus Troiam Achilles multa loca sicut Thebas et Lyrnesium oppidum expugnavit, ubi Hippodamiam, quae a patre dicta est Briseis, rapuit, marito et fratribus eius occisis. Agamemnon aliam rapuit scilicet Astynomen,<sup>204</sup> quae a patre Chryse dicta est Chryseis. 4. Chryses autem sacerdos Apollinis coram Apolline et in conspectu Agamemnonis conquestus expulsus est. Tandem tempestate Graecis immissa, Calchas Graecorum vates, iussu Achillis, iussit reddi Chryseidem Chryssae patri, ubi, si dea passa fuisset, ensis Achillis in Atridae pectus iturus erat. 5. Agamemnon vero iratus in solacium Chryseidis redditae Briseiden Achillis amicam sibi rapi iussit. Quare Achilles opem suam Graecis dene-gavit nec eam recipere voluit cum maximis muneribus. Unde Briseis ad Achillem scribit 'quam legis' etc.<sup>n</sup> Ultimo tamen eam recepit. Atrides enim se non tetigisse eam regio more per sceptrum iurat, sed sceptrum non putat esse deos.

## CLXXXIV. DE TELEPHO

Telephus rex Mysorum Achilli obviavit, a quo in conflictu est vulneratus. Audivit autem Telephus in responsis se non posse sanari nisi eadem lancea in eodem loco vulneraretur. Unde Telephus pauper et exsul Achillem, ut eum percuteret, oravit. Sic ei vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit. In Pelion monte Thessaliae est abscisa Achillis hasta, et ideo Pelias hasta dicitur.

## CLXXXV. DE PATROCLO

Patroclum amicum Achilles habuit; qui parvus, fratre suo interfecto, Opunta insulam relinquens cum Achille in Thessalia et in domo Chironis nutritus est. Hic Achillis armiger, cum opem suam Achilles Danaïs dene-

204 astionem

n Ovid., *Her.* III. 1 ff.

gasset, armis Achillis indutus, concurrens Hectori, ab eo est interfectus. Hic Actorides<sup>205</sup> vel Menoetiades dicitur; filius enim fuit Menoetii, qui fuit filius Actoris. Huius morte dolens Achilles noctem pessimam passus est. Non potuit enim dormire, quia nullum in ultionem amici sui interfecerat.

#### CLXXXVI. DE HECTORE ET POLYXENA

Hic alacer Mysos terruit Hector equos. Equi enim Achillis erant de Mysia; quos ei Telephus rex Mysorum dederat. Vel Lacer, idest laceratus Hector, equos Achillis terruit. Achilles enim, cum Hectorem occidisset, corpus eius balteo Aiakis currui suo alligans circa muros Troianos traxit. 2. Cuius corpus Priamus pater volens redimere ad tentoria Achillis venit, quem quamvis dormientem occidere noluit. Hoc admirans Achilles corpus meracum reddidit, et Priamum illaesum ad Troiana duxit moenia. 3. Idem cum circa muros armatus incederet, Polyxenam filiam Priami videns, eam adamavit; quam in foedere coniugio postulavit. Quam Troiani fraude promiserunt ei. Cum autem nuptiis interessent, Paris in templo latens interfecit eum. Polyxena vero sacrificata est Achilli a Pyrrho. Qui patri mortuo aras in templo Apollinis constituit.

#### CLXXXVII. DE PYRRHO

Pyrrhus iste filius fuit Achillis et Deidamiae filiae Lycomedis, cui Menelaus filiam suam Hermionem gratia Achillis promiserat. Sed Tyndarus avus Hermiones eam Oresti desponsaverat. Pyrrhus rediens ab obsidione eam Oresti rapuit. Unde illa scribit Oresti ut eam eripit Pyrrhus Achillides etc.<sup>o</sup> Ex ea genuit Pyrrhus Molossum, de quo dicta est Molossia. 2. Pyrrhus ab Oreste in sacris est occisus. Qui Andromachen uxorem Hectoris, quam rapuerat, quia eam pro uxore habuerat, moriens Heleno dedit cum hereditate. Helenus vero a Chaone fratre suo, quem venando interfecerat, Chaoniam dixit.

#### CLXXXVIII. DE IPHIGENIA ET ORESTE

Ulixes, cum Graeci venissent in Aulidem nec navigare ulterius possent quia Menelaus cervam Dianae interfecerat, quae nisi sanguine Iphigeniae placari poterat, ad eam sacrificandam patrem matremque coegit. Sui in sacrificio Diana cervam supposuit et in Tauricam regionem transtulit. Quae deae simulacrum in quibusdam fastis deferebat, unde Fastialis est dicta. Sanguinem etiam humanum sacrificabat facta Dianae sacerdos.

205 antorides

o *ibid.*, VIII. 1 ff.

2. Huc veniens Orestes cum socio Pylade, prius insanus, a sorore incognita cognitus purgatus est. Ubi cum alter mori deberet, exigente sacrificio, alter pro altero certatim mori voluerunt. Hinc fugientes in Aricinum<sup>206</sup> nemus devenerunt, ubi fugitivi sacerdotes ad repraesentandam pristinam fugam sacrificabant, ubi quicumque ministrare volebat in fine anni cum primo dimicabat ramo aureae arboris, quae erat in nemore, ut sic alter moreretur, ut sic prior modus sacrificii de sanguine humano repraesentaretur. Ossa vero Orestis ab Aricino nemore Romam sunt delata, et ante templum Martis reposita.

## CLXXXIX. DE TEUCRO ET AIACE

Telamon frater Pelei patris Achillis filios suos Aiace et Teucrum<sup>207</sup> in obsidionem hac condicione misit: ne alter sine alio rediret, ut alter de alio tamquam de se sollicitus esset. Ajax vero, cuius uxor erat Tecmesse<sup>208</sup> pudibunda matrona, cum Hectore configens cognitus est, quia frater Achillis erat. Fratres enim et sorores dicuntur qui eundem avum habent vel aviam. 2. Cum autem diu pugnassent Ajax et Hector nec alter alterum vincere posset, se cognatos esse cognoscentes mutuo sese remuneraverunt. Dedit enim ei Hector ense, quo postea seipsum interfecit. Ipse vero Hectori cingulum dedit, quo postea Hectoris corpus tractum circa muros Troianos est. 3. Mortuo autem Achille, Ajax de armis eius contendit cum Ulixē. Quae quia non obtinuit, factus insanus prosternebat oves, putans se interficere homines. Tandem gladio se confodit et in florem mutatus est. 4. Teucer vero frater eius non audens in patriam redire, socios consolans et ad gaudendum invitans, urbem fundavit. Quam Salaminem dixit a nomine civitatis patris sui, quae similiter Salamis dicebatur. De qua Salamine Telamon miserat tres naves in obsidionem Troianam; de Salamine vero Teucer. Pompeius tres naves habuit in auxilium contra Caesarem, unde credi poterat quod venirent de vera Graeca Salamine. 5. Ulixes aleas et scaccos et multas litteras sicut 'x', et hoc ad comprimendas odiosas seditiones in exercitu.

CXC. DE <sup>III</sup>~~II~~FILIABUS DANAI

Danaus et Aegyptus filii Beli fuerunt. Quinquaginta filiae Danai quinquaginta filios Aegypti occiderunt in nocte nuptiarum praeter Hypermetram, quae Lynceo pepercit; quam Danaus clausit. Quare Lynceo scripsit illam epistolam 'mittit Hypermetra'.<sup>p</sup> 2. Belides autem, idest

206 ancium

207 tenecrum

208 theumesse.

p *ibid.*, XIV. 1 ff.

Beli neptes, hac poena afficiuntur apud inferos quod dolium sine fundo implent. 3. Amynone autem quaedam de filiabus Danaï, imprudens venando, quendam satyrum occidit. Quam cum satyrus vitiare vellet, Neptunus ei opem tulit et in fontem sui nominis mutavit, ne a satyro comprimeretur. De qua ipse Neptunus prius Nauplium genuit patrem Palamedis.

#### CXCI. DE PALAMEDE ET ULIXE

Palamedes iste, cum profecturi essent Graeci in expeditionem Troianam, Ulixem invitum duxit ad bellum. Volens enim falsam ipsius Ulixis insaniam deprehendere, cum videret Ulixem cum catulis arantem et sal seminantem, Telemachum filium Ulixis unicum aratro praeposuit. Quo viso Ulixes supportavit aratrum et sic ad bellum cum ceteris processit. 2. Idem Palamedes in decimo anno Ulixem frumentatum misit; qui nihil attulit, sed Palamedes multum. Unde Ulixes Palamedem habens odio ei tetendit insidias. Copiam enim auri sub lecto Palamedis infodit litterasque sub nomine Priami per vilem nuntium ad Palamedem misit, in quibus gratias agebat Priamus Palamedi de prodicione. 3. Litterae more militari coram rege lectae sunt. Quod Ulixes vere sese probavit, aurum ostendens effossum, simulans se favere Palamedi. Quo invento Palamedes lapidatus est. 4. Unde Nauplius pater eius, cum insidiaretur Ulixi revertenti a bello, in Caphareo monte, sub quo erat mare periculosum, ignem maximum fecit. Ad quem quasi ad refugium...

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THE SCIENCE OF THEOLOGY  
ACCORDING TO RICHARD FISHACRE :

EDITION OF THE PROLOGUE TO HIS *COMMENTARY*  
*ON THE SENTENCES*

*R. James Long*

BEFORE composing his monumental *Commentary on the Sentences*, the Dominican theologian Richard Fishacre (d. 1248) set down in a Prologue his concept of the nature and domain of the science he was about to practise. This Prologue, aside from introducing the first Sentence-Commentary written at Oxford,<sup>1</sup> is significant in that it heralded at that university a new theological method.

Twelfth-century commentaries on Scripture had been quite unspecialized, containing both doctrinal teaching — often in the form of *quaestiones* — and moral instruction. About the turn of the century, however, the masters of Paris gradually adopted a more specialized approach, excluding the *quaestiones* from their lectures on Scripture in order to concentrate on exegesis and moral exhortation. Doctrinal discussions, on the other hand, were relegated almost exclusively to the lectures on the *Sentences*.<sup>2</sup>

Fishacre, who was the first Dominican to incept at Oxford, greets this “new theology” with approval. Theology has two parts, he writes in his

<sup>1</sup> D. Callus, *Introduction of Aristotelian Learning to Oxford* (London, 1943), 32. Although Fishacre’s teacher, Robert Bacon (d. 1248), very probably lectured from the *Sentences* at some time during his career, there is no substantial evidence that he ever wrote a Commentary. Bale is the first to attribute a “*Liber in sententias Petri Lombardi*” to him, but this entry should not be taken too seriously. See F. Pelster, “Die Bedeutung der Sentenzenvorlesung für die theologische Spekulation des Mittelalters. Ein Zeugnis aus der ältesten Oxforder Dominikanerschule”, *Scholastik* 2 (1927), 251, n. 3. See also n. 29 below.

<sup>2</sup> B. Smalley, “Robert Bacon and the Early Dominican School at Oxford”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (Fourth Series), 30 (1948), 20. Cf. Hugh of St. Cher’s distinction between the “*morales*” and the “*questioniste*”: *Post. in Bibl.* (Paris, 1530-45), 6, fol. 86.

Prologue, the one pertaining to the speculative intellect, the other pertaining to the practical; the latter deals with moral instruction, the former with difficult points regarding the articles of faith. Although both parts are contained *indistincte* in Sacred Scripture, the *magistri moderni* treat them separately. The more difficult part has been excerpted from Scripture and placed in the book of the *Sentences*.<sup>3</sup>

Frater Richard's innovative approach did not, however, meet with immediate acceptance at Oxford.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the University's most influential and authoritative figure, Robert Grosseteste, had definitively opted for the older "unspecialized" theology. In 1246<sup>5</sup> the Bishop of Lincoln had written to the regent masters at Oxford that the Old and New Testaments should be their only textbooks in theology and that courses on the latter be held in the morning hours, the time appointed for the "ordinary" lectures. Such was the custom of their fathers and elders; such also was the usage at Paris:

... hora est matutina qua ordinarie legitis; decet igitur vestras lectiones omnes, maxime tali tempore, legendas esse de libris Novi Testamenti vel Veteris; ne... a patrum et maiorum vestigiis et conformitate Regentium Parisius theologorum manifeste recedatur.<sup>6</sup>

So staunch, in fact, was Grosseteste's opposition that it appears to have occasioned a letter from the Pope. Between the years 1245 and 1247 an "epistola secreta" was issued from the court of Innocent IV, addressed to the Bishop of Lincoln, in which the Pope commands that "Frater R. de ordine Praedicatorum", presently teaching in the theology faculty at Oxford, be not prevented from lecturing *ordinarie* on the *Sentences* but rather that he be encouraged in every way:

<sup>3</sup> See below, pp. 96-7.

<sup>4</sup> Although Fishacre's method ultimately prevailed, his contemporaries and immediate successors at Oxford — Adam Marsh, Simon of Hinton, Thomas Doking, and others — continued to tread firmly in the path of the "old theology" (Smalley, "Robert Bacon", 13). As late as 1267 Roger Bacon was still urging, even while acknowledging the passing of the old method, that all theological *questiones* be organically integrated with the interpretation of Sacred Scripture (*Opus Minus*, ed. J. S. Brewer, R. S. [London, 1859], 330). Bacon's "fourth sin of theology", in fact, was the exaggerated respect paid to the *sententiarii* (A. G. Little, "The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 19 (1926) 808. For this whole question and Fishacre's part in it see Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1964), 279-80.

<sup>5</sup> Both Luard and Thomson assign this date to the letter: R. Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, ed. H. R. Luard (London, 1861), 346; and S. H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge, 1940), 212. Cf. also Pelster, "Der älteste Sentenzenkommentar aus der Oxförder Franziskanerschule", *Scholastik* 1 (1926), 64.

<sup>6</sup> Luard, p. 347.



Mandamus quatenus dilectum filium fratrem R. de ordine Praedicatorum apud Oxoniam docentem in theologica facultate a lectione ordinaria libri Sententiarum non debeas prohibere, sed potius inducas eundem ut secundum gratiam sibi datam continentiam profundam et veritatem necessariam ipsius libri auditoribus aperiat studiosis, cum in eo catholicorum doctorum inveniantur testimonia fide digna quae depulsa erroris calligine tenendam fidelibus asserant veritatem.<sup>7</sup>

The "Frater R." of Innocent's letter is in all probability Richard Fishacre.<sup>8</sup> His Sentence-Commentary certainly represents the kind of theological speculation commended by the Pope. Indeed, it does not seem unreasonable to see in the papal letter an attempt to defend the young Dominican against the imposing Bishop of Lincoln, who was undoubtedly acquainted with Fishacre's theological views, and who had quite contrary views of his own on the matter.

Although Innocent does not specifically mention Fishacre's Commentray, we may suppose that the work was in circulation by this time (i.e. 1245).<sup>9</sup> Pelster suggests the same date as a *terminus ante quem*, arguing from the fact that Fishacre does not cite Grosseteste's translation of the *Nicomachean Ethics* but utilizes rather the *Ethica vetus*.<sup>10</sup> Now it is unthinkable, runs the argument, that Fishacre would not have used the new and superior translation; equally unthinkable is that he would have been unaware of Grosseteste's translation in view of the close contact the latter maintained with the Oxford masters. Since according to the best authority the new trans-

<sup>7</sup> Padua, Bibl. Antoniana MS 79, fol. 50r. See G. Abate, "Lettere segrete d'Innocenzo IV e altri documenti in una raccolta inedita del saec. XIII", *Miscellanea Franciscana* (1955) 347, n. 149 for a description. Abate, however, wrongly gives the addressee as the bishop of London. Cf. A. B. Emnden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, Vol. 2 (Oxford, 1957), 686.

<sup>8</sup> Although the Dominicans were represented in Oxford at this time by Fishacre and Robert Bacon, the latter, as we have seen (n. 1 above), never wrote a Commentary. Moreover, since Bacon had incepted by 1219 (Smalley, "Robert Bacon", p. 1), it is probable that he would have surrendered the Dominicans' one chair in the theology faculty to his protégé by the 1240's. Hence the "ordinary" lectures would have been conducted by Fishacre during the period in question. Callus' remark is worth noting: "Unlike the secular masters... the friars' regency was generally limited to two or three years in order that others might in turn incept in theology. This was the custom of the Dominicans in Paris and of the Franciscans at Oxford and Cambridge; and we may be sure that the same system of promotion prevailed amongst the Oxford Dominicans", "The 'Tabulae super Originalia Patrum' of Robert Kilwardby O. P.", in *Studia Mediaevalia in honorem R. J. Martin* (Brugge, 1948), 251.

<sup>9</sup> It is not unlikely — though there is no evidence at the moment to support this — that the Pope had seen a copy of the Commentary. At any rate Innocent's letter remains the earliest reference to Richard's academic activity.

<sup>10</sup> "Das Leben und die Schriften des Oxforder Dominikanerslehrers Richard Fishacre (d. 1248)", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 54 (1930), 531. Cf. Callus, *Introduction*, 32.

lation was probably not circulated before 1246-47,<sup>11</sup> we must place our Commentary before this date.<sup>12</sup>

That the work was written after 1241, on the other hand, is deduced from internal evidence.<sup>13</sup> In book II, distinction 3, Fishacre refers to certain *moderni* who had incurred excommunication:

Novi multos modernorum magistrorum morulam cum Magistro hic ponere — in tantum etiam et quidam sententiam excommunicationis intulerint in illos qui suae potestati ordinariae subditos *dixerint in eodem instanti creationis angelos peccasse et cecidisse*. Sit igitur, si placet, pro ratione voluntas eorum et timeant, qui voluerint, excommunicationem, si non afferunt aliam rationem [italics mine].<sup>14</sup>

This is patently a reference to one of the propositions condemned at Paris by William of Auvergne on January 13, 1241.<sup>15</sup>

Quintus, quod malus angelus in principio sue creationis fuit malus, et nunquam fuit nisi malus. Hunc errorem reprobamus, firmiter enim credimus, quod bonus creatus sit et post peccando factus sit malus.<sup>16</sup>

A tentative reconstruction of the sequence of events might run as follows: Fishacre's inception in theology, before 1240; his *Commentary on the Sentences*, c. 1241-45; Grosseteste's letter to the Oxford masters, 1246; Innocent IV's letter to Grosseteste, 1247.

<sup>11</sup> Callus, "The Date of Grosseteste's Translations and Commentaries on Pseudo-Dionysius and the Nicomachean Ethics", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 14 (1947), 200-09; cf. *ibid.*, "Robert Grosseteste as Scholar", in *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop*, ed. Callus (Oxford, 1955), 64. Cf. also F. M. Powicke, *Robert Grosseteste and the Nicomachean Ethics* (London, 1930), 20. Pelster claims that Albert the Great utilized Grosseteste's *Ethics* in the last two books of his *Sentence-Commentary* shortly after 1246; "Das Leben", 531.

<sup>12</sup> This line of reasoning is somewhat less than conclusive. Indeed, on the same premises we should have to date our Commentary before 1242 — the *terminus ante quem* of Grosseteste's translation of Damascene's *De fide orthodoxa* — since Fishacre cites the older version of Burgundio of Pisa (see e.g. Oxford, Oriel Coll. MS 43, pp. cXLiib and cLxiib).

<sup>13</sup> Some scholars still insist on an earlier dating: e.g. O. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (I ouvain, 1949), II-2, 710 (viz. 1235-40); and J. Gründel, "Die Lehre von den Umständen der Menschlichen Handlung im Mittelalter", *Beiträge* 39, 5, p. 469.

<sup>14</sup> Oxford, Oriel Coll. MS 43, p. xxvi. See the Introduction to Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, ed. Quaracchi (1951), I, 110\*, n. 3.

<sup>15</sup> One of the Fishacre manuscripts, in fact, contains the following marginal note: "Nota quod ita fuerunt magistri Parisienses; igitur (?) deficientes argumentis per excommunicationem arguunt opinionem suam. Sed iste (?) modus arguendi est nimis practicus", London, B. M. Royal 10.B.VII, fol. 105v.

<sup>16</sup> *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle and E. Chatelain, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1889), 171.

## THE MANUSCRIPTS

In preparing the first complete edition of Fishacre's Prologue,<sup>17</sup> I have examined and collated the eleven manuscripts that are presently known to contain it.<sup>18</sup> A twelfth manuscript, Cambridge, Trinity College MS 1054, contains portions of the Prologue under the rubric "Divisio scientiarum: quod accedentibus ad theologiam oportet alias praecognoscere";<sup>19</sup> since it is only a fragment, however, it was not utilized in the present edition.

The following are the manuscripts and their *sigla*:

B — Oxford, Balliol College MS 57, fols. 1r-4r.<sup>20</sup> This manuscript dates from the late 13th century and is of English origin; it is written in several good hands with small flourished capitals in red and blue. B is also one of only four complete manuscripts. It belongs to the family of R and is closely related to the corrected version of O.

Bo — Bologna, Univ. MS 1546, cols. 1-6.<sup>21</sup> Its small English script places this manuscript close to the middle of the 13th century; it contains only the first three books and has page, column, and (as far as p. 62) line numberings in fives.<sup>22</sup> Bo once belonged to the Dominican convent of San Domenico in Bologna.<sup>23</sup> It belongs to the family of C.

<sup>17</sup> Pelster published a fragment of the Prologue in *Scholastik* 2 (1927), 254-55, utilizing only the Oriel and Balliol College manuscripts.

<sup>18</sup> Two additional manuscripts — Liverpool, Univ. MS F.4.18, and Naples, Naz. MS VII.C.19 — contain only book IV, which quite possibly circulated anonymously as a separate treatise *De sacramentis*. Fishacre himself sanctions such a division in his Prologue; see below, p. 98. Cf. Thomas James' description of the Balliol College MS in his *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis*, Vol. 1 (London, 1600), 23 (# 51). See also the handwritten inventory of the Vatican MS (below, n. 37), where the 4th book is entitled "Quedam Super Sacramenta".

Stegmüller also lists Brescia, Queriniana MS B VI 2 (*Repertorium Commentariorum in Sententias Petri Lombardi*, Vol. 1 [Würzburg, 1947], 348); the latter, however, was written not by Fishacre, nor by Bombolognus of Bologna (as Gründel, *Beiträge* 39, 5, 469), but by the anonymous author of Paris, Nat. lat. MS 14557, fols. 145-82, which contains bk. I, dists. 1-4 of a Sentence-Commentary.

<sup>19</sup> The Trinity College manuscript contains a series of 71 *questiones* which have been excerpted from the first two books of Fishacre's Commentary and can be dated c. 1260. For a description see M. R. James, *The Western MSS in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge, 1902), 34-35.

<sup>20</sup> For a complete description see R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), 39-40; and Pelster, "Das Leben", 525.

<sup>21</sup> See Pelster, "Das Leben", 526. The latter conjectures that C must have stood close to the original — mainly on account of its line numberings; see n. 22 below. See also the description in L. Frati, *Indice dei Codici Latini conservata nella R. Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna* (Florence, 1909), 350. Frati, however, places the manuscript in the 14th century.

<sup>22</sup> This custom of numbering lines in intervals of five seems to have been peculiar to a mid-thirteenth century Oxford scriptorium. The device was rare and serves to identify the earliest Fishacre manuscripts: viz. Bo, C, N, R, and V. Cf. Pelster, "Das Leben", 522-23.

<sup>23</sup> M.-H. Laurent, *Fabio Vigili et les Bibliothèques de Bologne au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Studi e Testi*, 105 (Vatican City, 1943), 26. A note on the inside of the book cover reads: "Iste liber est provincie Lombardie concessus ad usum fratri Francisco Mant. (?) ordinis fratrum predicatorum".

C — Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 329/410, cols. 1-8.<sup>24</sup> C also belongs to the mid-thirteenth century. It is complete, in several good hands, and its columns and lines are numbered as in Bo. Pelster suggests that C might be a direct transcript from the original, with notes and corrections in the hand of Fishacre himself.<sup>25</sup>

L — London, Lambeth Palace MS 116, fols. 123r-125v.<sup>26</sup> This diversified manuscript, belonging to the 14th century, contains of Fishacre's work only the prologues to the four books of the Commentary. L's version of the Prologue edited below is quite corrupt and full of misreadings.

N — Oxford, New College MS 112, fols. 1r-11r.<sup>27</sup> In a French hand this manuscript contains only the first two books. The lines are numbered as in Bo and C, and it appears to be a corrupted copy of the latter. Coxe places it at the end of the 13th century.

O — Oxford, Oriel College MS 43 (B 4.3), pp. 1a-5b.<sup>28</sup> It is a complete manuscript of English origin and can be dated towards the end of the 13th century. O belongs to the family of R and has been extensively corrected. A peculiarity of this manuscript is that the pages of each book are individually numbered.<sup>29</sup>

P — Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 15754, fols. 1r-2r.<sup>30</sup> The manuscript ends with bk. III, dist. 40. Its lines are numbered as in Bo, C, and N up to fol. 36v, but for the most part the numerals have been erased. It was bequeathed to the Sorbonne by the Paris master Gerard de Abbeville (d. 1271).<sup>31</sup> We can date it as mid-13th century.

<sup>24</sup> Described in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Gonville and Caius College*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, 1907), 522.

<sup>25</sup> "Das Leben", 522-23. In the bottom margin of col. 1002 (fol. 244r) there occurs the following note in the hand of the corrector: Albertus solvendo dicit econtrario, quod pena actualis venialis maior est quam originalis quia habet aliquid de voluntario, etc. If Pelster were correct in identifying the corrector as Fishacre, we would be presented with an interesting dating problem.

<sup>26</sup> Described in James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the MSS in the Library of the Lambeth Palace* (Cambridge, 1932), 189-92.

<sup>27</sup> Described in H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum MSS qui in Collegiis aulisque Oxoniensibus*, Vol. 1 (Oxford, 1852), 40; and Pelster, "Das Leben", 525. Callus states that N is "very precious indeed, since it was transcribed during the author's lifetime while the work was still in progress, and ends at Book II" (*Introduction*, 32). He offers, however, no support for his allegation, and paleographic evidence as well as the corrupt state of the text would argue for a much later dating. It is possible that Callus had S in mind, on behalf of which a more solid case could be made for contemporaneity.

<sup>28</sup> Described in Coxe, 16; and Pelster, "Das Leben", 524-25.

<sup>29</sup> The flyleaf contains the following note: Fishacre super 1, 3, et 4 sententiarum. Qui fuit primus qui scripsit super sententias de ordine suo in Anglia, et jacet Oxonie inter fratres Predicatores; et constat iste liber collegio Sancte Marie, vocato Oryell... anno Christi 1430... — early evidence that Fishacre was the first Dominican at Oxford to write a Sentence-Commentary.

<sup>30</sup> Described in F. Ehrle, "L'Agostinismo e l'Aristotelismo nella Scolastica del Secolo XIII", *Xenia Thomistica* 3 (1925), 552-53; and Pelster, "Das Leben", 527-28. It was also mentioned by Échard in his *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Recensiti*, Vol. 1 (Paris, 1719), 118.

<sup>31</sup> The back flyleaf contains this annotation: Iste liber est collegii pauperum magistrorum in theologica facultate studentium ex legato Magistri Gerardi de Abbirvilla (sic) pretii VIII lib. — and in a second hand: Vivebat 1265.

R — London, British Museum MS Royal 10.B.VII, cols. 1-8.<sup>32</sup> This manuscript, in several small hands, is complete; its lines are numbered as in Bo, C, N, and P.

On fol. 1v is a note (c. 1300): *Iste fuit Fishaker fratris Galfridi de Willingham et est sub custodia prioris*, referring probably to the Augustinian priory of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, the inscription of which, "*Liber Beate Marie Ouerey*", is on fol. 408v.<sup>33</sup> R is heavily annotated, indicating classroom use. It can also be dated c. 1250.

S — Paris, Bibl. Nat. lat. 16389, fols. 1r-2v.<sup>34</sup> Another Sorbonne manuscript,<sup>35</sup> S ends with dist. 3 of bk. II. It is closely related to V and may even be a copy. On fol. 90v appears the following petition:

Rogo te lector, quisque es, ut roges Deum pro fratre Richardo de Fixacre, qui hoc opus edidit, ut eum Dominus nunc et semper in anima custodiat et in corpore vires prebeat, ut residuum operis ad finem prospere perducatur. Amen.

The writer of these lines obviously believed Fishacre to be still alive; we may therefore tentatively date S before 1248.<sup>36</sup>

V — Vatican, Ottob. lat. MS 294, fols. 1r-v.<sup>37</sup> This manuscript, also of English origin, ends with bk. IV, dist. 8; its columns and lines are numbered as in Bo, C, etc. The script is quite small and more than usually abbreviated. It belongs to the family of C and is most closely related to S. Ehrle places it in the 14th century.<sup>38</sup>

Judging, however, from its script, its line numberings, and especially its affinity with S, I would date it close to 1250.<sup>39</sup>

W — Vienna, Nationalbibliothek MS 1514, fols. 1r-3v.<sup>40</sup> The manuscript, which clearly belongs to the 14th century, contains only the first two books. It belongs to the family of R but is very corrupt. The flyleaf has this note:

Ad Collegium Ducis. Scriptura et Compilatio bona super libros sententiarum quam felicis recordationis venerabilis olim M. Stephanus de Enczesdorff licentiatius in theologia canonicus Ecclesiae Sancti Stephani dicit pro libreria magistrorum.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Described in G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western MSS in the Old Royal and King's Collection (B.M.)* 1 (London, 1921), 313; and Pelster, "Das Leben", 525.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. N. R. Ker, 2nd edition (London, 1964), 180.

<sup>34</sup> Described in Ehrle, 553; and Pelster, "Das Leben", 528. It is also mentioned by Échard, 118.

<sup>35</sup> This note occurs on the inside of the back cover: *Iste liber est collegii magistrorum pauperum studentium in theologia pretium. XL fol.*

<sup>36</sup> See n. 27 above.

<sup>37</sup> Described in *Inventarium Codicum MSS Latinorum Bibliothecae Ottobonae*. Pars I, # 294; Ehrle, 553; and Pelster, "Das Leben", 526-27. It was first identified by A. Landgraf in *Das Wesen der lässlichen Sünde in der Scholastik bis Thomas von Aquin* (Bamberg, 1923), 105.

<sup>38</sup> Ehrle, 553.

<sup>39</sup> V also contains two treatises, both very probably by Fishacre, that exist only in this codex: *Adnotationes* on Augustine's *De haeresibus* (fols. 287r-294v) and a *quaestio* on the ascension of Christ (fols. 294v-296r). I hope to publish these two pieces in the near future.

<sup>40</sup> Described in *Tabulae Codicum Manu Scriptorum in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi Asservatorum*, ed. Academia Caesaria Vindobonensis, Vol. 1 (Vienna, 1864), 247; and Pelster, "Das Leben", 528. A. Daniels was the first to recognize this MS as being a copy of Fishacre's Commentary (in "Geschichte der Gottesbeweise in dreizehnten Jahrhundert", *Beiträge* 8, 1, p. 21).

<sup>41</sup> An earlier catalogue identifies Magister Stephanus as head of the University (Vienna?)

## THE EDITION

Because no comparative study of the Fishacre manuscripts has yet been published, the *apparatus variantium* is designed to give a rather complete view of each of the eleven manuscripts that contain the Prologue. It was to this end that all of the latter were collated — including those that were obviously corrupt.<sup>42</sup>

Furthermore, although it would certainly be presumptuous to attempt to draw up a *stemma codicum* on the basis of the relatively limited piece I have collated, I can make a few tentative suggestions concerning the relationships among the manuscripts. These suggestions — and they are no more than that — might in turn serve as a working basis for future editions of the Commentary (or parts thereof).

There are, I submit, at least two distinct families: BORW and BoCNSV; let us refer to the first group as X and the second as Y. P presents a problem; it is most closely allied with S and V (a sub-group of Y) and hence should probably be included in the Y family. On the other hand, there is a possibility that it represents a distinct tradition.

R appears to be the earliest exemplar of X and C the earliest of the Y family. Within these two groupings I feel safe in adding only that N displays a high incidence of variants in common with C, and S with V.

Although the manuscripts in the Y family are generally earlier than and superior to those in X, I have for the most part followed the readings of R (of the X family). R is more correct — both in its grammar and its citations — than any of the Y manuscripts and it has fewer individual variants. A case can be made, moreover, for its early dating. I have felt free, however, to correct R in the face of substantial opposition or for the sake of completeness or obvious correctness; in short, my choice of R as *codex optimus* is at best probationary.

In noting variants, I have omitted those of a purely orthographic nature, except in a few cases where a misreading on the part of the scribe seemed to be in evidence. I have noted such obviously mechanical copying errors as dittography, haplography, and homoeoteleuton. Only occasionally, however, have I recorded corrections, deletions, and additions (in a later hand) in the individual manuscripts; nor did I think it necessary or practical to record variations in word order.

in 1391; *Codices Manuscripti Theologici Bib. Palatinae Vindobonensis Latini*, recensuit M. Denis, Vol. 2, Pars II (Vienna, 1800), col. 1228. The compiler of the catalogue asserts not only that it would be difficult to identify the author of the manuscript "O altitudo..." from among "such a great crowd of commentators" but also that it would not even be worth the trouble (*ibid.*, col. 1229).

<sup>42</sup> I have in mind especially L, N, and W; these MSS might well be passed over in an eventual edition of the entire Commentary.

The punctuation of the text follows the canons of modern English, and the orthography has been standardized, with the exception of the long-i which is retained as "i". I have also made an attempt to search out all the sources, which are listed separately according to letter.

I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to the Fulbright Commission and The Canada Council for grants enabling me to examine personally all of the manuscripts utilized below, as well as to Fairfield University for a grant covering the preparation of the manuscript.

RICHARD FISHACRE,  
*COMMENTARIUM IN LIBROS SENTENTIARUM*  
PROLOGUS

Ro. XI: "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei".<sup>1a</sup> Constat non est parum admirabilis illa sapientia quam admirans sic exclamat Doctor Gentium, qui raptus usque ad tertium caelum "audivit archana verba quae non licet homini loqui", Cor. 12.<sup>2b</sup>

Propterea videamus quae sit<sup>3</sup> ista. Duplicem dicit Iacobus in canonica sua<sup>4</sup> 3, in fine,<sup>5</sup> esse sapientiam unam quidem<sup>6</sup> desursum,<sup>e</sup> et<sup>7</sup> aliam de<sup>8</sup> deorsum quae complectitur omnes saeculares scientias. Quam idem ibidem<sup>9</sup> in tres partes dividit dicens: "Non est ista sapientia desursum descendens, sed terrena, animalis, et diabolica".<sup>d</sup> Terrena quantum ad lucrativas<sup>10</sup> scientias;<sup>11</sup> animalis quantum ad physicas; diabolica quantum ad haereticas et magicas sub quibus continentur quaedam astrorum iudicia, geomantia, et omnes divinationes, et<sup>12</sup> auguria, et sortilegia. Quia ergo istae<sup>13</sup> omnes de<sup>14</sup> deorsum sunt, constat quod nulla earum<sup>15</sup> est illa<sup>16</sup> cuius altitudinem admiratur Apostolus sic exclamans, *O altitudo*, et cetera,<sup>e</sup>

<sup>1</sup> add. et cetera L.

<sup>2</sup> om. W.

<sup>3</sup> add. sapientia P.

<sup>4</sup> add. capitulo SV.

<sup>5</sup> om. in fine SV.

<sup>6</sup> quid W.

<sup>7</sup> om. S.

<sup>8</sup> om. BCN; i.m. PS.

<sup>9</sup> ibi SV; om. P.

<sup>10</sup> om. lucrativas... animalis quantum ad L.

<sup>11</sup> terrenorum BORSVW; add. terrenorum P.

<sup>12</sup> om. P.

<sup>13</sup> illae O.

<sup>14</sup> om. BNW.

<sup>15</sup> illarum L.

<sup>16</sup> add. de W.

a Romans 11: 33.

b II Corinthians 12: 4.

c James 3: 15.

d Ibid.

e Romans 11: 33.

sed illa tantum quae desursum est. Unde, manifestans cuius altitudinem admiretur, subdit *sapientiae et scientiae Dei*, quasi dicat non mundi, id est saecularium scientiarum.

Illas ergo relinquimus;<sup>17</sup> de hac sola intendimus. Haec autem tripliciter<sup>18</sup> est, quasi in triplici libro scripta: scilicet in libro vitae, in libro Scripturae,<sup>19</sup> in libro creaturae. Unde *Prov.* 22: "Ostendam tibi eam<sup>20</sup> hodie",<sup>f</sup> id est in praesenti tempore. Ecce descripsi eam tibi<sup>21</sup> tripliciter. De hac ergo non ut scripta est in mente divina, nec ut scripta est in creatura, sed secundum quod scripta est in<sup>22</sup> sacra Scriptura intendimus. In<sup>23</sup> libro enim vitae legunt beati spiritus in caelo. In libro creaturae legit Adam ante peccatum in paradiso. In libro vero Scripturae legendum nobis est in hoc exilio. De hac ergo quae desursum est sapientia secundum quod scripta<sup>24</sup> est in sacra Scriptura intendimus.

De qua quattuor videamus secundum quattuor genera causarum, scilicet necessitatem vel utilitatem quod<sup>25</sup> spectat ad causam finalem, auctorem<sup>26</sup> quod spectat ad<sup>27</sup> efficientem, subiectum quod spectat ad<sup>28</sup> causam<sup>29</sup> materialem, unitatem et divisionem quod spectat ad causam formalem. Quod autem sit non tantum utilis sed necessaria sic potest constare.<sup>30</sup> Innatum est homini desiderium sciendi non tantum hoc vel illud sed omnia.<sup>31</sup> Unde<sup>32</sup> philosophus Aristoteles:<sup>33</sup> "Omnis homo natura scire desiderat".<sup>g</sup> Non dixit scire hoc vel illud sed<sup>34</sup> simpliciter, dans intelligere desiderium sciendi omnia esse nobis innatum. Unde *Luc.* 18, in<sup>35</sup> fine, caeco<sup>h</sup> qui figurat humanum genus. In persona enim humani generis dicit<sup>36</sup> *Ps.*: "Lumen oculorum meorum et ipsum non est mecum".<sup>i</sup> Dicit Dominus: "Quid<sup>37</sup> vis ut faciam tibi? At<sup>38</sup> ille dixit: Domine ut videam".<sup>j</sup> Non dicit

<sup>17</sup> *add.* et P.

<sup>18</sup> triplex N.

<sup>19</sup> *add.* et N.

<sup>20</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>21</sup> *om.* NS.

<sup>22</sup> *add.* hac N.

<sup>23</sup> *om.* In... intendimus BoN; *i.m.* CP.

<sup>24</sup> scriptum L.

<sup>25</sup> quae L.

<sup>26</sup> auctoritatem L.

<sup>27</sup> *om.* W.; *add.* causam N.

<sup>28</sup> *om.* W.

<sup>29</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>30</sup> constatare (sic) L.

<sup>31</sup> simpliciter B.

<sup>32</sup> *om.* unde... Aristoteles B.

<sup>33</sup> *om.* NV; *add.* (*i.m.*) in principio Meth. veteris P.

<sup>34</sup> *add.* scire R.

<sup>35</sup> *om.* in fine BoCN.

<sup>36</sup> dixit N.

<sup>37</sup> *om.* L.

<sup>38</sup> ad L; et O.

<sup>f</sup> *Proverbs* 22: 19.

<sup>g</sup> Aristotle, *Meta.* I, 1. 980 a 22.

<sup>h</sup> "... caecus quidam sedebat secus viam mendicans", *Luke* 18: 35.

<sup>i</sup> *Psalms* 37: 11.

<sup>j</sup> *Luke* 18: 41.



ut videam hoc vel illud sed<sup>39</sup> simpliciter. Igitur<sup>40</sup> desiderium sciendi omnia innatum est homini.

Sed omnia scripta sunt in mente divina. Quid ergo necesse est homini desideranti scire omnia nisi in<sup>41</sup> illum beatum librum inspicere? Sed, heu, quamvis<sup>42</sup> hunc librum prius signatum et clausum sigillis 7 aperuerit Agnus qui occisus est (*Apoc.* 7<sup>k</sup>), tamen fulgorem<sup>43</sup> litterarum huius libri lippientes oculi humani non sustinent intueri. Iste enim liber est Deus, de quo *Io.*<sup>44</sup> 1,<sup>45</sup> in<sup>46</sup> principio:<sup>l</sup> Deus lux est et tenebrae in eo non sunt ullae et ideo nostris<sup>47</sup> oculis,<sup>48</sup> qui assueti sunt tenebris, est<sup>49</sup> inaccessibilis. Unde *Tim.* 6,<sup>50</sup> fine<sup>51</sup>: “Qui habitat lucem inaccessibilem, quem vidit nullus hominum, sed nec videre potest”.<sup>m</sup> Et ideo sicut prius clausa, sic et nunc aperta latet nos Scriptura illa<sup>52</sup> vel sapientia. Unde *Ecclus.* 1: “Sapientiam Dei<sup>53</sup> praecedentem omnia quis investigavit”?<sup>n</sup> Et ideo *Is.* 29, in<sup>54</sup> medio:<sup>55</sup> “Erit vobis<sup>56</sup> visio omnium”, omnia enim in mente divina<sup>57</sup> “sicut verba libri signati”.<sup>o</sup> Vobis inquit, id est hominibus. Angelis enim aperta est et beatis animabus. Aut igitur frustra nobis innatum fuisset<sup>58</sup> desiderium sciendi omnia, aut oportuit scribi omnia in aliquo<sup>59</sup> libro obscuriore — et quidem non unico sed duplici.

Omnis enim nostra cognitio intellectualis incipit a sensu. Unde Philosophus:<sup>60</sup> “Deficiente sensu, necesse est scientiam deficere”.<sup>p</sup> Et hoc non ab unico sensu incipit nostra cognitio sed duplici, scilicet auditu et visu, qui ideo<sup>61</sup> sensus disciplinales nuncupantur.<sup>62</sup> Unde *Iob* 13, in<sup>63</sup> principio:

<sup>39</sup> sed simpliciter: simplex conveniet L.

<sup>40</sup> ergo B.

<sup>41</sup> om. L.

<sup>42</sup> licet SV.

<sup>43</sup> fulgore W.

<sup>44</sup> add. lib. R.

<sup>45</sup> om. O.

<sup>46</sup> om. in principio BoCN; om. in principio Deus P.

<sup>47</sup> meis L.

<sup>48</sup> om. Bo.

<sup>49</sup> add. (m. post.) lux O.

<sup>50</sup> add. versus O; add. (i.m.) in P.

<sup>51</sup> om. BNSV; finem O.

<sup>52</sup> ista N.

<sup>53</sup> om. L.

<sup>54</sup> om. in medio NSV.

<sup>55</sup> eodem W.

<sup>56</sup> nobis L.

<sup>57</sup> add. sunt P.

<sup>58</sup> esset P.

<sup>59</sup> om. P.

<sup>60</sup> add. (i.m.) in primo Posteriorum P.

<sup>61</sup> om. W.

<sup>62</sup> nominantur BoCNP.

<sup>63</sup> in principio: a N; om. in principio SV.

k Cf. *Apocalypse* 6: 1-17.

l *John* 1: 4-5.

m I *Timothy* 6: 16.

n *Ecclesiasticus* 1: 3.

o *Isaias* 29: 11.

p Aristotle, *An. post.* I, 18. 81a38; in *Arist. Lat.*, ed. L. Minio-Paluello, IV, 2, p. 32.

"Omnia vidit oculus meus<sup>64</sup> et audivit auris mea, et intellexi".<sup>65</sup> q Ad hoc enim ut occulta sufficienter fiant manifesta, exigitur doctrina audibilis et<sup>66</sup> exemplum visibile. Sic ut occulta caelorum et stellarum innotescant, scilicet motus et quantitates, fiunt<sup>67</sup> quaedam exempla caelorum visibilia et<sup>68</sup> totius mundialis machinae.<sup>69</sup> Scribitur etiam doctrina audibilis docens<sup>70</sup> quid in exemplo cui conveniat in caelo.

Sicut ergo sapientia astrorum tota quidem est in corporibus caelestibus excellentissime sed ibi nos latet; tota insuper in scriptura, ut forte in<sup>71</sup> *Almagest* Ptolemaei;<sup>r</sup> tota insuper<sup>72</sup> instrumentis ligneis tamquam in exemplo, et ibi quidem ignobilissime. Et scriptura quidem et exempla illa non sunt nisi ad manifestandum illam quae est in corporibus caelestibus: exempla quidem per visum, scriptura<sup>73</sup> per auditum.

Sic ista<sup>74</sup> quidem sapientia omnium principaliter et excellentissime est in libro vitae. Sed ibi ratione dicta nos latet. Est et<sup>75</sup> tota in Scriptura sacra et tota in universa creatura; et utraque harum necessaria est ad manifestationem illius in libro vitae: Scriptura quidem<sup>76</sup> per auditum, et universitas creaturae tamquam exemplum per visum. Augustinus, *De Trinitate*<sup>77</sup> lib. 2, cap. 1: "Non ero segnis ad inquirendum substantiam Dei, sive per scripturam eius, sive per creaturam. Quae utraque nobis ad hoc proponuntur intuenda, ut ipse quaeratur, ipse diligatur, qui et illam inspiravit; et istam creavit".<sup>s</sup> Et<sup>78</sup> haec sapientia sicut in libro vitae est nobilissima, sic in libro creaturae<sup>79</sup> ignobilissima, et in sacra Scriptura medio modo.

Sicut ergo dicit Astrologus: caelum movetur ab oriente in occidentem<sup>80</sup> super duos polos, quorum unus est<sup>81</sup> punctus austri, et<sup>82</sup> alter septentrionis,

<sup>64</sup> om. L.

<sup>65</sup> add. singula N.

<sup>66</sup> et exemplum: texemplum (sic) L.

<sup>67</sup> fuerit W.

<sup>68</sup> ut L.

<sup>69</sup> animae L.

<sup>70</sup> docens quid in exemplo: dicens in exemplo quidem quid N.

<sup>71</sup> om. R.

<sup>72</sup> add. in LNRV.

<sup>73</sup> add. autem P.

<sup>74</sup> illa B.

<sup>75</sup> etiam LOR; autem P.

<sup>76</sup> quid B.

<sup>77</sup> c.d. [Civitate Dei?] N.

<sup>78</sup> om. Et... modo L.

<sup>79</sup> add. est N.

<sup>80</sup> occidente N.

<sup>81</sup> om. L.

<sup>82</sup> om. P.

q *Job* 13: 1.

r Fishacre was probably acquainted with Gerard of Cremona's translation of the *Almagest* (or the *Syntaxis mathematica*) from the Arabic. Delambre reports the existence of an Arabic-Latin MS of the *Almagest* at Oxford in 1230; Ptolemaeus, *Composition mathématique*, tr. M. Delambre (Paris, 1927), p. xxxix.

s Augustine, *De Trinitate* II, proem.; PL 42. 845.

sicut<sup>83</sup> vides in hac sphaera lignea.<sup>t</sup> Sic dicit Theologus: Deus est trinus et unus, sicut vides in igne, qui unus est, tria tamen<sup>84</sup> in se habens,<sup>85</sup> calorem<sup>86</sup> scilicet et lucem et splendorem.<sup>u</sup> Sicut ergo non sciuntur occulta astrorum<sup>87</sup> per exempla sine scriptura, sic nec sapientia haec<sup>88</sup> in mente divina cognoscetur per universitatem<sup>89</sup> creaturarum sine sacra Scriptura. Et ideo in libro creaturae tantum<sup>90</sup> studentes physici nec mirum erraverunt, nescientes quid<sup>91</sup> in creatura cuius esset exemplum in Creatore. Sic ergo patet sacrae Scripturae necessitas.

Ex eisdem etiam<sup>92</sup> potest patere eius<sup>93</sup> sublimitas. Est enim sublimis vel alta dupliciter,<sup>94</sup> scilicet sicut dicitur caelum altum, et sicut dicitur puteus altus, id est profunda et<sup>95</sup> alta; et utrumque quidem ad altitudinem facit. Quod enim est profundum existenti sursum,<sup>96</sup> hoc est altum existenti deorsum.

Sicut enim iam dictum est: in ipsa<sup>97</sup> sunt omnia quaecumque sunt in mente divina. Sed<sup>98</sup> in mente divina sunt omnia. Ergo et<sup>99</sup> in ea. Cui<sup>1</sup> attestatur<sup>2</sup> Augustinus in libro 2 *De Doctrina Christiana*, dicens omnem<sup>3</sup> veritatem in ea reperiri his verbis: "Quantum minor<sup>4</sup> est auri,<sup>5</sup> argenti vestisque copia, quam de Aegypto secum ille populus abstulit,<sup>6</sup> in comparatione divitiarum quas postea Ierosolymae consecutus est, quae maxime in Salomone rege ostenduntur; tanta fit<sup>7</sup> cuncta scientia quae quidem utilis est, collecta de libris gentilium,<sup>8</sup> si divinarum Scripturarum<sup>9</sup> scientiae comparetur. Nam quicquid homo extra didicerit,<sup>10</sup> si noxium est, ibi damnatur;

<sup>83</sup> sic BoSV.

<sup>84</sup> *om.* tamen... habens N.

<sup>85</sup> *add.* quia C; *add.* scilicet BoV.

<sup>86</sup> calorem sc. et lucem et splendorem: calorem, lucem et splendorem BoCSV; calorem sc. lucem et splendorem PW; calor sc., lux et splendor N.

<sup>87</sup> *add.* et N.

<sup>88</sup> hic BW; *om.* N.

<sup>89</sup> numerositatem N.

<sup>90</sup> tāg (?) W.

<sup>91</sup> quod B; quidem N.

<sup>92</sup> autem O.

<sup>93</sup> cuius L.

<sup>94</sup> duplex L.

<sup>95</sup> vel L.

<sup>96</sup> *om.* sursum... existenti L.

<sup>97</sup> ipso N.

<sup>98</sup> *om.* sed... divina W.

<sup>99</sup> *om.* P.

<sup>1</sup> quod N; *add.* et W.

<sup>2</sup> testatur N.

<sup>3</sup> omnium SV.

<sup>4</sup> *om.* BoC.

<sup>5</sup> *add.* et C.

<sup>6</sup> tulit P.

<sup>7</sup> sit B.

<sup>8</sup> gentium LN.

<sup>9</sup> *om.* PW.

<sup>10</sup> didicerit RW; didicit L.

<sup>t</sup> This seems not to be a *verbatim* quote, but rather a loose reference to Ptolemy's *Syntaxis mathematica* A, cap. y; ed. J. Heiberg, I (Leipzig, 1898), 10-11. Cf. Grosseteste's *De sphaera* in *Beiträge* IX, 10-14.

<sup>u</sup> Cf. Pseudo-Augustine, *De Symbolo* III, 9; *PL* 40. 659. This sermon was actually composed by Quodvultdeus (d. 453); cf. *Clavis Pat. Lat.*, 2nd ed. (1961), p. 99, 403.

si utile est, ibi invenitur. Et cum ibi quis invenerit omnia quae utiliter alibi didicit, multo abundantius ibi inveniet ea quae nusquam<sup>11</sup> omnino alibi, sed<sup>12</sup> in illarum tantummodo Scripturarum mirabili altitudine et mirabili humilitate discuntur”.<sup>13</sup> v

In Deo enim<sup>14</sup> quis dubitat sunt omnia? Dicit enim Apostolus, *Ro.* 11:15 “In quo omnia”.<sup>w</sup> *De*<sup>16</sup> *Causis*, 21a<sup>17</sup> propositio: “Primum<sup>18</sup> est dives per seipsum et est dives maius”.<sup>19x</sup> Sed universitas creaturae est unicum perfectum exemplum omnium quae sunt in mente illius Artificis; alioquin mundus non esset perfectus. Nunc autem scriptum est *Deu.* 32: “Dei perfecta sunt opera”.<sup>y</sup> Quaecumque vero sunt in exemplo alicuius doctrinae<sup>20</sup> in quantum exemplum est, necessario sunt in doctrina. Ergo omnia quidem sunt in sacra Scriptura, scilicet suprema<sup>21</sup> et infima. *Sap.* 8, in fine, de hac: “Attingit<sup>22</sup> a fine usque ad finem fortiter”,<sup>z</sup> id<sup>23</sup> est a supremo, quod est finis sursum, usque ad<sup>24</sup> infimum, quod est finis deorsum. *Sap.* 18: “Usque ad caelum attingebat stans in terra”.<sup>25 a</sup> Et *Ecclus.* 24<sup>26</sup> dicit<sup>27</sup> hoc<sup>28</sup> Sapientia: “Girum caeli circuivi sola, et in profundum abyssi penetravi”.<sup>b</sup> Ergo ipsa est maximae altitudinis et maximae profunditatis. Unde *Eccles.* 7: “Alta profunditas,<sup>29</sup> quis inveniet<sup>30</sup> eam”?<sup>c</sup>

Cum ergo tam altitudo quam profunditas cadant<sup>31</sup> in sublimitatem,<sup>32</sup> quid mirum si hanc sublimitatem eius mirabilem<sup>33</sup> admirans Apostolus

<sup>11</sup> nuncquam W.

<sup>12</sup> sunt L.

<sup>13</sup> discunt N.

<sup>14</sup> igitur BoCN.

<sup>15</sup> add. 8 N.

<sup>16</sup> add. quibus B; om. De causis N.

<sup>17</sup> Prop. # 20 in Bardenhewer's edition.

<sup>18</sup> om. N.

<sup>19</sup> magis C; add. omnibus quia “ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia”, ut ibidem dicitur N.

<sup>20</sup> scripturae N.

<sup>21</sup> add. media N.

<sup>22</sup> attingens L.

<sup>23</sup> id est: et N.

<sup>24</sup> om. N.

<sup>25</sup> terram BoC.

<sup>26</sup> 28 N.

<sup>27</sup> om. dicit... Sapientia N; dicit hoc: de hac BoCP.

<sup>28</sup> haec LRSV.

<sup>29</sup> add. et BBoCNSV.

<sup>30</sup> invenit L.

<sup>31</sup> cadat CN.

<sup>32</sup> sublimitatem: sublimi esse W.

<sup>33</sup> admirabilem BoCNP.

v Augustine, *De doctrina christiana* II, 42; *PL* 34. 64-65.

w “Quoniam ex ipso et per ipsum et in ipso sunt omnia”, *Romans* 11: 36.

x *Liber de Causis*, 20; ed. O. Bardenhewer, in *Die pseudoaristotelische Schrift über das reine Gute: Liber de Causis* (Freiburg, 1882), p. 182.

y *Deuteronomy* 32: 4.

z *Wisdom* 8: 1.

a *Ibid.* 18: 16.

b *Ecclesiasticus* 24: 8.

c *Ecclesiastes* 7: 25.

exclamet:<sup>34</sup> "O altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et<sup>35</sup> scientiae Dei".<sup>d</sup> Quae quidem *sapientia* dicitur in quantum loquitur de supremis; *scientia* vero in quantum exemplificat de infimis. *Sapientia* est cum dicit: Deus trinus et unus est; *scientia* est<sup>36</sup> cum subdit: sicut unus ignis tria habet in se.<sup>37</sup>

Hinc statim patet quod omnes aliae scientiae sunt huius<sup>38</sup> pedisequae et ancillae. Cum enim<sup>39</sup> singulae sint de singulis universi partibus, totum autem universum se habet ad hanc, sicut exemplum ad scientiam cuius est exemplum. Patet quod omnes aliae laborant ad declarationem exemplorum huius scientiae.

Hinc insuper<sup>40</sup> patet quod accedentem ad hanc oportet alias praecognoscere vel universaliter omnes vel pro magna parte; alioquin ignorabit<sup>41</sup> exempla huius scientiae. Non enim aggreditur<sup>42</sup> quis ad hanc dominam, maxime ad secretum cubiculi<sup>43</sup> eius,<sup>44</sup> nisi prius familiaris fiat ancillis<sup>45</sup> hostiariis quae eum introducant. Unde *Gal.* 4: "Abraham duos filios habuit, unum de ancilla, et alterum de libera".<sup>e</sup> Nota<sup>46</sup> quod prius de ancilla,<sup>47</sup> postea de libera, sicut scribitur *Gen.* 16. Quod<sup>48</sup> si aliquis<sup>49</sup> quasi furtim<sup>50</sup> intrans ad dominam non allocutus ancillas, vi conatur eam opprimere. Quamvis quidem eam vi cognoverit, tamen generare non poterit, id est docere. Quod bene figuratur<sup>51</sup> ibidem, scilicet<sup>52</sup> *Gen.* 16,<sup>f</sup> ubi legitur Abraham non potuisse gignere filios de Sarai, quae princeps vel domina interpretatur, quamvis eam cognovisset antequam cognovisset ancillam eius Agar, quae significat saeculares scientias. Unde *Bar.* 3: "Filii Agar, qui exquisierunt prudentiam<sup>53</sup> quae de terra est".<sup>54g</sup>

Sic ergo tibi<sup>55</sup> cuilibet ignoranti alias scientias, dicit haec scientia quod Sarai dixit Abrahae *Gen.* 16: "Ecce, conclusit me Dominus, ne parerem. Ingredere ad ancillam meam, si forte saltem ex ea suscipiam liberos".

<sup>34</sup> exclamaret B; dicens N.

<sup>35</sup> om. et scientiae L.

<sup>36</sup> om. N.

<sup>37</sup> add. et cetera N.

<sup>38</sup> om. L.

<sup>39</sup> autem L.

<sup>40</sup> etiam R.

<sup>41</sup> ignorabilis L.

<sup>42</sup> ingreditur P.

<sup>43</sup> cubile N.

<sup>44</sup> huius P.

<sup>45</sup> ancilla W.

<sup>46</sup> notatur BR.

<sup>47</sup> add. et N.

<sup>48</sup> om. Quod... *Gen.* 16 L.

<sup>49</sup> quis BoCN.

<sup>50</sup> om. P.

<sup>51</sup> significatum P.

<sup>52</sup> om. N.

<sup>53</sup> scientiam BoCNPSV.

<sup>54</sup> om. B.

<sup>55</sup> om. N; exp. S.

d *Romans* 11: 33.

e *Galatians* 4: 22.

f *Genesis* 16: 1-4.

g *Baruch* 3: 23.

Et statim sequitur: "Cumque ille adquevisset deprecanti, tulit Agar aegyptiam ancillam suam, post annos X quam habitare coeperant".<sup>h</sup> Hoc idem significatum est *Gen.* 30, ubi legitur Iacob non potuisse generare de Rachel, nisi postquam<sup>56</sup> genuit filios de eius ancilla. Unde ibi scribitur: "Cernens Rachel quod infecunda esset, Habeo, inquit, famulam Balam; ingredi ad illam<sup>57</sup> ut pariat super genua mea,<sup>58</sup> et habeam ex ea filios".<sup>i</sup> Rachel<sup>59</sup> interpretatur videns principium, Bala inveterata vel absorbens.

Sed fateor mirabile est de quibusdam hodie<sup>60</sup> qui tantum delectantur in amplexibus vilis pedisequae, quod non curant de domina, quamvis sit inaeestimabilis pulchritudinis, sicut de hac scientia<sup>61</sup> dicitur *Sap.* 7: "Est<sup>62</sup> enim haec speciosior sole, et super omnem<sup>63</sup> stellarum dispositionem luci comparata, prior invenitur".<sup>j</sup> Ideo ante in eodem capitulo de ea dicit sapiens: "Super salutem et omnem speciem dilexi<sup>64</sup> eam".<sup>k</sup> *Sap.* 8:<sup>65</sup> "Hanc amavi, et exquisivi eam a iuventute mea, et quaesivi sponsam eam assumere mihi, et amator factus sum formae illius".<sup>l</sup> Hi sunt qui vix cum caligant oculi a saecularibus scientiis, hoc est a sinu ancillarum avelluntur,<sup>66</sup> et tunc se amplexibus dominae offerunt, cum<sup>67</sup> prae senectute generare nequeunt.<sup>68</sup>

Sic David<sup>69</sup> iam senex dormivit cum pulcherrima Abisag;<sup>70</sup> *Reg.* 3,<sup>71</sup> in principio.<sup>m</sup> Sed "non<sup>72</sup> cognovit eam", sicut ibidem dicitur.<sup>n</sup> Sic procul dubio nec<sup>73</sup> tales theologiam cognoscent<sup>74</sup> qui usque ad senectutem alias scientias nimis<sup>75</sup> scrutantur.<sup>76</sup> *Heb.* 5: "Cum deberetis magistri esse

<sup>56</sup> priusquam BoC.

<sup>57</sup> eam BoCN.

<sup>58</sup> ra (sic) W.

<sup>59</sup> om. Rachel... absorbens BORW: i.m. L.

<sup>60</sup> hominibus BoCNS; add. hominibus P.

<sup>61</sup> sapientia BoCSV; om. N.

<sup>62</sup> om. est enim N.

<sup>63</sup> om. N; omnium BoC.

<sup>64</sup> om. L.

<sup>65</sup> 6 N.

<sup>66</sup> evelluntur BoCNPSV.

<sup>67</sup> et S.

<sup>68</sup> inqueunt W.

<sup>69</sup> add. est L.

<sup>70</sup> ab isaac NO.

<sup>71</sup> om. BBoLRV; i.m. II Reg. S.; 3 in principio: 1 N.

<sup>72</sup> om. R.

<sup>73</sup> non B.

<sup>74</sup> cognoscunt N; cognoscens L.

<sup>75</sup> om. BoCNPS.

<sup>76</sup> scrutentur S.

<sup>h</sup> *Genesis* 16: 2-4.

<sup>i</sup> *Ibid.* 30: 1-3.

<sup>j</sup> *Wisdom* 7: 29.

<sup>k</sup> *Ibid.* 7: 10.

<sup>l</sup> *Ibid.* 8: 2.

<sup>m</sup> "Et rex David senuerat, habebatque actatis plurimos dies... invenerunt Abisag Sunamitidem, et adduxerunt eam ad regem. Erat autem puella pulchra nimis, dormiebatque cum rege, et ministrabat ei; rex vero non cognovit eam", III *Kings* 1: 1-4.

<sup>n</sup> *Ibid.* 1: 4.

propter tempus, rursum indigetis ut vos<sup>77</sup> doceamini quae sunt<sup>78</sup> elementa exordii sermonum Dei”.<sup>o</sup> Ideo dicitur<sup>79</sup> *Ecclus.* 41: “Ne<sup>80</sup> scruteris ancillam eius”,<sup>p</sup> scilicet nimis diu immorando. Quod si nimis scrutaris ancillas, deficies a domina. *Ps.*: “Defecerunt scrutantes scrutinio”.<sup>q</sup> Abisag<sup>81</sup> — id est patris mei tonitruum<sup>r</sup> — significat sacram Scripturam in qua comminando, non percutiendo, paterno affectu tonat Deus. Unde *Ps.*: “Vox tonitruui tui” id<sup>82</sup> est comminationis tuae<sup>83</sup> “in rota”,<sup>s</sup> illa de qua legitur<sup>84</sup> in <sup>85</sup> *Ezec.* in principio: quod<sup>86</sup> ambulabat<sup>87</sup> iuxta 4 animalia,<sup>t</sup> quae — ut patet ibi — significat<sup>88</sup> sacram Scripturam.

Sed quis potest esse auctor huius Scripturae<sup>89</sup> vel sapientiae? Constat quod<sup>90</sup> Deus vel<sup>91</sup> angelus. Non<sup>92</sup> enim aliqua<sup>93</sup> sed omnis veritas est in ea, ut dictum est. Ergo ab homine nec<sup>94</sup> dicta nec scripta est. Ut enim dicit *Ps.*: “Omnis homo mendax”.<sup>u</sup> Et *Ecclus.* 34: “A mendace quid verum dicitur”?<sup>v</sup> quasi dicat nihil. Ergo multo magis omnis veritas ab homine, dico puro, dicta non est. Immo nec homo nec angelus. Veritates<sup>95</sup> enim infinitae sunt, quia<sup>96</sup> numeri<sup>97</sup> et figurae infiniti<sup>98</sup> sunt, de quorum quolibet multa sunt vera. Sed<sup>99</sup> omnis veritas in ea est. Ergo infinitae veritates in ea sunt.

Sed<sup>1</sup> si linguis hominum loquar et angelorum,<sup>w</sup> non sufficiam dicere infinita, quia sum<sup>2</sup> finitae potentiae. Ergo nec homo nec angelus, immo nec

<sup>77</sup> om. L.

<sup>78</sup> sint S.

<sup>79</sup> dicit B.

<sup>80</sup> non P.

<sup>81</sup> ab isaac N.

<sup>82</sup> om. id... tuae B.

<sup>83</sup> om. RW; tui L.

<sup>84</sup> om. legitur in N.

<sup>85</sup> om. BoCP.

<sup>86</sup> quae BoCNP; qui S.

<sup>87</sup> ambulat N.

<sup>88</sup> significant B.

<sup>89</sup> scientiae BoCNSV.

<sup>90</sup> om. P.

<sup>91</sup> et N.

<sup>92</sup> add. est N.

<sup>93</sup> alia L.

<sup>94</sup> non L.

<sup>95</sup> veritas B.

<sup>96</sup> om. quia... sunt L.

<sup>97</sup> numerus N.

<sup>98</sup> infinitae N.

<sup>99</sup> si ergo N.

<sup>1</sup> i.m. Cor. 13 C.

<sup>2</sup> sum finitae: sunt infinitae B; sunt (m. post.) finitae N.

o *Hebrews* 5: 12.

p *Ecclesiasticus* 41: 27.

q *Psalms* 63: 7.

r Cf. Jerome: “Abisag, pater meus superfluous, sive patris mei rugitus”, *De nominibus hebraicis*, de Reg. III; PL 23. 863.

s *Psalms* 76: 19.

t “Cumque ambularent animalia, ambulabant pariter et rotae iuxta ea”, *Ezechiel* 1: 19.

u *Psalms* 115: 11.

v *Ecclesiasticus* 34: 4.

w Cf. I. *Corinthians* 13: 1.

homo et<sup>3</sup> angelus, nisi virtute alicuius qui<sup>4</sup> est virtutis infinitae — quod<sup>5</sup> convenit soli Deo. Huius auctor esse potest. Ergo Deus huius<sup>6</sup> est auctor.

Item quod non potest minus,<sup>7</sup> non potest maius. Sed maius est et nobilius universitas omnium secundum quod est in libro Scripturae quam secundum quod est in libro creaturae. Sic enim proprie habet esse in anima; illo autem modo in materia. Multo autem est inferior et ignobilior materia quam rationalis anima. Ergo cum nulla creatura potuerit<sup>8</sup> scribere omnia in materia, quod est esse auctorem totius machinae mundanae, sed<sup>9</sup> solus Deus — unde *Gen.* 1<sup>10</sup>: “In principio creavit Deus caelum et terram”<sup>11x</sup> — multo<sup>12</sup> fortius nulla poterat<sup>13</sup> esse auctor sacrae Scripturae, sed solus Deus. Licet ergo aliquid sacrae Scripturae videatur Moyses scripsisse, aliquid similiter prophetae, aliquid<sup>14</sup> evangelistae, aliquid apostoli, tamen non ipsi, sed Deus per eos<sup>15</sup> et scripsit et locutus est<sup>16</sup> tamquam principalis efficiens per instrumentum. Unde Psalmus non se scriptorem sed calamum scriptoris dicit. “Lingua mea”, inquit, “calamus scribae”.<sup>17y</sup> Et ideo dicit<sup>18</sup> *Reg.* 23<sup>19</sup>: “Spiritus Domini locutus est per me, et sermo eius per linguam meam”.<sup>z</sup> Et ideo dicit Christus, *Matt.* 10: “Non<sup>20</sup> vos estis qui loquimini, sed Spiritus Patris vestri<sup>21</sup> qui loquitur in vobis”.<sup>a</sup>

Hinc patent tria, scilicet quod haec<sup>22</sup> est perfectissima,<sup>23</sup> ordinatissima, et certissima.<sup>24</sup> Perfectissima quia eius auctor<sup>25</sup> Deus; sed<sup>26</sup> *Deu.* 32: “Dei perfecta sunt opera”.<sup>b</sup> Item si in ea est omnis veritas: sed omne totum et perfectum idem sunt; ergo est perfecta. Item omni<sup>27</sup> veritati non est<sup>28</sup> possibilis additio. Sed in ea est omnis veritas. Ergo ei non est possibilis additio.

<sup>3</sup> nec P.

<sup>4</sup> quod BoCP; *om.* qui est N.

<sup>5</sup> quae N.

<sup>6</sup> *add.* scientiae N.

<sup>7</sup> minus non potest maius: maius nec minus G; maius non potest minus BoNO.

<sup>8</sup> potuit C; possit OP.

<sup>9</sup> *om.* W.

<sup>10</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>11</sup> *add.* ergo B.

<sup>12</sup> *om.* multo... poterat W.

<sup>13</sup> poterit CNP.

<sup>14</sup> *om.* P.

<sup>15</sup> ipsos L.

<sup>16</sup> *add.* per eos L.

<sup>17</sup> scribae: velociter scribentis O.

<sup>18</sup> dicitur N.

<sup>19</sup> 323 N.

<sup>20</sup> *om.* W.

<sup>21</sup> *om.* BoGPSV.

<sup>22</sup> *om.* haec est N.

<sup>23</sup> *add.* et P.

<sup>24</sup> *add.* est haec scientia N.

<sup>25</sup> *add.* est P.

<sup>26</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>27</sup> *om.* W.

<sup>28</sup> *om.* C.

x *Genesis* 1: 1.

y *Psalms* 44: 2.

z *II Kings* 23: 2.

a *Matthew* 10: 20.

b *Deuteronomy* 32: 4.



Sed perfectum est cui non est possibilis additio. Ergo ipsa est perfecta.

Et ideo in<sup>29</sup> ipsa nihil<sup>30</sup> superfluum, nihil<sup>31</sup> diminutum. Unde *Deu.* 4: "Non addetis aliquid verbis quod<sup>32</sup> vobis loquor,<sup>33</sup> nec auferetis ex<sup>34</sup> eo".<sup>c</sup> *Eccles.* 3: "Non possumus eis<sup>35</sup> quicquam addere, nec auferre, quae fecit Deus".<sup>d</sup> *Eccles.* 18: "Non est minuere,<sup>36</sup> neque adicere".<sup>e</sup> *Apoc.* 22: "Si quis aposuerit ad haec, apponet<sup>37</sup> Deus super illum plagas scriptas quae sunt in libro isto. Et si quis diminuerit<sup>38</sup> de verbis prophetiae libri huius, auferet<sup>39</sup> Deus partem eius de libro vitae".<sup>f</sup>

Ordinatissima est, quia Deum habet auctorem. *Ro.* 13: "Quae autem a Deo sunt, ordinatae sunt".<sup>g</sup>

Certissima<sup>40</sup> quia auctor est Deus. Sed<sup>41</sup> *Ro.* 3: "Deus autem verax est".<sup>h</sup> Immo veritas: *Io.* 14.<sup>42</sup> Ergo<sup>43</sup> nec falli potest, nec fallere vult.<sup>44</sup>

Hinc patet quod minimum et incertissimum huius Scripturae verbum certius est conclusione certissimae demonstrationis. Quamvis enim demonstratio fallere non novit, nos<sup>45</sup> tamen, quia homines sumus, falli possumus credendo esse demonstrationem quod non est demonstratio. Et ideo ad hoc ut certissime sciremus illam<sup>46</sup> conclusionem, exigeretur non tantum ut demonstraretur per<sup>47</sup> demonstrationem, sed etiam ut demonstraretur illam demonstrationem esse<sup>48</sup> demonstrationem; quod non posset fieri sine aliqua<sup>49</sup> demonstratione; quam esse demonstrationem iterum<sup>50</sup> demonstrare<sup>51</sup> oporteret. Unde Philosophus:<sup>52</sup> Discentem credere oportet.<sup>53</sup> Ergo quia

<sup>29</sup> in ipsa: ipse B.

<sup>30</sup> add. neque C.

<sup>31</sup> neque C; non N.

<sup>32</sup> quae BoCNV.

<sup>33</sup> loquitur BLORW.

<sup>34</sup> ex eo: aliquid ex eis BoCNPSV; ab L.

<sup>35</sup> ei W.

<sup>36</sup> diminuere C.

<sup>37</sup> apponat BoCN.

<sup>38</sup> diminueret W.

<sup>39</sup> auferat BoCN.

<sup>40</sup> add. est N.

<sup>41</sup> om. N.

<sup>42</sup> 13 P.

<sup>43</sup> om. BO.

<sup>44</sup> om. BLORW.

<sup>45</sup> om. N; eras Bo.

<sup>46</sup> hanc C.

<sup>47</sup> om. per... demonstraretur BW.

<sup>48</sup> om. esse demonstrationem N.

<sup>49</sup> alia N.

<sup>50</sup> om. O.

<sup>51</sup> om. B.

<sup>52</sup> i.m. Heb. IX 6 oportet credere C.

<sup>53</sup> om. B.

c *Ibid.* 4: 2.

d *Ecclesiastes* 3: 14.

e *Ecclesiasticus* 18: 5.

f *Apocalypse* 22: 18-19.

g *Romans* 13: 1. The reading of the Vulgate is somewhat different: "Quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt".

h *Ibid.* 3: 4.

i "Ego sum via, et veritas, et vita", *John* 14: 6.

j Cf. Aristotle, *An. post.* I, 2. 72a24-b5; *Arist. Lat.*, tr. Gerard of Cremona, IV, 3, pp. 7-8.

scimus quod decipi possumus credendo esse demonstrationem quod non est,<sup>54</sup> patet quod<sup>55</sup> nihil demonstratione<sup>56</sup> potest fieri nobis tam certum quam<sup>57</sup> certum est illud nobis quod Deus dixit. De quo constat quod nec fallere vult, nec falli potest.

Item vis vel<sup>58</sup> virtus demonstrationis certitudinem facit conclusionis. Sed<sup>59</sup> in infinitum maior est virtus Creatoris. Quomodo ergo non certius erit eius verbum qualibet conclusione? Credimus conclusioni quam confirmat medium demonstratum quod utique creatura est; et non credemus<sup>60</sup> sermoni quem confirmat Creator omnis creaturae. Maior ergo et certior est auctoritas huius Scripturae qualibet demonstratione. Unde Augustinus, *Super Genesim ad Litteram* lib. 2: "Maior est Scripturae huius auctoritas, quam omnis humani ingenii<sup>61</sup> capacitas".<sup>k</sup>

Hinc patet quod haec<sup>62</sup> scientia vel Scriptura non est demonstrativa, nec<sup>63</sup> decurrit a praemissis<sup>64</sup> ad conclusionem. Non enim ut dictum est innititur rationi sed scriptoris auctoritati. Et cum maioris certitudinis sit auctoritas huius Scripturae quam omnis demonstratio, probare aliquid<sup>65</sup> scriptum in ea est ac si propositio aliqua optime demonstrata ratione probaretur dialectica<sup>66</sup> vel sophistica, ut certior fieret.

Item cum sufficiens certificatio<sup>67</sup> omnium hic scriptorum sit auctoritas<sup>68</sup> scribentis, patet omnia esse aequae certa.<sup>69</sup> Demonstratio autem procedit ex magis notis ad minus nota. Ergo haec non debet esse demonstrativa.

Quia ergo hanc scripsit Veritas, nihil est in ea falsitatis, quia Via nihil<sup>70</sup> erroris, quia Vita nihil contrarium salutis. Quod si tantus est huius sapientiae Auctor, quales debent esse auditores! Utique qui vult veritates istas cognoscere, oportet verum discipulum esse. Unde *Is.* 8: "Signa<sup>71</sup> legem in discipulis meis".<sup>72</sup> Et<sup>73</sup> *Io.* 8: "Vere discipuli mei eritis,<sup>74</sup> et cognoscetis veritatem", sed non infructuose; sequitur enim,<sup>75</sup> "et veritas liberabit vos".<sup>m</sup>

<sup>54</sup> add. demonstratio L.

<sup>55</sup> quia B.

<sup>56</sup> demonstrare L.

<sup>57</sup> om. quam certum W.

<sup>58</sup> aut N.

<sup>59</sup> sed in infinitum (*bis*) C.

<sup>60</sup> credimus NS.

<sup>61</sup> generis L.

<sup>62</sup> om. W.

<sup>63</sup> om. nec... maioris W.

<sup>64</sup> add. usque N.

<sup>65</sup> add. quod N.

<sup>66</sup> diabolica W.

<sup>67</sup> demonstratio BoC; om. N; p. corr. P.

<sup>68</sup> add. hic R.

<sup>69</sup> vera N; terra L.

<sup>70</sup> add. in ea N.

<sup>71</sup> sigula W.

<sup>72</sup> om. P.

<sup>73</sup> add. in P.

<sup>74</sup> estis S.

<sup>75</sup> om. L.

<sup>k</sup> Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram* II, cap. 5; PL 34. 267.

<sup>l</sup> *Isaias* 8: 16.

<sup>m</sup> *John* 8: 31.

Sed quis est<sup>76</sup> discipulus? *Luc.* 14: "Qui non renuntiaverit omnibus quae possidet, non potest meus esse discipulus".<sup>n</sup>

*Omnibus* inquit,<sup>77</sup> scilicet propriis voluntatibus in mente et voluptatibus in corpore — quia<sup>78</sup> *Sap.* 1: "In malivolam animam non introibit<sup>79</sup> sapientia" contra<sup>80</sup> primum, "nec habitabit<sup>81</sup> in corpore subdito peccatis"<sup>82</sup> contra secundum.<sup>o</sup> *Iob* 28: "Nec<sup>83</sup> invenitur<sup>84</sup> in terra suaviter<sup>85</sup> viventium".<sup>p</sup>

Cum quanta autem<sup>86</sup> debeat audiri reverentia quis<sup>87</sup> dicat? Dicit<sup>88</sup> *Ecclus.* 13: "Dives locutus est, et omnes tacuerunt".<sup>q</sup> Deus deorum Dominus locutus est, et non omnes tacebunt. Dicit<sup>89</sup> *Eccles.* 9: "Verba sapientium audiuntur in silentio".<sup>r</sup> Quanto magis<sup>90</sup> Dei a quo omni sapienti est sapientia? *Ecclus.* 1: "Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est".<sup>s</sup> Basilius: "Qualis<sup>91</sup> igitur auditus dignus sit magnitudine relatorum, vel quemadmodum instructus debet esse animus ad rerum eiusmodi<sup>92</sup> perceptionem? Nimirum qui vitiis carnalibus est immunis et aerumnis minime saecularibus obfuscatus, quin etiam<sup>93</sup> laboriosus et sollers et omnia circumspectans, ut meritam<sup>94</sup> Dei notionem possit attrahere".<sup>t</sup>

De quo autem<sup>95</sup> sit haec tamquam de subiecto vel materia divisione investigandum.<sup>96</sup> Tria quidem sunt<sup>97</sup> simplicia: scilicet natura suprema, quae est Deus; et<sup>98</sup> natura infima,<sup>99</sup> quae est corpus; et<sup>1</sup> natura media, scilicet rationalis creatura. Tria sunt insuper ex his composita: scilicet

<sup>76</sup> *add.* eius P.

<sup>77</sup> *om.* BoCN.

<sup>78</sup> *om.* Quia... corpore N.

<sup>79</sup> intrabit P.

<sup>80</sup> *om.* contra primum BoCSV; *i.m.* P.

<sup>81</sup> hereditabit L.

<sup>82</sup> peccatum L.

<sup>83</sup> Non BoCNPS.

<sup>84</sup> invenietur LS.

<sup>85</sup> suaviter: ovanter (?) in terra P.

<sup>86</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>87</sup> quis dicat: quid dicatur P.

<sup>88</sup> dicat B.

<sup>89</sup> dicitur CN.

<sup>90</sup> *add.* verbum N.

<sup>91</sup> quantus SV.

<sup>92</sup> huiusmodi BoCNPSV.

<sup>93</sup> et N.

<sup>94</sup> veritatem B; cernitam (?) V.

<sup>95</sup> autem sit haec tamquam: fit theologia ut N.

<sup>96</sup> *add.* est BoCV.

<sup>97</sup> sint O.

<sup>98</sup> *om.* BoCNPS.

<sup>99</sup> infinita W.

<sup>n</sup> *Luke* 14: 33.

<sup>o</sup> *Wisdom* 1: 4.

<sup>p</sup> *Job* 28: 13.

<sup>q</sup> *Ecclesiasticus* 13: 28.

<sup>r</sup> *Ecclesiastes* 9: 17.

<sup>s</sup> *Ecclesiasticus* 1: 1.

<sup>t</sup> Basil, *In hexaemeron*, hom. 1, cap. 1; Eustathius: ancienne version latine des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaemeron de Basile de Césarée, ed. de Mendieta et Rudberg, in *Texte und Untersuchungen* (Berlin, 1958), LXVI, p. 4.

compositum ex infima et media natura, homo<sup>2</sup> scilicet;<sup>3</sup> et compositum ex media et suprema, ex quibus<sup>4</sup> fit illud unum de quo<sup>5</sup> Apostolus *Cor. 6*: "Qui adhaeret Deo, unus spiritus est"<sup>u</sup> — et hoc est unum, quod est Ecclesia, scilicet caput et membra; et tertium est<sup>6</sup> quod ex omnibus his componitur naturis, scilicet Christus. Sex igitur<sup>7</sup> sunt in universo.

Quid<sup>8</sup> igitur horum<sup>9</sup> erit huius scientiae subiectum?<sup>10</sup> Constat quod nec<sup>11</sup> natura infima tantum, nec<sup>12</sup> media tantum, nec compositum ex media et infima. Multa enim<sup>13</sup> de aliis tribus in hac scientia dantur, et forte plura quam de his. Ergo aliquod trium reliquorum erit huius subiectum. Et ponunt quidam unum, quidam alterum, quidam vero tertium.

Mihi<sup>14</sup> autem videtur quod de quolibet horum trium potest dici hanc scientiam esse sed tamen de unico eorum ut de subiecto. In aliis quidem scientiis videmus quidem<sup>15</sup> aliquid<sup>16</sup> esse minimum et aliquid subiectum et<sup>17</sup> tertium summe compositum in illo genere. Sic<sup>18</sup> dicitur geometria esse de puncto ut<sup>19</sup> de minimo suo; de magnitudine immobili ut de subiecto; de corpore ut de summe<sup>20</sup> composito in illo genere. Dicitur ergo esse de puncto, quia a natura puncti<sup>21</sup> fluit tota natura sui<sup>22</sup> subiecti. Dicitur<sup>23</sup> esse de corpore, quia prae sui compositione continet in<sup>24</sup> se omnia quaecumque sunt sui subiecti ut punctum,<sup>25</sup> lineam,<sup>26</sup> superficiem,<sup>27</sup> et dimensionem trinam.

Similiter aestimo hanc scientiam esse de Deo tamquam de minimo et indivisibili, a quo fluit quicquid est in subiecto huius scientiae. De<sup>28</sup> Christo vero est ut de maxime composito habens<sup>29</sup> in se quasi partes componentes quaecumque sunt in subiecto huius scientiae. Sed de illo uno, quod est ex<sup>30</sup> natura media et suprema, est haec scientia tamquam de vero<sup>31</sup> subiecto.

<sup>1</sup> *om.* BoCNPS.

<sup>2</sup> homo sc. et: ut homo N.

<sup>3</sup> *om.* BoCLPS.

<sup>4</sup> *p. corr.* quo O.

<sup>5</sup> *om.* R.

<sup>6</sup> *om.* BN.

<sup>7</sup> ergo N.

<sup>8</sup> Quod N.

<sup>9</sup> *om.* CNSV.

<sup>10</sup> *add.* et L.

<sup>11</sup> non O.

<sup>12</sup> *om.* nec media tantum L.

<sup>13</sup> *om.* L.

<sup>14</sup> nisi W.

<sup>15</sup> *om.* OW.

<sup>16</sup> aliud N.

<sup>17</sup> *add.* aliquid L.

<sup>18</sup> sicut BBoCLNSV.

<sup>19</sup> *om.* ut... puncto N.

<sup>20</sup> summo BoC.

<sup>21</sup> primogeniti L.

<sup>22</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>23</sup> *add.* etiam N.

<sup>24</sup> *om.* in se N.

<sup>25</sup> punctam L.

<sup>26</sup> *add.* et O.

<sup>27</sup> *om.* C.

<sup>28</sup> *om.* De... scientiae N; *exp.* De... scientiae O.

<sup>29</sup> habente P.

<sup>30</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>31</sup> nullo L.

De quo uno<sup>32</sup> *Eph.*<sup>33</sup>: Omnes unum sumus in Christo.<sup>34v</sup> Unde *Io.* 17, in<sup>35</sup> fine, dicit Filius ad Patrem de discipulis: "Ego claritatem quam dedisti mihi, dedi<sup>36</sup> eis: ut sint unum, sicut et<sup>37</sup> nos unum<sup>38</sup> sumus".<sup>w</sup> *Claritatem*, id est sapientiam quae in sacra scribitur Scriptura. De qua *Sap.* 6: "Clara est, et quae numquam marcescit, sapientia",<sup>x</sup> ut sint unum, scilicet nobiscum.

Sed ex hac auctoritate magis videtur quod hoc<sup>39</sup> unum sit effectus et<sup>40</sup> finis huius scientiae quam subiectum. Omnis autem scientia est de aliquo perfecto<sup>41</sup> tamquam de subiecto et non efficit suum subiectum. Sed hoc verum est in his, quae speculativae<sup>42</sup> tantum sunt, scientiis; sed in practicis idem est subiectum et finis. Practica enim est de operatione ut de subiecto. Et tamen operatio est finis quem<sup>43</sup> intendit efficere, sicut<sup>44</sup> domificativa est de domibus faciendis; et hoc est quod ipsa intendit efficere.<sup>45</sup> Sic haec scientia quidem<sup>46</sup> est de dicto<sup>47</sup> uno tamquam de subiecto. Et in quantum speculativa est, docet et notificat hoc unum et partes huius<sup>48</sup> unius tam subiectivas<sup>49</sup> quam integrales et proprietates earum.

Sed quia non tantum stat in cognitione subiecti sed extenditur ad praxim,<sup>50</sup> ad hanc ipsam, in quantum practica est, monet unitatem<sup>51</sup> et vitare contrarium,<sup>52</sup> scilicet peccata mortalia separantia hanc unitatem naturae mediae et supremae. Sicut dicit *Is.* 59:<sup>53</sup> "Peccata vestra diviserunt inter vos et Deum vestrum".<sup>54y</sup> Sic<sup>55</sup> est<sup>56</sup> logica de syllogismo vel<sup>57</sup> argumentatione; quam tamen docet construere.

Sed quaeris<sup>58</sup> forsitan quia superius diximus hanc esse de omnibus, quo-

<sup>32</sup> om. N.

<sup>33</sup> cancell. C; i.m. Ro. XII 6 C; Apocalypsis S.

<sup>34</sup> add. Gal. 3: Si omnes vos unum estis in Christo Iesu L.

<sup>35</sup> om. BoC; in fine dicit: 6 N.

<sup>36</sup> de N.

<sup>37</sup> om. P.

<sup>38</sup> om. BLR.

<sup>39</sup> om. L.

<sup>40</sup> om. et finis P.

<sup>41</sup> perfecto BLORS.

<sup>42</sup> speculativae: in speculativis N; speculatem W.

<sup>43</sup> quam BoCPSV.

<sup>44</sup> om. sicut... efficere L.

<sup>45</sup> om. N.

<sup>46</sup> om. S.

<sup>47</sup> Deo N.

<sup>48</sup> om. N.

<sup>49</sup> subiectans W.

<sup>50</sup> practica N.

<sup>51</sup> add. unitari N.

<sup>52</sup> contrariam L.

<sup>53</sup> add. in principio BO; add. principio LRW.

<sup>54</sup> om. P.

<sup>55</sup> sicut N.

<sup>56</sup> ergo B; om. P.

<sup>57</sup> et N.

<sup>58</sup> quaeres O.

v *Ephesians* 4: 1-16.

w *John* 17: 22.

x *Wisdom* 6: 13.

y *Isaiah* 59: 2.

modo nunc<sup>59</sup> dicimus eam esse de subiecto quodam,<sup>60</sup> quod non est omnia sed unum aliquod de omnibus. Sed ad hoc dicimus quod cum non sint in universo nisi sex quae diximus, scilicet tria simplicia<sup>61</sup> et tria ex eis<sup>62</sup> composita, si discutias singula, videbis quodlibet<sup>63</sup> eorum esse vel partem subiectivam dicti subiecti vel integram. Natura enim infima, scilicet corpus, est pars integralis hominis, qui<sup>64</sup> est natura rationalis; et ideo natura media, quae est pars integralis dicti subiecti; similiter compositum ex tribus naturis,<sup>65</sup> scilicet Christus. Sic ergo quamvis sit de omnibus, est tamen de uno aliquo<sup>66</sup> tamquam de subiecto. Hinc patet quod inter omnes scientias haec sola sufficit satiare desiderium intellectus nostri, qui, ut supradictum est, desiderat naturaliter scire omnia.

De unitate autem huius scientiae videtur primo<sup>67</sup> quod nulla sit. Dicit Philosophus quod unitas scientiae est ab unitate subiecti.<sup>z</sup> Sed videtur quod subiectum eius<sup>68</sup> non sit unum duplici ratione. Primo sic: ex his quae maxime distant non fit unum. Sed Creator et creatura maxime distant. Nulla enim<sup>69</sup> creatura a quacumque alia tantum potest distare quantum Creator et creatura; immo in infinitum distant. Ergo ex natura suprema et media non fit unum.

Item<sup>70</sup> dicit Philosophus<sup>71</sup>: Ex duobus quorum utrumque est<sup>72</sup> actu non fit<sup>73</sup> unum.<sup>a</sup> Sed inter creaturas natura media est maxime ens<sup>74</sup> actu, et natura suprema in<sup>75</sup> infinitum magis<sup>76</sup> est ens<sup>77</sup> actu. Ergo ex eis<sup>78</sup> non fit<sup>79</sup> unum. Ergo subiectum huius scientiae non est unum; ergo nec scientia una.

Solutio. Dico ad primum quod quia<sup>80</sup> in infinitum distant, non<sup>81</sup> propter hoc non sunt unibilia. Sed<sup>82</sup> propter hoc<sup>83</sup> non sunt unibilia nisi a virtute infinita. Si enim virtus finita illa quae maxime distant — finite<sup>84</sup>

<sup>59</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>60</sup> *om.* P.

<sup>61</sup> principia L.

<sup>62</sup> his B.

<sup>63</sup> quolibet W.

<sup>64</sup> qui: quia non W; quod S.

<sup>65</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>66</sup> *add.* omnium BLW.

<sup>67</sup> *om.* BoCNPSV.

<sup>68</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>69</sup> *om.* L.

<sup>70</sup> *om.* Item... unum B.

<sup>71</sup> *add.* in *Physicis* BoCNPSV; *i. m.* in 7 Me-

taphysicae P.

<sup>72</sup> *add.* in L.

<sup>73</sup> fit unum; est unum actu N.

<sup>74</sup> *om.* N; *add.* in L.

<sup>75</sup> et N; *om.* in infinitum P.

<sup>76</sup> maius N.

<sup>77</sup> *add.* in R.

<sup>78</sup> his BPS.

<sup>79</sup> sit N.

<sup>80</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>82</sup> nec N.

<sup>83</sup> *om.* sed... unibilia BoCN; *i. m.* PS.

<sup>84</sup> *om.* B.

<sup>z</sup> Aristotle: "Et scientia una est in qua est subiectum unum", *An. post.* I, 28. 87a38; *Arit. Lat.* IV, 3, p. 56.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Aristotle: "Duo namque sic actu, numquam sunt unum actu", *Meta.* VII, 13. 1039a4-5; in *Th. Aq., Omnia Opera*, ed. Vives, 25, 22.

tamen — unire potest, ut natura quaedam corporis, quinti scilicet<sup>85</sup> caeli, unit aquam et ignem in mixto quae contraria sunt et ideo maxime distant (contraria enim sunt quae sub eodem genere posita maxime distant), similiter et consimilis vel eadem natura unit adhuc magis distantia, scilicet spiritum et limum, ut dicunt naturales, quid mirum si virtus infinita unire potest ea quae in infinitum distant? Haec autem virtus infinita non est nisi alterum unibilium. Unicum<sup>86</sup> enim est quod infinitae est potentiae vel virtutis, scilicet natura suprema. Ergo ipsa natura suprema unit se naturae mediae se ipsa, non<sup>87</sup> aliquo alio.

Quod si ponatur hoc<sup>88</sup> uniens<sup>89</sup> esse caritas: si Creator est, non est aliud ab eo quod<sup>90</sup> diximus; si creatura est, non potest haec unire. Nihil enim creatum est infinitae virtutis. In infinitum autem distantium unio non fit<sup>91</sup> nisi per virtutem infinitam. Sic ergo quia caritas<sup>92</sup> qua diligit<sup>93</sup> nos constat quod nihil aliud est quam ipsa natura suprema. Haec<sup>94</sup> si unit, non receditur<sup>95</sup> ab eo quod diximus, scilicet quod natura suprema unit se naturae mediae se ipsa. Caritas vero qua ipsum diligimus, si creatura est, non<sup>96</sup> unit quidem<sup>97</sup> haec, sed magis consequitur — immo, ut verius dicam, concomitatur hanc unionem. Non enim unit se Deus non-amanti, neque amanti ante unionem unitur postea, sed simul fit utrumque.

Ad secundum dico quod dupliciter est aliquid possibile vel<sup>98</sup> non-ens actu: scilicet vel possibile potentia activa, ut materia naturalis habens in se aliquid formae, vel passiva tantum, ut tabula respectu picturae. Possibile autem potentia passiva tantum est dupliciter:<sup>99</sup> scilicet possibile recipere aliquod naturale<sup>1</sup> quod non habet vel gratuitum, scilicet<sup>2</sup> quod est supra naturam. Dico ergo quod licet anima sit ens actu et ideo non possibilis respectu alicuius naturalis, est tamen possibilis respectu alicuius quod est supra naturam. Et sic ex ipsa<sup>3</sup> et illo quod est supra naturam, scilicet Deo, fit<sup>4</sup> unum.

Hinc iam patet quod supra modum et<sup>5</sup> incomparabiliter<sup>6</sup> est haec scientia verius una quam aliqua<sup>7</sup> alia. Est enim<sup>8</sup> una ab unitate subiecti sui.

<sup>85</sup> invicem N.

<sup>81</sup> *om.* LN.

<sup>86</sup> unum N.

<sup>87</sup> *add.* ab O.

<sup>88</sup> hic C.

<sup>89</sup> *om.* L.

<sup>90</sup> quem N.

<sup>91</sup> sit N.

<sup>92</sup> *add.* qua diximus S.

<sup>93</sup> dilexit L.

<sup>94</sup> *add.* ergo N.

<sup>95</sup> recedatur BoN.

<sup>96</sup> numquam S.

<sup>97</sup> *om.* S.

<sup>98</sup> vel non; non et (*m. post.*) O.

<sup>99</sup> duplex N.

<sup>1</sup> materiale BoPV; *p. corr.* CS.

<sup>2</sup> *om.* CNSV.

<sup>3</sup> anima N.

<sup>4</sup> sit N.

<sup>5</sup> *om.* P.

<sup>6</sup> inopinabiliter N.

<sup>7</sup> alia (*sic*) W.

<sup>8</sup> autem L.

Subiectum autem est unum unitate supra naturam, unitate quidem virtutis infinitae unientis. Omnium autem aliarum scientiarum subiectum est unum unitate naturae et ideo per virtutem unientem<sup>9</sup> finitam. Finitum autem ad infinitum non est<sup>10</sup> comparabile.

Divisio autem huius scientiae sic est, quia in natura media duo sunt: scilicet virtus motiva et apprehensiva, quae dicuntur aliis nominibus affectus et aspectus. Natura autem suprema est bonitas summa et summa veritas. Ideo haec scientia, quae est de uno ex duobus, habet partes duas:<sup>11</sup> una est de unitate affectus cum summa bonitate, et alia est<sup>12</sup> de unitate aspectus cum summa veritate.

Unitatem autem affectus<sup>13</sup> cum summa bonitate in via concomitatur in medietate, sicut per se accidens suum per se subiectum, sanctitas morum; in patria vero fruitio omnium bonorum. Unitatem vero<sup>14</sup> aspectus et summae veritatis, sicut possibile est in via, concomitatur in medietate, sicut per se passio subiectum, fides vel credulitas articulorum fidei; et in patria intellectus. Unde *Is.* 7: "Nisi<sup>15</sup> credideritis, non [alia<sup>16</sup> littera] intelligetis".<sup>17</sup> <sup>b</sup> Ideo huius scientiae pars illa, quae est de unione affectus cum summa<sup>18</sup> bonitate in via, insistit moribus instruendis; pars vero alia,<sup>19</sup> quae est de unione aspectus et summae veritatis in via, quaestionibus difficilibus circa articulos fidei discutiendis.

Una ergo pars est de sanctis moribus, alia<sup>20</sup> de quaestionibus circa fidem difficilibus. Unde *Ps.* 48:<sup>21</sup> "Os meum loquetur sapientiam, et meditatio cordis mei<sup>22</sup> prudentiam".<sup>c</sup> *Glossa*:<sup>23</sup> "Sapientia ad divina<sup>24</sup> pertinet; prudentia ad mores. In his duobus<sup>25</sup> omnis divinus sermo indicatur".<sup>d</sup> Haec est intellectus speculativi,<sup>26</sup> illa practici summa perfectio sicut possibile est in via.

<sup>9</sup> *om.* W.

<sup>10</sup> *om.* S.

<sup>11</sup> Et N.

<sup>12</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>13</sup> aspectus N.

<sup>14</sup> autem BoCNPV.

<sup>15</sup> *om.* W.

<sup>16</sup> *om.* alia littera L.

<sup>17</sup> *add.* (*i.m.*) Tota theologia aut est de moribus instruendis aut de quaestionibus determinandis CP.

<sup>18</sup> sua BL.

<sup>19</sup> illa L.

<sup>20</sup> *add.* est R.

<sup>21</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>22</sup> *om.* LP.

<sup>23</sup> *om.* L.

<sup>24</sup> divinam L.

<sup>25</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>26</sup> *add.* et O.

<sup>b</sup> *Isais* 7: 9. Cf. Jerome: "Si non credideritis, non permanebitis", ... vel certe iuxta LXX, 'non intelligetis'. Et est sensus: quia quae Dominus dicit futura, non creditis, intelligentiam non habebitis. Haec iuxta historiam dixerimus", *Comm. in Isaiam Prophetam* III, 7; *PL* 24. 104.

<sup>c</sup> *Psalms* 48: 4.

<sup>d</sup> Peter Lombard, *Commentarium in Psalmos*, *Ps.* 48, vers. 3; *PL* 191. 466.



Utraque fateor harum partium in sacro Scripturae sacrae<sup>27</sup> canone — sed indistincte — continetur. Verumtamen tantum<sup>28</sup> altera pars, scilicet de moribus instruendis, a magistris modernis cum leguntur sancti libri docetur. Alia tamquam difficilior disputationi reservatur. Haec autem pars difficilior de canone sacrarum<sup>29</sup> Scripturarum excerpta<sup>30</sup> in isto libro qui Sententiarum dicitur ponitur. Unde non differt hic legere et disputare.

Et quia<sup>31</sup> ut dicitur *Sap.* 1: “In malivolam animam non<sup>32</sup> introibit sapientia”,<sup>e</sup> prius est ut affectus informetur sanctis moribus, quam aspectus desudet<sup>33</sup> in quaestionibus circa fidem difficilibus. Alioquin<sup>34</sup> parum<sup>35</sup> aut nihil proficiet.<sup>36</sup> Unde *Tim.* 6, principium:<sup>37</sup> “Superbus est,<sup>38</sup> nihil sciens,<sup>39</sup> sed languens circa quaestiones et pugnas verborum”.<sup>f</sup> Quia ergo<sup>40</sup> in praecedentibus<sup>41</sup> de moribus instruendis audistis, ratio ordinis et consummationis exigeret ut et<sup>42</sup> secunda pars, quae est de quaestionibus circa fidem difficilibus, nunc convenienter<sup>43</sup> legeretur.<sup>44</sup>

Sed ad tantam sublimitatem imperfectum meum viderunt oculi vestri<sup>45</sup> — et non unicam imperfectionem sed duplicem, scilicet imperfectionem scientiae in mente et virium in corpore. Tamen<sup>46</sup> oboedientiam nec<sup>47</sup> valens nec volens declinare, confidentiam habeo in eo de quo dicitur, *Ecclus.* 15: “Quoniam multa est sapientia Dei, et fortis in potentia”.<sup>g</sup> Est enim Dei virtus et Dei sapientia, sicut dicitur *Cor.* 1,<sup>48h</sup> confidens quod ipse Dei<sup>49</sup> virtus vires subministrabit<sup>50</sup> quas denegat natura, et ipse<sup>51</sup> Dei sapientia scientiam quam denegat imperitia. In ipso ergo qui est “Alpha et Omega, principium et finis”, *Apoc.* 1,<sup>i</sup> spem inceptionis et consummationis tanti laboris ponentes, revertimur ad propositum.

<sup>27</sup> *om.* BoCNSV; sitire (sic) L.

<sup>28</sup> *om.* P.

<sup>29</sup> *om.* N.

<sup>30</sup> excerpta N.

<sup>31</sup> *om.* L.

<sup>32</sup> vero W.

<sup>33</sup> desuadet L.

<sup>34</sup> *add.* aut L.

<sup>35</sup> parvum N.

<sup>36</sup> perficiet C.

<sup>37</sup> *om.* BoCNPV.

<sup>38</sup> *om.* BoCNV.

<sup>39</sup> faciens L.

<sup>40</sup> vero L.

<sup>41</sup> praecedentibus L.

<sup>42</sup> *om.* L.

<sup>43</sup> consequenter N.

<sup>44</sup> legeremus L.

<sup>45</sup> mei LN.

<sup>46</sup> tam L.

<sup>47</sup> non N.

<sup>48</sup> *add.* quod R.

<sup>49</sup> *add.* qui est N.

<sup>50</sup> subministrat L.

<sup>51</sup> *add.* qui est N; ipsa L.

<sup>e</sup> *Wisdom* 1: 4.

<sup>f</sup> *I Timothy* 6: 4.

<sup>g</sup> *Ecclesiasticus* 15: 19.

<sup>h</sup> *I Corinthians* 1: 24-25.

<sup>i</sup> *Apocalypse* 1: 8.

Diximus<sup>52</sup> secundam<sup>53</sup> partem huius sacratissimae scientiae, scilicet quae est de difficilibus circa fidem quaestionibus, in hoc<sup>54</sup> libro contineri:<sup>55</sup> qui primo dividitur in partem prooemiam et executivam. Quia vero quidam articuli fidei<sup>56</sup> sunt de rebus, quidam vero de rerum signis, utpote de sacramentis, ideo liber iste quo ad partem executivam primo dividitur in partes duas. In prima parte tractantur quaestiones difficiles de articulis fidei quae circa res versantur; et haec<sup>57</sup> pars continet 3 libros. In secunda quaestiones difficiles<sup>58</sup> de articulis fidei quae sunt circa signa, scilicet circa sacramenta; et haec pars traditur in quarto libro.

Prima autem pars, quae pertractat<sup>59</sup> quaestiones difficiles circa res, dividitur in partes 3. Tripliciter enim<sup>60</sup> sunt res circa quas versatur fides, quia res aut sunt<sup>61</sup> Creator, aut creatura, aut ex utroque composita.<sup>62</sup> De quaestionibus difficilibus circa Creatorem est primus liber. De quaestionibus circa creaturas<sup>63</sup> est secundus liber.<sup>64</sup> De quaestionibus circa Christum, qui ex Creatore et creatura est compositus, est tertius liber.

CUPIENTES ALIQUID,<sup>65</sup> et cetera. Haec pars prooemialis dividitur primo in partes 4 secundum 4 causas. Huius autem partis divisionem, ut oculis facilius occurrant<sup>66</sup> singula,<sup>67</sup> in modum arboris ramosae depingimus, ut tamquam ex radice stipites, ex stipitibus rami, ex ramis ramusculi, a quibus folia et fructus egrediantur.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> *om.* Diximus... [usque ad finem] L.

<sup>53</sup> secundam partem: secunda parte BRSVW.

<sup>54</sup> *om.* B.

<sup>55</sup> contini W.

<sup>56</sup> *om.* B.

<sup>57</sup> *om.* P.

<sup>58</sup> difficile W.

<sup>59</sup> tractat R.

<sup>60</sup> autem N.

<sup>61</sup> *om.* BRW; est O; *add.* aut Bo.

<sup>62</sup> compositae P.

<sup>63</sup> creaturas est: creatura N.

<sup>64</sup> *om.* BORW.

<sup>65</sup> *om.* ALIQUID... cetera BORW.

<sup>66</sup> occurrantur N.

<sup>67</sup> singulam W.

<sup>68</sup> egrediuntur B.

## NEWBERRY MSS FRAGMENTS, S. VII- S. XV

*Michael Masi*

Few of the Newberry Library's seventy-five separate fragments are listed in the De Ricci *Census of Latin Mss. in the U.S. and Canada* or its *Supplement*. The largest groups of these fragments are liturgical and Vulgate texts, often beautifully illuminated; there is also a sprinkling of interesting historical, literary, and theological documents. Since many of these may prove important for scholars in various fields, I have drawn up the following descriptive catalogue.

The fragments vary in length from one to six leaves and many have survived only as book bindings during periods when such manuscripts were not valued for their contents. The oldest come from the seventh century, and I have chosen the year 1500 as a terminal date for this list, though the Library has many documents of the 16th century and later. The category of "Manuscript Fragments" excludes single page letters and documents, of which the Library has about a dozen significant specimens which can be dated before 1500. Since these are complete pieces and not fragments, I have decided they should be handled under a separate heading.

In cases where a manuscript seemed to be of special value to researchers, I have provided more detailed descriptions so that its nature may be more clearly understood. Where I could not identify a text, ample quotations have been provided. In such instances, I presented a transcription with expanded abbreviations. Paleographic comments are given when they seem relevant; otherwise such information has been kept minimal. There is no convenient modern reference for consultation of plain-chant texts. When the *Liber Usualis* could be used, I provided references, but these references are highly provisional. For dating and placing various hands, I have been helped by unpublished notes left with the Library by Professor E. A. Lowe, Ernst Detterer and others who have examined the fragments.

These manuscripts are not catalogued at the Library and are only incompletely numbered. I have assigned fragment numbers in chronological order. Where numbers were previously assigned by the Library, they appear in parentheses.

I am grateful to members of the Newberry Library staff, especially to Bernard Wilson and John Aubrey, for generous assistance and continued patience during the examination of these fragments.

References:

- De Ricci* Seymour De Ricci and W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935; 1937); C. U. Faye and W. H. Bond, *Supplement to the Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1962).  
*Liber Usualis*, Benedictines of Solesmes, ed. *The Liber Usualis* (Tournai, 1952).  
*P.L.* J. P. Migne, ed. *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844-1880).

Frag 1 *Old Testament*.

S. VII-VIII. 22.2 × 15.7 cm. Membr. Double columns, 14 lines, not ruled. Written in the "Luxeuil" script. E. A. Lowe discusses this unusual pre-Carolingian hand (with plates) in "The Script of Luxeuil", *Revue Bénédictine*, LIII (1953), 132-142. A list of all known Luxeuil fragments, including Newberry frag 1, is found in Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford, 1953), Vol. VI, p. xvi. Initials in blue, green, yellow, and red, now faded. From a binding, only half a leaf. Vulgate *Haggai* I, 7-9, 11-14; II, 2-4, 7-10.

Frag 2 *Florilegium sententiarum ex operibus S. Augustini et Cassiani et Hieronymi*.

S. VIII. Two fragments, 17.9 × 5.3 and 17.5 × 5.3 cm. Membr. Single column, 7 lines, ruled. Probably written in Burgundy. Early Carolingian bookhand, with remains of semi-uncial, double-c shaped *a* and uncial *a*. Both fragments are trimmed at top and bottom; they are probably from a page with double columns. Roman ciphers in the margin indicate quotations from the Church Fathers. Purchased at St. Gall. See Lowe, *CLA*, XI (1966), 1649.

Frag 3 *New Testament*.

S. IX. 15.5 × 25.4 cm. Membr. Double columns, 23 lines, ruled. Written in a Carolingian hand of Tours. See E. K. Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), where, however, neither this fragment nor frag 5 below are mentioned. Two rubricated letters on the *recto*. From a binding. There is writing in a later hand (Latin) in the long direction across the Scripture text. Vulgate *Matt.* XXIV, 48-51; XXV, 1-10.

Frag 4 *New Testament*.

c. 800. 9 × 25 cm. Membr. Single column from a double column page (Col. A). 20 lines, ruled. Written in a Carolingian minuscule. Probably French. Small piece stitched on at the bottom. Vulgate *John* XVIII, 8-25.

Frag 5 *Old Testament.*

S. IX-X. 16.5 × 29 cm. Membr. Single column, 41 lines, ruled. From a binding, upper part missing. Caroline hand of Tours. One side is blurred, the other in good condition. Vulgate *Ezech.* XVIII, 21-XIX, 2 and XX, 28-41. Acquired from the collection of Ernst Detterer, who received it from E. von Scherling, Sept. 1931 (Inv. n. 1186). See De Ricci, 607.

Frag 6 *Biblical Commentary.*

c. 800. Two leaves, 22 × 30.5 and 19 × 30.5 cm. Membr. Double columns, 28 lines, ruled. Early Carolingian minuscule. German. Transcription of Greek on *recto*, Col. A, 24-25; *verso*, Col. A, 27 and Hebrew on *recto*, Col. A, 1, 10, 11, 12, 27. Text probably St. Jerome.

Frag 7 *Council of Ephesus.*

S. IX. Two conjugate leaves, 34.5 × 22.2 cm. Membr. Single column, 22 lines, ruled. Carolingian minuscule. From a binding, bottom missing. An account of the Council of Ephesus (431) which differs somewhat in emphasis from the commonly known accounts of Isidore of Seville, Evagrius, Socrates Scholasticus, or Liberatus Diaconus.

Quod contra leges et canones et omnem consequentiam ecclesiasticam, ab ipsis actum est mandare vestrae pietati praesumserint. Non amplius dissimulabimus inrationabilem illorum impetum. Sed iterum sequentes formam canonum convocabimus reverentissimum episcopum iohannem qui talia cum ceteris contra praedictos praesumserat. Neque enim illi confiderent ad tantam insolentiam pervenire, sub culpa positi pauci, nisi temeritate reverentissimi episcopi iohannis antiocheni. Congregati igitur nos, libellis nobis oblatis a sanctissimo et adeo amabili reverentissimo archiepiscopo cyrillo et venerabili coepiscopo memnone, convocavimus praedictum episcopum iohannem ut vel nunc diceret culpam pro qua ad tantam iniuriam progressus est contra primos sanctae synodi; qui semel et secundo et ter convocatus, ut causam diceret, advenire ad synodum non passus est, non habens rationabilem causam suae praesumptionis, militibus autem et armis circumdans suam domum. Neque missos a sancta synodo sanctissimos episcopos suscepit, nec competenti responso dignam iudicavit congregatam sanctissimam synodum. Unde cognoscentes non confidere illum suis satisfactionibus ab ipsis, quidem superflue et vacue per garrulitatem facta[m] et contra omnem consequentiam canonum scriptatam contra sanctissimum archiepiscopum cyrillum... ([p. 2] lines 1-22).

Frag 8 *Lectionary.*

S. IX. 30.8 × 21 cm. Membr. Double leaf, single column, 20 lines, not ruled. Carolingian minuscule. Illuminated initial in red and yellow,

caption in red. Italian. From a binding, upper parts and two sides missing. "Incipit Lectio sancti Evangelii Secundum Johannem".

Frag 9 *Sermon.*

S. IX. 22 × 29 cm. Membr. Double columns, 28 lines, ruled. Carolingian minuscule. Italian. Author unknown, topic is *invidia*. Incipit: "cum ea quae bene egisse se credunt male acta monstramur".

Frag 10 *Sermon.*

S. IX. 24 × 15.5 cm. Membr. Double columns, 29 lines, ruled. Carolingian minuscule. Two red decorated initials and titles on *recto*. French. Random notation in a later hand. From a binding, trimmed on all sides. Parts of two sermons, based on Scripture. First on the Incarnation: "Illud videlicet verbum quod rationem suae incarnationis ipse exponens ait: Sic enim dilexit Deus mundum ut unigenitum filium..." (Recto, Col. A, lines 18-22). Second on Mary's Visitation, probably on Luke I, 39: "Exsurgens autem Maria" (Recto, Col. B, line 4).

Frag 11 *Sermon.*

S. IX. 21.3 × 29 cm. Membr. Double columns, 28 lines, ruled. Carolingian hand with Scripture quotations in uncial. Rubricated numbers for chapters XXV and XXVI. Marginal notations. Large stain in right column. Incipit XXV: "Clerus ecclesiae regitane multa contra...". XXVI: "Fraternitatis scripta suscepi professionem...".

Frag 12 *Old Testament.*

S. IX. 25.7 × 33 cm. Membr. Double columns, 45 lines, ruled. Carolingian minuscule. Rubrication on *verso*. Italian. From a binding, but upper part missing, lower right corner torn away. Vulgate Deut. XXVI, 13-XXVIII, 15.

Frag 13 (A-1) *Sermon.*

S. IX. 40.5 × 24 cm. 23 lines. Membr. Carolingian minuscule. Rubricated title. French. From a binding, unevenly trimmed all around. Two columns on a page, but top is missing and half of one column is cut away. Sermon topic from Matthew, on the given text: "In illo tempore descendens Jesus de monte stetit in loco campestri", which does not occur in Vulgate *Matt.* but resembles Luke VI, 17, "Et descendens cum illis, stetit in loco campestri". The author may have misquoted from memory or used a non-Vulgate text. "... ne infirmitati condescendere dignatus est sed etiam suis sanctis sermonibus ad humanam ignorantiam instruendam ita doctrinam suam temperavit..." (recto, Col. B, lines 1-6).

Frag 14 *Sermon.*

S. IX. 29 × 21.5 cm. Membr. Double columns, 20 lines, ruled. Carolingian hand. French. Lower portion missing. Incipit: "... nolite pueri effici sensibus et lingue in signum sunt".

Frag 15 (A-2) *Theological Tract.*

c. 900. Two leaves, each 16 × 6.5 cm. Membr. 23 lines. Insular minuscule. English. No column in intact, so no continuous text can be given.

Frag 16 *New Testament.*

S. X. 20 × 30 cm. Membr. Single column, 25 lines, ruled. Carolingian hand. Many initials in red. Considerable marginal notation, some lost by trimming of margins. Binding fragment, still attached to one wood cover which is incased in stamped leather. Text is Vulgate I *Tim.* I, 4-III, 16.

Frag 17 *Graduale.*

S. X. 20.8 × 30.8 cm. Membr. Single column, 30 lines, ruled. Initials in red and blue. Contains early plainchant notation without staff lines. Epistle is Vulgate *Acts*, II, 3-12. Gospel, *John* VIII, 51-52. Alleluia, with neumes, "Imitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur". Offertory, with neumes, "Confirma hoc Deus".

Frag 18 (A-3) *Martyrology.*

S. X. 18.7 × 28.2 cm. Membr. Double columns, 19 lines, ruled. Late Carolingian minuscule. French. Binding fragment, lower portion missing. Leaf numbered LIIII. Reports the martyrdom of forty-six men whose feast is celebrated "Octava Kalendas Novembris".

Frag 19 (A-4) *Sermon.*

S. X. 54.5 × 39.5 cm. Membr. Single column, 39 lines, ruled. Carolingian hand. Two leaves from the binding of a later book entitled *Strabo*. One rubricated initial. Subject matter is returning good for evil: "Hoc vult ostendere nobis in loco apostolorum ut non solum malum pro bono non debeamus reddere sed nec malum pro malo. Quattuor autem modis redditur aut bonum pro bono aut malum pro malo..." (lines 22-25).

Frag 20 (B-6) *Leaf Containing Orations.*

S. XI. 18.5 × 29.2 cm. Membr. Single column, 19 lines, not ruled. Roman small letter writing, versicles in vermillion, green, and yellow. Eight collects on each side. From a binding. Secret incipit: "Ut accepta tibi sint Domine". Compline incipit: "Prebeant nobis".

Frag 21 (B-5) *Liturgical Manuscripts.*

S. XI. 20 × 28.9 cm. Membr. Single column, 24 lines, ruled. Carolingian minuscule. Rubricated initials, text with neumes. German. From the Good Friday Service, "Exultatio Sanctae Crucis". Versicle: "Salvator mundi, salva nos omnes".

Frag 22 *Sermon.*

S. XI. 12.9 × 18.3 cm. Membr. Double columns, 19 lines, ruled. Roman small letter writing. Rubricated title: "In natalem Sancti Johannis Apostoli et evangelistae. Lectio prima". English. From a binding, lower part missing. Vulgate *John*, I. Subject of sermon is St. Stephen: "Nam si sanctus stephanus non sic oraret, ecclesia paulum non haberet. Sed ideo dextera erecta Paulus quia in terra inclinatus exauditus est Stephanus sanctus" (ll. 10-12). See De Ricci, 606, no. 36.

Frag 23 (B-8) *Antiphonal.*

S. XI (1070?). 13 × 20.5 cm. Membr. From the "Metz" School. A round Carolingian hand. Illumination with a crowned figure bearing a sceptre, capital in red. From a binding, right and lower portions missing. Contains neumes. "Speciosa sum sicut columba", "Sicut cedrus exaltata sum in lybano". On *verso*, an inscription: "Samlung Lud'. Pullirisch. 1930".

Frag 24 (B-9) *Liturgical Manuscript.*

S. XI. 13.8 × 23.5 cm. Membr. Neither *recto* nor *verso* has a complete column. 25 lines. Carolingian script. Rubricated initials. Contains neumes. From a binding, upper and left parts missing. From the Saturday Liturgy of Holy Week.

Frag 25 (B-10) *Liturgical Manuscript.*

S. XI. 14.6 × 20.8 cm. Membr. Single column, 12 lines, ruled in red. Contains neumes with lines, rubricated initials. French. Carolingian script. "Arguebat herodem Johannes" is an antiphon from the Second Vespers of the Feast of John the Baptist, August 29. Others, such as "Anima mea liquefacta est" do not appear as antiphons in the *Liber Usualis*.

Frag 26 (B-1) *Old Testament.*

S. XI-XII. 31.5 × 21 cm. Membr. Double columns, 16 lines, ruled. Late Carolingian script. From a binding, lower portion missing. Vulgate *Isaiah*, XL, 2-5, 8-12; XLIV, 2-6, 10-13.

Frag 27 *New Testament.*

S. XI. 29.17 × 21.6 cm. Membr. Double columns, 28 lines, ruled. Carolingian hand. Rubricated initials. Biblical cross-references in mar-



gins. Italian. From a binding, portions missing at top and bottom. Writing on inner margin (Italian) across the text: "Carissimo quanto fratello...". Vulgate *Matt.* XII, 43-XIII, 4; XIII, 16-28; XIII, 36-49; XIV, 3-8.

Frag 28 (B- 6) *Martyrology*.

S. XI. Two leaves, 30.5 × 24.8 cm. Membr. Single column, 29 lines, ruled. Large rubricated initials. Late Carolingian hand. From St. Gall. For feasts of September, includes XIII Kal. Sept., St. Andrew; XII Kal. Sept., Samuel the Prophet; XVI Kal. Sept., St. Boniface.

Frag 29 (B-13) *Scripture Selections*.

S. XI-XII. Two leaves, 36 × 26 cm. Membr. Single column, 23 lines, ruled. Roman small letter. Rubricated titles and initials. English. Selections from Old and New Testaments for liturgical services. Examples, Vulgate I *Cor.* III, 8-9; *Jeremias* XXIII, 5-8; *Isaiah* I, 20.

Frag 30 *New Testament*.

S. XI. 32.5 × 37.2 cm. Membr. Double columns, 36 lines, ruled. Late Carolingian script. One large decorated initial *P* (18 cm. high) in red, blue, green, maroon, and yellow. From a binding, upper portion missing. Vulgate texts: *recto*: II *Tim.* I, 10-II, 9 and II *Tim.* II, 19-III, 5; *verso*: II *Tim.* III, 13-IV, 22, *Titus*, I, 1-5. From the collection of Ernst F. Detterer. See De Ricci, 604.

Frag 31 (B-14) *Liturgical Manuscript*.

S. XI-XII. One complete leaf, one half leaf, 40.2 × 30.2 cm together. Membr. 29 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. Many rubricated initials, one decorated in red, blue, green, maroon, and yellow. Several neumes. Italian. Bottom of both leaves is missing, upper left corner and hole singed by flame. On truncated leaf, all of Col. A and part of B are missing. Gospel is *Matt.* XIV, 3: "In illo tempore misit Herodes ac tenuit Johannem et vinxit eum in carcere". Communion: "Quod dico vobis in tenebris". The *Liber* gives this Gospel for the Feast of John the Baptist, but with another Communion. This Communion is from the Feast Common for Two or More Martyrs.

Frag 32 *Liturgical Manuscript*.

S. XII. 32.6 × 22.2 cm. Membr. Double columns, 33 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. Rubricated titles. Several short marginal notations. German. Secret: "Ut accepta sint tibi". Communion: "Non vos relinquam orphanos" (with neumes). This Communion is from the Friday after Pentecost, but the feast has a different Secret in the *Liber Usualis*.

Frag 33 (B-3) *New Testament*.

S. XII. 20.5 × 35 cm. Membr. Double columns, 31 lines, ruled. Roman small letter writing. From a binding. Vulgate *Luke XXII*, 14-51.

Frag 34 *New Testament*.

S. XII. 23.6 × 33.1 cm. Membr. Single column, 22 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. Wide margins, rubricated title, initial in blue and red. Italian. Vulgate *John IX*, 1-18.

Frag 35 (B-5) *Psalter*.

S. XII. Two leaves, together 28.2 × 20 cm. Membr. Single column, 18 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. Decorated initials in blue and red, two with gold. German. Taken from a binding. Psalm 24: "Ad te Domine levavi animam meam".

Frag 36 (BM6) *Missale*.

S. XII. 28.7 × 21 cm. Membr. Single column, 17 lines, not ruled. Large Carolingian script. From a binding, left side unevenly trimmed. Rubricated titles, initials decorated in blue, green, and red. Austrian. "Propitiare quaesumus domine animabus famulorum famulorumque tuarum". Secret: "Hostias tibi Domine", is probably from some form of the Requiem Mass.

Frag 37 (B-7) St. Isidore, *Sermon on St. Michael*.

S. XII. 30 × 42.5 cm. Membr. Double columns, 42 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. One rubricated initial and title. Italian. "Victoria Sancti Michael Archangeli, Sermo Sancti Isidore". There is no such sermon in the works of any Isidore or Pseudo-Isidore in the *P. L.* Incipit: "Angelorum nomen officii est non naturae. Nam secundum naturam seipsis nuncupantur. Quando enim de caelis ad annuntiandum hominibus mittuntur ex ipsa annuntiatione angeli nominantur. Natura enim seipsis sunt. Tunc autem angeli vocantur quando mittuntur. Natura angelorum mutabilis est quia inest illis mutabilitas in natura. Sed facit eos incorruptos caritas sempiterna" (*verso*, col. A, lines 6-18). In margin, with black ink: "Ex Lib. H. Magby. 1816".

Frag 38 (B-8) *Old Testament*.

S. XII. 27.5 × 45.5 cm. Membr. Double columns, 39 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. From a binding, inside margin trimmed into text, upper portion missing. Two initials in red and blue. *Recto* faded badly. Vulgate *Ezechiel*, *recto*: XLVIII, 21-XLIV, 9; XLIV, 11-22; *verso*: XLIV, 25-XLV, 5; XLV, 7-17.

Frag 39 (B-9) *Old Testament*.

S. XII. 30.5 × 42.1 cm. Membr. Double columns, 42 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. Rubricated initials and chapter numbers. Italian. Vulgate *Machabees*, II, 17-III, 17. (Chapter numbering on this manuscript differs from Vulgate numbers).

Frag 40 (B-10) *Old Testament*.

S. XII. 18.4 × 13.2 cm. Membr. Single column, 12 lines, ruled. Carolingian hand. Rubricated title. Illuminated initial with two figures. Italian. Trimmed at top, bottom, inside margin. Vulgate *Esther*, I; no continuous text since the column is not complete on one side.

Frag 41 (B-4) *Armenian Scripture Readings*.

S. XII. (?) 25 × 37.5 cm. Paper. Double columns, 33 lines, ruled. Written in Armenian. Zoomorphic initial. Rubricated titles, flower and bird designs in red, blue, orange; one decorated initial.

Frag 42 (B-11) *Lectionary*.

S. XII. 13.5 × 20.7 cm. Membr. No complete columns since the sides were trimmed to fit a binding. 21 lines, ruled. Beneventan minuscule. Rubrics and one initial decorated with interlace. Italian. Described in Lowe's catalogue, "Beneventan Manuscripts", *Collectanea Vaticana* (Vatican City, 1962), II, 219.

Frag 43 (B-13) *Missale*.

S. XII. 24.6 × 27.6 cm. Membr. Double columns, 32 lines, ruled. Carolingian minuscule. Italian. Contains neumes. *Verso* badly faded. From the binding of a book entitled *Commentarii*. Text is composed of readings from the story of *Noe*, Genesis VI.

Frag 44 (B-15) *Sermons*.

S. XII, 23 × 34.3 cm. Membr. Double columns, 24 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. Initials rubricated and titles decorated. Italian. Col. A on *recto*, Col. B on *verso* almost entirely missing, upper portion missing, probably trimmed to fit a binding. Text is from a sermon on the Gospel of Luke by Johannes Avreus. Incipit: "Omnis gloria Dei et omnis salus hominum in Christi morte posita est".

Frag 45 (B-14) *New Testament Stories*.

S. XII. Six leaves, each 24.9 × 19.2 cm. Membr. Single column, 25 lines, ruled. Late Carolingian hand. Capitals in green, red and blue. Some marginal notes. Rubricated titles. Brief scripture stories, probably for liturgical use. Topics include: Mary and Elizabeth, Birth of Christ,

Circumcision of Christ, Christ's warning of the last Days. Entitled: "Lectiones dicende in capitulo Dominicis et festis diebus dominicarum adventus".

Frag 46 (B-16) *Missale*.

S. XII. 20.5 × 33.1 cm. Membr. Double columns, 24 lines, ruled. Late Carolingian hand. Initials decorated with yellow and red interlace. Italian. Upper portion and inside margin missing. Gospel: "In illo tempore Helysabeth impleta est"; Secret; "Deus cuius munera precurrente"; Communion: "Praesta quaesumus omnipotens deus".

Frag 47 (B-1) *Missale*.

S. XII. Two leaves, each 14.7 × 22.5 cm. Membr. Single column, 20-22 lines, ruled. A neat Carolingian hand. From a binding. Consecration of the Mass.

Frag 48 (B-19) *Missale*.

S. XII. 20.7 × 28.1 cm. Membr. Single column, 30 lines, ruled. Carolingian script. Large elaborately decorated initial *P* in red, blue, yellow and green. Upper portion trimmed to fit binding. Vulgate *Proverbs*, I. Text with neumes: "Ego in altissimo habito et thronus meus...".

Frag 49 (B-12) *Missale*.

S. XII-XIII. 26 × 21.7 cm. Membr. Double columns, 20 lines. Beneventan minuscule. See Lowe, "Beneventan Manuscripts", p. 220. Apparently from the same manuscript volume as a fragment at Cambridge, Mass., Ms Lat. 157. Lower portion missing. Some rubricated initials, with neumes. Gospel selection, "In Domo Symonis Leprosi", *Matt.* XXVI.

Frag 50 (B-5) *Hymnarium*.

S. XIII. Two leaves, each 22 × 29 cm. Membr. Double columns, 43 lines, ruled. Carolingian hand. Neumes on lower right of one leaf, rubricated initials and titles. Seems to be part of the office of the Feast of Michael Archangel.

Frag 51 (B-6) *Scripture and Commentary*.

S. XIII. 23 × 38 cm. Membr. Double columns, 47 lines, ruled. Early Gothic hand. Considerable commentary. Taken from the binding of a book entitled: *Cicero: Erasmus*. Parts of binding straps still present. Upper and inner margins trimmed away.

Frag 52 *Koran*.

S. XIII. 23.7 × 21.5 cm. Paper. Single column, 9 lines, in Arabic. Not ruled. Kufic writing, black lettering with red accents.

Frag 53 (B-2) *New Testament*.

S. XIII (c. 1220). 14.7 × 22.3 cm. Membr. Single column, 21 lines, ruled. Scripture text surrounded by extensive commentary, marginal and interlinear, in a smaller hand. Text black, commentary brown (probably faded). Vulgate *Matt.* XXII, 10-25.

Frag 54 *Liturgical Manuscript*.

S. XIII. 19.6 × 28.3 cm. Membr. Single column, 33 lines, ruled. Possibly Bohemian. Homily on the Gospel of Matthew, with neumes. Lines set to music, probably antiphons: "Scriptum est quia domus mea domus orationis est"; "Generatio haec"; "Sicut fuit Jonas"; "Dixit Dominus Mulieri chananee".

Frag 55 (B-4) Gregory I, *Homily on the Gospels*.

S. XIII. 22.5 × 33.3 cm. Membr. Double columns, 30 lines, ruled. Late Carolingian hand. One large initial and rubricated title. German. Margin closely trimmed all around for a binding. See *P. L.* LXXXVI, cols. 1213-1219 (Homily XXIX, on the Gospel of Mark).

Frag 56 (B-1) *Statement of Expenses*.

S. XIV. 25 × 31.5 cm. Membr. Double columns 31 lines, ruled. Cursive charter hand. French, written in Latin. Contains three lists, each beginning: "Sequitur de expensis".

Frag 57 *Graduale*.

S. XIV. 20.8 × 29.3 cm. Membr. Single column, 9 lines of music and text. Text is liturgical Gothic. Switzerland. Nagelschrift notation and five line staff with F and C clefs. Introit: "Nos autem gloriari oportet in Cruce Domini nostri Jesu Christi", which the *Liber* gives as the Introit for Maunday Thursday.

Frag 58 Gregory IX, *Liber Decretum cum Glossis*.

S. XIV. 27 × 43.3 cm. Membr. Two connected leaves. Small Gothic hand. Initials and paragraph markings in red, blue, and yellow. Ample commentary surrounds text on all sides, carefully keyed to the text in points a-z on each page. Gray inter-linear commentary randomly on each page. Italian. An early printed edition (Lugduni, 1606) of the *Decretals*, with glosses, contains identical text and glosses for these sections. Contents: Book I, title ii, ch. 10 — Book I, title iii, ch. 6 (cols. 25-25 in printed edition) and Book I, title iii, ch. 19 — Book I, title iii, ch. 23 (cols. 51-59). Obtained from E. von Scherling, cat. 19 (1930), n. 888. See De Ricci, 604.

Frag 59 (B-4) *New Testament*.

S. XIV. 19.4 × 29.3 cm. Membr. Double columns, text 25 lines; commentary surrounding text on all sides, 50 lines. Commentary only is ruled. Calligraphic book Gothic; text in majuscules with commentary in minuscules. Initials in red or blue or both. Red underlining of passages. French. Vulgate II *Tim.* II, 22-II, 7. A note in a later hand reads: "La nva buca de palasso è nella volta della concelleria". From the collection of Ernst F. Detterer.

Frag 60.1 (B-5) *Antiphonary*.

S. XIV. Two connected leaves, each 37 × 53.9 cm. Membr. 10 lines, not ruled. Marked ff. XIV and XVII. Decorated capitals, with text and plain-chant notation. Text is liturgical Gothic. Capitals in red or blue or both, staff lines in red. Possibly from the same original volume as the following two, 60.2 and 60.3. First antiphon on f. XIV: "Dicit Dominus, penitentiam agite appropinquabit enim regnum caelorum".

Frag 60.2 (B-7) *Antiphonary*.

Same specifications as above. ff. XXV-XXVI. First antiphon on f. XXV "Hodie sciatis quia veniet Dominus et mane videbitis gloriam eius".

Frag 60.3 (B-6) *Antiphonary*.

Same specifications as above, outer leaf, marked f. LIX. First antiphon: "Erexit Dominus nobis cornu salutis in Domo David pueri sui".

Frag 61 *Old Testament*.

S. XIV. 31 × 44.6 cm. Membr. Double columns, 39 lines, ruled. Biblical Gothic hand. Contains two initials decorated in red and blue. German. Vulgate *Genesis* XXXV, 13-XXXVII, 20. See De Ricci, 604, no. 21.

Frag 62.1 *Old Testament*.

S. XIV. 31 × 44.9 cm. Membr. Double columns, 22 lines, ruled. Large Gothic hand. Brown ink, one illuminated initial with gold. English. f. 270<sup>r</sup> is Vulgate *Baruch*, VI, 58-71; f. 270<sup>v</sup>, *Baruch*, VI, 71-72, Prologue to *Ezechiel* by St. Jerome (See *P. L.* XXVIII, cols 993-996). The following three fragments are possibly from the same volume as this folio.

Frag 62.2 *Old Testament*.

Specifications same as above. f. 337<sup>r</sup> is *Ezechiel*, XLVIII, 23-24, decorated initial with gold, historiated. f. 337<sup>v</sup> is *Ezechiel*, XLVIII, 34-35 and Jerome's Prologue to *Daniel* (see *P. L.* XXVIII, cols. 1357-58). Jerome's Greek letters are transliterated into Roman letters.

Frag 62.3 *Old Testament*.

Specifications same as above. f. 366r is *Daniel*, XIV, 33-42, Jerome's Prologue to the twelve books of the Prophets (see *P. L.* XXVIII, cols. 1071-72), f. 366v, Prologue continued, followed by *Osee*, I, 1-3.

Frag 62.4 *Old Testament*.

Specifications same as above. f. 400r contains one elaborately decorated initial with gold. Text is *Aggaeus*, II, 7-16, f. 400v, *Aggaeus* II, 16-24 and Jerome's Prologue to *Zacharia*.

The University of Chicago Library has five leaves (ff. 22, 167, 253, 319, 363) in modern binding (ms 122) possibly from the same original volume as these fragments.

Frag 63 *Scripture Readings*.

S. XIV. 29.5 × 39.2 cm. Membr. Single column, 27 lines, heavy ruling. Large Gothic hand. Decorated initials in blue and red. Flanders. Punctuation in lower corner. Scripture readings from Vulgate for liturgical service. Excerpts from Story of Noe, *Genesis* VI-VII.

Frag 64 Vergil, *Moretum*.

1465. Three leaves of paper, each 13.8 × 21.7 cm. Single column, 17 lines, not ruled. Delicate Humanistic hand. No water marks. Text from lines 28 to end (line 124). Originally from the Convent of S. Caterina, Pisa. Obtained in Florence, 1914. Written for "Petrus Paulus" and possibly by him. See F. Vollmer, *Poetae Latini Minores* I (Leipzig, 1910), 41; G. Vitelli, "Codices Pisani Latini", *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, VII (1900), 396-397; De Ricci, 605.

Frag 65 *Illuminated Initial P*.

S. XV. 8 × 7.5 cm. Membr. Cut from page, no text. Portrait of two virgins holding a lily; lamp and beads in outer hand of each. Italian.

Frag 66 *Genealogy of the Gens Spinoli*, by Antonio Rocca.

S. XV. 25.4 × 39 cm. Membr. Portraits of 7 men, in red, green, and brown, doubtless conventionalized. Humanistic hand. In Latin and Italian. Traces "tutti linieri legitimi". Portion on the right missing. Represents: Guido Vicecomes — Obertus — Belius — Guido (born 1102) — Obertus — Guido — Joannes — Guido — Alberto. Guido is the first dated ancestor. The Gens Spinoli in one of the four major families of Genoa and achieved great prominence in the 16th and 17th centuries.

Frag 67 *Missale*.

S. XV. 23 × 35.7 cm. Membr. Double columns, 13 lines, ruled. Liturgical Gothic hand. Twenty-nine illuminated initials with gold. French. From the Canon of the Mass.

Frag 68 *La Legende Dorée*, trans. into French by Jehann de Vignay (b. cir. 1300).

c. 1400. 24 × 33.9 cm. Membr. Double columns, 39 lines, unruled. Bâtard script. Two illuminated initials. Left margin unevenly trimmed and illumination mutilated. Contains opening portion of the prologue with Jehann's introduction, which Caxton translated into English. According to an inscription dated 1528, the manuscript once belonged to the monastery of St. Vedast at Arras. See De Ricci, 604, 23.

Frag 69 *Old Testament*.

c. 1450. 31 × 44.5 cm. Membr. Double columns, 45 lines, ruled. Gothic hand. Red, blue capitals; rubricated chapter numbers. Vulgate *Ezechiel*, f. 116r: XXXI, 10-XXXII, 12; f. 116: XXXII, 13-30.

Frag 70 *Antiphonary*.

c. 1460. 25 × 36.5 cm. Membr. Single column; *recto*, 21 lines of text, 3 1/2 lines of plain-chant notation; *verso*, 12 lines of text, 4 of notation. Text in Gothic; notation with lines. From the liturgy of a Marian feast: "Assumpta est Maria in celum".

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## THE *DE OFFICIIS VII GRADUUM*: ITS ORIGINS AND EARLY MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT \*

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Among the most venerable texts in the ordination rite of the modern Roman pontifical is a series of brief sentences describing the functions of each ecclesiastical officer. Each sentence contains the distinctive modal auxiliary verb *oportet* and a list of infinitives rehearsing the functions of the officer named. Today these sentences are hardly noticeable in the Roman pontifical. They are widely separated and almost hidden within the proliferating luxuriance of the ordination allocutions. Originally, however, these sentences were gathered together in one text and formed a short, independent treatise variously entitled *De officiis vii graduum* or *De distantia graduum*.

From their present insignificance in the Roman pontifical one would hardly guess that as a group the sentences of the *De officiis vii graduum* (hereafter *D07G*)-*De distantia graduum* (hereafter *DDG*)<sup>1</sup> formed one of the most commonly used epitomes of the functions of the ecclesiastical grades in early medieval manuscripts. In view of the popularity of this text in early medieval ordination formulae, florilegia, and canonical collections, it is surprising that no extensive study has been devoted to its origins and early development.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, individual words or phrases have been commented upon in their historical and present liturgical con-

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<sup>1</sup> Hereafter the abbreviation *D07G* will be used to signify the tract variously entitled *De officiis septem graduum* or *De distantia graduum*. The abbreviation *DDG* will be used alone when referring to a text with the specific *titulus* *DDG* or a derivative of that recension.

<sup>2</sup> Statements such as this must always be qualified with "to the best of my knowledge".

text,<sup>3</sup> but the text as a whole has not been the object of an intensive historical investigation. It is the purpose of this article to begin to fill this lacuna by examining the treatise from late patristic antiquity through the middle of the twelfth century. This study is undertaken with no pretences to exhaustiveness and with the recognition that dozens of early medieval examples of the *D07G-DDG* will be uncovered in the future which will further illuminate the vicissitudes of this treatise.

## I. THE *D07G* IN PAST RESEARCH

Since the earliest sixteenth- and seventeenth-century "editions" of Melchior Hittorp<sup>4</sup> and Jean Morin<sup>5</sup> of the *D07G* the treatise has often been reprinted as it appeared in liturgical tracts. Strangely, historians of liturgy have not until this century commented extensively on the tract as a whole or in part. With the epochal studies of Michel Andrieu on the *Ordines romani* and the Roman pontifical, liturgists have undertaken partial historical examinations of the *D07G*.

The year after Andrieu published his seminal monograph, *Immixtio et consecratio*,<sup>6</sup> Thomas Michels briefly investigated the history of one sentence in the *D07G*, *Exorcistam oportet abicere demones*...<sup>7</sup> Michels was especially interested in the exorcist's liturgical function of pouring water during the Mass. From patristic times Michels followed what he thought had been a gradual devolution of this duty from the deacon to the subdeacon and acolyte and ultimately to the exorcist. The final step was reflected in the ordination allocation for the exorcist in the *D07G*, which Michels found in Hittorp's *Ordo romanus antiquus* and which he dated to the tenth or ninth century.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Eligius Dekkers and Aemilius Gaar, *Clavis patrum latinorum, editio altera* (Steenbrugge, 1961), 276, Nr. 1222, for references to partial studies. This catalogue will be treated below. Examples of popular treatments of fragments of the *D07G* may be found in P. Gontier, *Explication du Pontifical, Texte et Commentaire* (Paris, 1898), 151 ff.; L. Beauduin, "L'ordre des acolytes", *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 3 (1912-13), 75 f.; and C. Braun, "Akolyth: Gedanken zur vierten Weihestufe des neutestamentlichen Priestertums", *Theologisch-praktische Quartalschrift*, 94 (1941), 1 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Ordo romanus antiquus*, in *De divinis catholicae ecclesiae officiis ac ministeriis varia vetustorum aliquot ecclesiae patrum ac scriptorum libri*, repr. in Margarin de la Bigne, *Maxima bibliotheca veterum patrum*, 13 (Lyons, 1677), 703 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Commentarius de sacris ecclesiae ordinationibus* (Paris, 1651), 258.

<sup>6</sup> Paris, 1924.

<sup>7</sup> "Eine unerklärte Stelle im römischen Weiheformular des Exorcisten", *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 5 (1925), 147-150.

<sup>8</sup> Andrieu's substitution of the title *Pontificale romano-germanicum* for Hittorp's *Ordo romanus antiquus* has been universally accepted. Cf. Andrieu, "Melchior Hittorp et l'Ordo romanus antiquus", *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 46 (1932), 3-21.

In his historical introduction and commentary on the Roman pontifical, Pierre de Puniet devoted several pages to the allocutions of what he called the *Ordo de septem gradibus ecclesiae*. Puniet surmised, like Michels, that the treatise went back to Hittorp's *Ordo romanus antiquus* of the tenth century, but as a basis for several of the ecclesiastical duties in the *D07G* Puniet postulated a compilation now lost.<sup>9</sup>

After Puniet's work, Andrieu published his monumental study of the manuscripts of the *Ordines romani*. In this work Andrieu presented a list of some seventeen manuscripts which contained the *De officiis septem graduum Isidori*.<sup>10</sup> Although he did not study the history of the text, Andrieu's list of manuscripts in which the text appears is still the standard.

Carrying his research into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Andrieu published his edition of the *Pontificale romanum XII saeculi*, with its list of manuscripts in which the *D07G* appears. But again he made no attempt to trace the history of the *D07G*. Nor did Andrieu speculate about the origins of the *D07G* when he published his later editions of the *Pontificale romanae curiae* or *Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi*.<sup>11</sup>

A year before Andrieu published his edition of the *Pontificale romanum XII saeculi* the Abbé V. Leroquais had begun his catalogue of the pontifical manuscripts in France. A perusal of the indices of his catalogue<sup>12</sup> shows how often parts or the whole of the *D07G* appeared in French pontifical manuscripts. Leroquais was not content simply to present the occurrences of the treatise. He examined it sentence by sentence in his introduction to the ordination rite and attempted to recapture *la forme primitive*. His results were rather strange in that he located the primitive forms for the individual grades in widely disparate manuscripts,<sup>13</sup> yet the allocutional sentences for all of the grades, except the acolyte, are found in several manuscripts which Leroquais used.<sup>14</sup>

In the year after Leroquais' study was published, the distinguished liturgical scholar, Bernard Botte, produced the first of two articles in which he examined parts of the *D07G*. In an analysis of the word *consummare* Botte

<sup>9</sup> *Le Pontifical romain: Histoire et Commentaire*, 1 (Paris, 1930), 141 through 2 (Paris, 1931), 33; esp. I. 148.

<sup>10</sup> *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 1 (Louvain, 1931), 180.

<sup>11</sup> *Le Pontifical romain au moyen âge*, 1, *Le Pontifical romain du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 2, *Le Pontifical romain de la curie romaine au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 3, *Le Pontifical de Guillaume Durand*, Studi e Testi 86-88 (Vatican City, 1938-40).

<sup>12</sup> *Les pontificaux manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1937), esp. 3.23, 70, 74, 94, 114, 134, 143.

<sup>13</sup> For his results, see I. xxxvii-lxxvi.

<sup>14</sup> *Troyes Bibl. mun.* 2272 and the MSS of the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*.

traced it from its primitive meaning of *consecrare* in pre-Hieronymian literature through its use in the *D07G*.<sup>15</sup> Because of the antique usage of the word *consummare* in the *D07G*, Botte located the treatise in Gaul and dated it to the seventh century. He further cited Andrieu's manuscripts and commented that the tract had made its way into the *Ordines romani*.

The second of Botte's articles which treated the *D07G* was a study of the ordination rite of the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*, a text closely associated with the *D07G* in early medieval manuscripts.<sup>16</sup> In this study Botte noted that the preparation of water was found in the subdiaconal verse of the *D07G* and surmised that the tract was non-Roman and written at a time very close to the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. He claimed that the *D07G* certainly could not be Roman since it does not contain a verse for the acolyte.

Most commentators on the *D07G* have, since Botte's two articles, followed one or the other of his conclusions.<sup>17</sup>

In a discussion of the early terminology of the priesthood, P. M. Gy found in the *D07G* what he considered the earliest clear evidence for the distinction between the words *episcopus* and *sacerdos*.<sup>18</sup> Gy cited Botte for a fifth century date, but argued that since no mention is made of the acolyte, the *D07G* cannot be earlier than the seventh century.

In a lengthy study of the ordination rite for the acolyte Adriaan Snijders partially supported both Botte and Gy.<sup>19</sup> In his consideration of the episcopal address to the acolyte Snijders came to three conclusions: 1) the *D07G* existed by the seventh century; 2) it was often cited as a work of Isidore of Seville; and 3) probably the first appearance of the episcopal address to the acolyte was in the *Pontifical of Christian I of Mainz*.<sup>20</sup>

In the two important reference tools, the *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum*<sup>21</sup> and the *Clavis Patrum*,<sup>22</sup> the *D07G* is listed among the works

<sup>15</sup> "Consummare", *Archivum latinitas medii aevi* (*Bulletin Du Cange*), 12 (1938), 43-45.

<sup>16</sup> "Le rituel d'ordination des *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 11 (1939), 223-241, esp. 235, n. 55.

<sup>17</sup> In a later article on episcopal consecration Botte cited his own article of 1938: "Le sacre épiscopal dans le rite romain", *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales*, 25 (1940), 30, n. 1.

<sup>18</sup> "Réflexions sur le vocabulaire antique du sacerdoce chrétien", *Études sur le sacrement de l'ordre*, Lex Orandi 22 (Paris, 1957), 134 f.

<sup>19</sup> "Acolythus cum ordinatur", eine historische Studie", *Sacris erudiri*, 9 (1957), 163-198, esp. 182 f.

<sup>20</sup> Snijders, 182 f., noted that in Morin's edition of the *D07G* taken from *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173* (see above, n. 4) the acolyte appears, but Snijders says that it is introduced only as an example and that it is only in the *Pontifical of Christian I* that there is a real allocution.

<sup>21</sup> M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum latinorum medii aevi hispanorum*, 1 (Madrid, 1959), 45, Nr. 134.

<sup>22</sup> Dekkers and Gaar, 276, Nr. 1222.

falsely attributed to Isidore of Seville. M. C. Díaz y Díaz in the *Index scriptorum* dates the tract to the seventh century and says that it depends on the Isidorian *Epistula ad Leudefredum*. Strangely, however, he states that the *Epistula ad Leudefredum*, also a pseudo-Isidorian treatise, is a Spanish treatise of the eighth or ninth century.<sup>23</sup> The *Clavis Patrum* simply notes that the tract is falsely ascribed to Isidore and refers the reader to the works of Botte and Andrieu.

Finally, the *D07G* has been discussed briefly by Bruno Kleinheyser in his excellent studies of the presbyter and deacon.<sup>24</sup> He seems to follow both Díaz y Díaz and Botte's earlier speculation on the date of the tract. According to him, the *D07G*, which appears for the first time in the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*, depends on the spurious Isidorian *Epistula ad Leudefredum*, and was written probably in the seventh century. And like Snijders, he notes that an allocution for the acolyte is missing in the earliest recensions of the text.

Without any speculations as to date and provenance Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze have produced a critical edition of the *D07G* as it appears in Andrieu's manuscripts of the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*.<sup>25</sup> Their edition basically follows that of Hittorp.

To date, then, the conclusions of liturgical scholars about the *D07G* seem to be as follows: 1) the treatise is not an authentic work of Isidore; 2) it was written sometime between the fifth and late seventh centuries; 3) it is first found in the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*; 4) the acolyte was not originally included in the tract; and therefore, 5) the tract is non-Roman.

## II. THE DATE, PROVENANCE, AND POSSIBLE MODELS FOR THE *D07G*

As a partial explanation for the wide variety of opinions concerning the *D07G*, it should first be stressed that the treatise as a whole has never come under critical scrutiny. It has been of tangential concern to other studies.

<sup>23</sup> Díaz y Díaz, I, 120 f., Nr. 453. In my forthcoming study of the *Epistula ad Leudefredum*, it will be shown that the tract was written before the time of Isidore Mercator, as was suggested by C. Silva-Tarouca, "Nuovi studi sulle antiche lettere dei papi", *Gregorianum*, 12 (1931), pp. 588 ff. Díaz y Díaz, I, 45, notes that the *D07G* "pendet ex epistula ad Leudefredum cf. M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 1 (Louvain, 1931), p. 180, adn. 1". Díaz y Díaz probably meant "adn. 2", rather than "adn. 1". Even so, in "adn. 2", Andrieu had only said (and incorrectly so) that the functions of each degree in the *D07G* are enumerated following the same order as that in the *Epistula ad Leudefredum*. Further, Andrieu noted that if the anonymous compiler of the *D07G* did use the *Epistula ad Leudefredum*, he took great liberties in so doing.

<sup>24</sup> *Die Priesterweihe im römischen Ritus: eine liturgie historische Studie* (Trier, 1962), 151, esp. nn. 39 and 41, and "Le diaconat à la lumière du rituel d'ordination selon le Pontifical romain", in *Le diacre dans l'église et le monde d'aujourd'hui*, Unam Sanctam 59 (Paris, 1966), 115 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Le Pontifical romano-germanique du X<sup>e</sup> siècle*, 1, Studi e Testi 226 (Vatican City, 1963), 12 f.

Second, the origins and provenance of a text as simple as the *D07G* are almost always obscure. Like similar tracts on the ecclesiastical offices, the *D07G* was used in many ways in medieval literature and assumed different forms. It absorbed and omitted at varying times individual ecclesiastical grades, and the catalogue of functions was ever changing. Nonetheless, the text should have been compared closely with possible models, and other genres of early medieval non-liturgical literature should have been consulted for possible antecedents.

#### A. ISIDORIAN MODELS

##### 1. THE EPISTULA AD LEUDEFREDUM.

Since the *D07G* was often attributed to Isidore of Seville († 636), the authentic and spurious tracts attributed to the Spanish doctor seem the most natural models to which to look for antecedents. Among the Isidorian tracts, the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* is, according to several scholars, the most likely candidate. For it to be the most likely candidate, however, one must postulate that the *Epistula* was written before A. D. 700 since, as will be shown, the *D07G-DDG* was in existence by that time. In comparing the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* and the *D07G* closely one sees some vague structural similarities. In most of the manuscripts of the tenth-century *Pontificale romano-germanicum* the *D07G* is attributed to Isidore. And in several of the earliest manuscripts of the *Epistula* Isidore is listed as the author.<sup>26</sup> There are, however, other early manuscripts of the *Epistula* where no mention is made of Isidore.<sup>27</sup> There is also a similarity in that both the *Epistula* and the *D07G* balance the officers and their functions with a modal auxiliary verb. But these verbs are different in the two tracts. The *D07G* generally uses *oportet*, and the *Epistula* *pertinet*. Further, the sequence of the lower grades is different.<sup>28</sup> In the *D07G* the grades follow the sequence, doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop; in the earliest manuscript exemplars of the *Epistula* the orders are doorkeeper, acolyte, psalmist, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop.<sup>29</sup>

In comparing the phrasing and functions of the individual grades in the *D07G* and the *Epistula*, the differences are more striking than the similarities. Of the seven grades in common the texts regarding the doorkeeper, exor-

<sup>26</sup> E.g., Yale University Beinecke Lib. 442, fol. 240rab (s. ix), and Escorial d.I.1, fol. 336rb-va (s. x).

<sup>27</sup> E.g., Rennes Bibl. mun. 134 (112<sup>1</sup>), p. 224 (s. ix/x), and Paris BN 3838, fol. 167r (s. x).

<sup>28</sup> The major exception is in the peculiar Burchardian recension of the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* in the *Decretum* 3.50: PL 140. 681 f.

<sup>29</sup> Above the bishop there are several officers listed. This sequence is found in those MSS listed above in nn. 26 f., and PL 83.894-898.

cist, and deacon are almost wholly dissimilar.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the *Epistula* contains a verse for the acolyte, whereas the earlier manuscript exemplars of the *D07G* do not.

In the grade of lector there are some similarities between the *D07G* and the *Epistula* in reading and preaching, but the phrasing is different:<sup>31</sup>

*D07G*

Lectorem oportet legere ei qui praedicat et lectiones cantare et benedicere panem et omnes fructus novos.

The subdeacon's function in preparing water is similar in the *D07G* and the *Epistula*, but again the phrasing is distinct:

*D07G*

Subdiaconum oportet praeparare aquam ad ministrationem altaris et ministrare diacono.

*Epistula*

Ad lectorem pertinet lectiones pronuntiare et ea quae prophetae annuntiaverunt populis praedicare.

*Epistula*

Ad subdiaconum pertinet calicem et patenam ad altarium Christi deferre, et levitis tradere, eisque administrare, urceolum quoque, et aquamanilem, et manutergium tenere et episcopo et presbyteris et levitis pro lavandis ante altarium manibus aquam praebere.

In both tracts the presbyter confects the Eucharist and blesses, but the remaining duties are different:

*D07G*

Sacerdotem oportet offerre et benedicere, praeesse et praedicare et baptizare.

*Epistula*

Ad presbyterum pertinet sacramentum corporis et sanguinis domini in altari domini conficere, orationes dicere, et benedicere populum.

<sup>30</sup>

*D07G* (Hittorp, 703f.)

Ostiarium oportet percutere cymbalum et aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et librum aperire ei qui praedicat.

*Epistula* (PL 83.895)

Ad ostiarium namque pertinent claves ecclesiae ut claudat et aperiat templum dei; et omnia quae sunt intus extraque custodiat, fideles recipiat excommunicatos et infideles reiiciat.

Exorcistam oportet eicere daemones et dicere populo qui non communicat ut det locum et aquam ministerio effundere.

Ad exorcistam pertinet exorcismos memoriter retinere, manus super energumenos et catechumenos exorcizandos imponere.

Diaconum oportet ministrare ad altare et baptizare.

Ad diaconum pertinet assistere sacerdotibus et ministrare in omnibus quae aguntur in sacramentis christi, in baptismo scilicet, in chrismate, in patena et calice, oblationes inferre, et disponere in altario, componere mensam domini, atque vestire, crucem ferre, praedicare evangelium et apostolum.

<sup>31</sup> For comparisons of the *D07G* and *Epistula*, cf. Hittorp, 703f. and PL 83.895 f.

Finally, the bishop in both tracts consecrates and confects, but in the *D07G* it is the Eucharist and in the *Epistula* it is chrism. The remaining portions of the texts are quite different:

*D07G*

Episcopum oportet iudicare, interpretari et consecrare, consummare, ordinare, offerre, et baptizare.

*Epistula*

Ad episcopum pertinet basilicarum consecratio, unctio altaris, confectio chrismatis; ipse praedicta officia et ordines ecclesiasticos constituit, ipse sacras virgines benedicit; et dum praesit unusquisque in singulis, hic tamen est in cunctis.

It may be that the *D07G* and the *Epistula* were originally ordinational allocutions<sup>32</sup> and derive from the same *Gattung*. But this makes one tract dependent on the other only in the most general sense. Further, the adherence of Isidore's name to both treatises is little proof of dependency. It was well known in the early Middle Ages that Isidore had written two tracts, the *De origine officiorum* and the *Origines*, which catalogued the functions of the ecclesiastical grades, and it was common to attribute to him works of a similar type.<sup>33</sup>

## 2. THE AUTHENTIC WORKS OF ISIDORE.

While there is a plausible connection between the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* and the *D07G*, the same can hardly be said for the authentic works of Isidore and the *D07G*. In both the *De origine officiorum*<sup>34</sup> and the *Origines*<sup>35</sup> there are, to be sure, lists of ecclesiastical officers, their Old and New Testament precedents, and their functions, but there is little more to connect these tracts with the *D07G*. There is not even the litany-like ticking off of functions which is common to both the *D07G* and the *Epistula ad Leudefredum*.

<sup>32</sup> In fact, in the eleventh-century pontifical MS, Munich *Clm* 21587, fol. 18v, the *Epistula* in its Burchardian recension appears perhaps as an ordinational allocution. Also see Puniel, l. 139.

<sup>33</sup> See, e.g., the mid-eighth-century southern German Pseudo-Isidorian treatise, *De vetere et novo testamento quaestiones*, with its questions on the ecclesiastical grades. See Robert E. McNally, "The Pseudo-Isidorian 'De vetere et novo testamento quaestiones'", *Traditio*, 19 (1963), 43, 48 f. Also see the small treatise in Munich *Clm* 2594, fol. 13r. The name of Jerome was also often attached to lists of or treatises on the ecclesiastical grades.

<sup>34</sup> 2.1-15: PL 83.777 ff. The Rev. Christopher Lawson, who is presently editing the *De origine officiorum*, does not use the traditional title *De ecclesiasticis officiis*.

<sup>35</sup> Esp. 7.12: PL 82. esp. 290-293, and W. M. Lindsay, ed., *Isidori hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum libri xx*, 1 (Oxford, 1911).



a. *The De Origine Officiorum (DOO)*.

A close comparison of the structure of the *DOO* and the *D07G* immediately reveals two dissimilar tracts. The sequence of grades (ascending hierarchically) in the *DOO* is doorkeeper, exorcist, psalmist, lector, subdeacon, *custos sacrorum*, deacon, presbyter, and *sacerdos-episcopus*. Inasmuch as the earliest recensions of the *D07G* and *DOO* omitted a verse for the acolyte they are alike,<sup>36</sup> but a comparison of the other individual grades in the *D07G* and the *DOO* displays not only a distinct dissimilarity of phrasing, but also in many cases an almost wholly dissimilar list of functions. There are facets of the doorkeeper, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, and presbyter<sup>37</sup> which are vaguely similar in the two tracts, but only because the major function of each of these grades is mentioned in both tracts. In any event, the phrasing is distinct. For the lector and bishop the texts are quite dissimilar.

b. *The Origines*.

Turning to Isidore's *Origines*, an even more tenuous connection is found with the *D07G*. Again, the sequence of the grades is quite different. The *Origines* lists them (in ascending hierarchical order): doorkeeper, exorcist, acolyte, lector-psalmist (including cantor, precentor, and succentor), subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop.<sup>38</sup> Unlike the *D07G* the *Origines* contains the notable addition of the acolyte. And in the individual grades there are almost no correspondencies between the *Origines* and the *D07G* beyond the most obvious duty assigned each grade.<sup>39</sup> Again, however, the phrasing is so different that any dependency is virtually excluded.

<sup>36</sup> Christopher Lawson has kindly informed me that the verse for the acolyte which appears in the *DOO* as found in PL 83.793 was not originally within the tract. When the acolytical verse (taken from the *Origines*) was added to later MSS of the *DOO*, it was added between the subdeacon and lector. The only exception to this was *Escorial d.I.1* (the MS on which PL 83.793 is based), where the verse was added between the doorkeeper and exorcist. Cf. my article, "The Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers in the *Raganaldus Sacramentary* and its Liturgico-Canonical Significance", *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 440, n. 43.

<sup>37</sup> For a comparison of the *DOO* and *D07G*, see Hittorp, 703 f. and PL 83.777 f. For the doorkeeper the tracts are similar in that they both emphasize the duty of the doorkeeper to include and exclude certain persons. For the exorcist the tracts are alike insofar as both echo the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*. For the subdeacon both tracts echo the *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* and note that the subdeacon serves the deacon. For the deacon both tracts note his ministrations at the altar. And for the bishop the tracts are alike insofar as they both echo the Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*.

<sup>38</sup> Included in the episcopal office are the *episcopi*, *archiepiscopi*, *metropolitani*, and *patriarcha*. PL 82.291. In his brief introductory list of orders in 7.12.3 (PL 82.290), Isidore gives them as doorkeeper, psalmist-lector, exorcist, acolyte, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop.

<sup>39</sup> The doorkeepers are similar only in their duties of exclusion and inclusion; the lectors in their reading and chanting; the exorcists in their general duty of exorcising; and the subdeacons in their obedience to the deacon.

B. THE STATUTA ECCLESIAE ANTIQUA (*SEA*)

In one of his articles Dom Botte suggested that the *D07G* was perhaps written at a time close to the composition of the *SEA*. Since his articles appeared, the *SEA* has been critically edited by Charles Munier, who suggests that this series of disciplinary, doctrinal, and ordination canons should be placed in Gaul ca. 470, and that the author was Gennadius of Marseilles.<sup>40</sup> A careful comparison of the *D07G* and the *SEA* shows possible dependencies in several respects. Although the *SEA* contains two grades which the *D07G* does not, the psalmist and acolyte, the remainder of the grades are ordered in the same ascending sequence: doorkeeper, lector, exorcist, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop. Of special importance is the sequence of the lector and exorcist. In Gallican tracts the exorcist was almost always ordered in a position hierarchically superior to the lector.<sup>41</sup> Of the seven grades common to the *SEA* and the *D07G* four are completely dissimilar both in phrasing and functions, the doorkeeper, exorcist, presbyter, and bishop.<sup>42</sup> There are a few similarities in the other

<sup>40</sup> *Les Statuta ecclesiae antiqua: Édition-Études critiques* (Paris, 1960), 228 f.

<sup>41</sup> Rabanus Maurus, *De clericorum institutione* l. 3-12 (PL 107.298-306), the author of the Alcuinian *Disputatio puerorum* (PL 101.1131-34), Pseudo-Alcuin, *Liber de divinis officiis*, c. 34 (PL 101.1231-33; c. 36 strangely reverses the exorcist and acolyte [PL 101.1234-36]), and Gerard of Cambrai, *Acta synodi Atrabatensis*, c. 6 (PL 142.1291-94), to mention only a handful, all patterned their tracts on this Gallican sequence of lower orders. The following early "Roman" documents also contain this "Gallican" sequence of lector and exorcist: the *Constitutum Silvestri*, (PL 8.838), the apocryphal *Council of 275 Bishops*, "Gaius" and "Silvester" of the *Liber Pontificalis*, (PL 8.826), L. Duchesne, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, I (Paris, 1886), 161, 171 f., 190, and the oft-cited "Silvestrian" clerical accusatorial canon (*Mansi* 2.623).

<sup>42</sup> *D07G* (Hittorp, 703f.)

*SEA* (Munier, 95-98)

Ostiarium oportet percutere cymbalum et aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et librum aperire ei qui praedicat.

Exorcistam oportet eicere daemones et dicere populo qui non communicat ut det locum et aquam ministerio effundere.

Sacerdotem oportet offerre et benedicere, praeesse et praedicare et baptizare.

Ostarius cum ordinatur, postquam ab archidiacono instructus fuerit qualiter in domo dei debeat conversari, ad suggestionem archidiaconi tradit ei episcopus claves ecclesiae de altari dicens: Sic age quasi redditurus deo rationem pro his rebus quae istis clavibus recluduntur.

Exorcista cum ordinatur accipiat de manu episcopi libellum in quo scripti sunt exorcismi, dicente sibi episcopo: Accipe et commenda et habeto potestatem imponendi manus super energumenum sive baptizatum sive cathecumenum.

Presbyter cum ordinatur, episcopo cum benedicente et manum super caput eius tenente, etiam omnes presbyteri qui prae-

grades, but they are minimal. For example, the lector reads, the subdeacon is connected with water, and the deacon ministers.<sup>43</sup>

Even if it were true that the *SEA* and *D07G* show enough similarities to prove dependency, it would be going somewhat beyond the available evidence to claim that they therefore must have been written at about the same time and in the same place. Both Munier and M. Coquin<sup>44</sup> have shown the immense popularity of the *SEA* in early medieval manuscripts throughout Europe, and it is quite possible that the *D07G* could have been composed on the basis of one of these manuscripts at a place and time far removed from fifth-century southern Gaul.

### C. THE PSEUDO-HIERONYMIAN DE SEPTEM ORDINIBUS ECCLESIAE (*D70E*)

There is a final treatise from late patristic antiquity which may have served as a model for portions of the *D07G*. This tract, the Pseudo-Hiero-

Episcopum oportet iudicare, interpretari  
et consecrare, consummare, ordinare, offer-  
re, et baptizare.

43

*D07G* (Hittorp, 703f.)

Lectorem oportet legere ei qui praedicat  
et lectiones cantare et benedicere panem  
et omnes fructus novos.

Subdiaconum oportet praeparare aquam  
ad ministrationem altaris et ministrare  
diacono.

Diaconum oportet ministrare ad altare  
et baptizare.

sentes sunt, manus suas iuxta manum epis-  
copi super caput illius teneant.

Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi  
ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem  
super cervicem eius et uno super eum fun-  
dente benedictionem, reliqui omnes epis-  
copi, qui adsunt, manibus suis caput eius  
tangant.

*SEA* (Munier, 98, 96)

Lector cum ordinatur faciat de illo  
verbum episcopus ad plebem, indicans  
eius fidem ac vitam atque ingenium; post  
haec, exspectante plebe, tradat ei codicem  
de quo lecturus est, dicens ad eum: Accipe  
et esto verbi dei relator habiturus si fideliter  
et utiliter impleveris officium partem cum  
his qui verbum dei ministraverunt.

Subdiaconus cum ordinatur, quia manus  
impositionem non accipit, patenam de  
manu episcopi accipiat vacuum et calicem  
vacuum, de manu vero archidiaconi acci-  
piat urceolum cum aquamanile ac manuter-  
gium.

Diaconus cum ordinatur solus episcopus  
qui eum benedicit manum super caput illius  
ponat, quia non ad sacerdotium sed ad  
ministerium consecratur.

<sup>44</sup> Munier, 29-54; *idem*, "Une forme abrégée du rituel des ordinations des *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua*", *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 32 (1958), 79-84; and Coquin, "Le sort des *Statuta ecclesiae antiqua* dans les collections canoniques jusqu'à la *Concordia* de Gratien", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 28 (1961), 193-224.

nymian *D70E*,<sup>45</sup> has been extensively studied as a source for both the *SEA* and Isidore's *DOO*,<sup>46</sup> but little attention has been given to it as a possible source of the *D07G*. In the *D70E*, which may have been composed as early as the second quarter of the fifth century and certainly by ca. 615,<sup>47</sup> the hierarchical position and functions of the gravedigger, doorkeeper, lector, subdeacon, deacon, presbyter, and bishop are discussed.

In comparing the treatment of the ecclesiastical grades in the *D70E* and the *D07G*, the dissimilarities are at first more evident than the similarities. The former tract is quite long, discusses extensively the unusual grade of gravedigger, and omits the exorcist, which the *D07G* includes. Further, the phrasing of the texts for the doorkeeper, lector, and subdeacon bear little resemblance in the two tracts. Nonetheless, there are similarities. Of the grades which the *D70E* and *D07G* have in common, the same sequence is followed. More important, in the higher grades of deacon, presbyter, and bishop, there are certain clear parallels in the *D70E* and the *D07G*.

Despite the difference in phrasing, in the diaconal grade of the *D70E*, the deacon ministers and dispenses the sacrament.<sup>48</sup> Later it will be seen how the *evangelizantes pacem, adnuntiantes bona* of the *D70E* is quite close to an Anglo-Saxon recension of the *D07G*.<sup>49</sup>

It is particularly in the grades of the presbyterate and episcopate that the *D70E* and *D07G* show distinct similarities. In both tracts it is the duty of the presbyter to *predicare, preesse, benedicere*, and *offerre*. In the *D70E* there

<sup>45</sup> Athanasius W. Kalfß, ed., *Ps.-Hieronymi De septem ordinibus ecclesiae* (Würzburg, 1935); and PL 30.148-162.

<sup>46</sup> Munier, *Les Statuta*, 162-164; and A. C. Lawson, "The sources of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* of St. Isidore of Seville" (*Bodleian Library, Oxford Ref. D 27 II*, 1937; *A. C. Lawson MS Engl. Theol. C 56*), esp. 78-105.

<sup>47</sup> See my article, "The Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*: Notes on its Origins, Abridgments, and Use in Early Medieval Canonical Collections", *Revue bénédictine*, 80 (1970), 238-251. To be added to those early medieval canonical MSS containing the *D70E* noted in my article are: *Montpellier Bibl. de la Faculté de Médecine MS 233* (s. ix, containing the *Concordia canonum Cresconii* and *Breviatio Ferrandi*), fol. 135r-145v, where there is great textual confusion; *Vercelli Bibl. capit. MS XV* (s. ix, containing the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata*), fol. 119v-123v; and *Paris BN MS Lat. 15392* (1009, containing the *Collectio Anselmo dedicata*), pp. 189-195. Finally, there is an abbreviation of the *D70E* like that of *Zurich ZB C 64*, fol. 64v-65r in *London BM MS Arundel 213*, fol. 24r (a MS brought to my attention by Professor Robert Somerville). On the Arundel MS, see Bernhard Bischoff and Josef Hofmann, *Libri Sancti Kyliani: Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1952), 50, n. 61; 79; and 151.

<sup>48</sup> Kalfß, 38 f.: *Hic minister dei dicitur, quia sic scriptum est: Maior est, qui ministrat quam qui ministratur, et sicut in sacerdote consecratio, ita et in ministro dispensatio sacramenti est. Ille orare, hic psallere mandatur; ille oblata sanctificat, hic sanctificata dispensat.*

<sup>49</sup> Kalfß, 38.

is a long list of verbs which structurally resembles that of the *D07G*: *Praedicare eos presbyteros utile est, benedicere congruum, confirmare convenit, reddere communionem necesse est, visitare infirmos, orare pro invalidis atque omnia dei complere sacramenta....* Further, in the presbyteral paragraphs *ordinatio, consecratio, and iudicio* are reserved to the bishop.<sup>50</sup>

In the texts for the bishop in the *D70E* and *D07G* there are again similarities. Like the presbyteral paragraphs, the episcopal section contains a long list of verbs describing the bishop's powers. Included among these are *ordinat, praeest, damnat, recipit, ligat, and solvit*.<sup>51</sup>

On the basis of these similarities alone it cannot be claimed that the *D07G* was written in the fifth century, but at least in the ordering of grades and in the litany-like rehearsal of the duties of the higher grades, one cannot but feel that the *D07G* was in some way influenced by the *D70E*.

#### D. MISCELLANEOUS CLUES AS TO THE DATE AND PROVENANCE OF THE *D07G*

##### 1. GALLICANISMS.

Besides the similarities to the Gallican *SEA* and the *D70E*, which may have been composed in southern Gaul, there are several other distinctive features in the *D07G* which point to a Gallican provenance. First, Botte pointed out that after Jerome's time the word *consummare* with its ancient Latin meaning of *consecrare* was used mainly in Gallican literature, including the *D07G*.<sup>52</sup>

Second, there may be another Gallicanism in the term *communicare* used in the earliest recensions of the diaconal verse.<sup>53</sup> Although usually this word simply meant "to receive communion", it could also be applied to the distribution of communion, a duty which Gallican councils had occasionally enjoined the deacon from doing.<sup>54</sup> When no presbyter was available or *in extremis*, Gallican councils had, however, allowed the deacon to *dare viaticum* or to *communicare*, and it may be to this practice that the *D07G* makes reference.<sup>55</sup> *Communicare* may also be interpreted to mean the

<sup>50</sup> Kalf, 47-52.

<sup>51</sup> Kalf, 58.

<sup>52</sup> Botte, "Consummare", 43-45.

<sup>53</sup> See the diaconal verse below in the *DDG*.

<sup>54</sup> *Concilium Arelatense secundum* c. 15: C. Munier, ed., *Concilia Galliae, A. 314-A. 506*, Corpus Christianorum, Ser. Lat. 98 (Turnhout, 1963), 117. Also cf. the Council of Laodicea, canon 25. On the deacon's function of distributing communion, see Isidore's *DOO* 2.8.4: PL 83.789.

<sup>55</sup> According to the *SEA* c. 58 (Munier, *Les Statuta*, 89), if a presbyter is present, a deacon may give the *corpus Christi* to the people. This probably refers to the Mass, but by extension it perhaps may include the viaticum, since *SEA* c. 21, speaks of the viaticum, as do the *Concilium Auresicum* (441) c. 3, the *Concilium Arelatense secundum*, c. 28, the *Concilium Agathense* (ca. 506) c. 15 (Munier,

deacon's duty to call upon the people to bow their heads for blessing before the communion,<sup>56</sup> a duty mentioned by Caesarius of Arles and the later Spanish *Liber Ordinum*.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, there may be a Gallicanism in the duty of the lector to bless *omnes fructus novos*. In many pre-ninth-century liturgical books<sup>58</sup> there are *benedictiones ad fruges novos et pomorum*, but there is nothing said about the lector. In a Gallican lectionary of the sixth or seventh century, the *Lectio-narium Luxoviense*, there are found the *Legenda ad missam de novos fructos*.<sup>59</sup> The lector did not actually bless the new fruits, but his part is the ceremony seems abundantly clear in the lections.

## 2. IRISHISMS.

Against a Celtic provenance for the *D07G* militates the sequence of the lower orders. Rather than following the normal Hiberno-Hispanic practice of listing the exorcist hierarchically below the lector,<sup>60</sup> the sequence of the *D07G* follows the Gallican practice of listing the lector in the lower position.

*Concilia Galliae*, 78, 120, 201), and the Council of Epdon (517) c. 36 (C. de Clercq, ed., *Concilia Galliae*, A. 511-A. 695. Corpus Christianorum, Ser. Lat. 98A [Turnhout, 1963], 34).

<sup>56</sup> In an old penitential mentioned by Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinitatis, cum suppl. D. P. Carpenterii*, 2 (Paris, 1842), 486 f., only as the *Penitentiale MS Thuanum* (Paris Cod. Reg. 3878), the word *communicare* is given four meanings: *Sciendum est quod 4. modis communicatur in ecclesia: vel corpus domini sumendo, vel pacem dando, vel benedictionem sumendo, ut in fine missae, vel quando dicitur, 'Humiliate vos' ad benedictionem, quod ideo institutum est, ut si quis hoc modo non communicet, communicet illo.*

<sup>57</sup> L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origins and Evolution*, trs. M. L. McClure, 5th edit. (London, 1919), 223; and Marius Férotin, *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle* (Paris, 1904), 241 and 153. In the description of the Mass the deacon is not specifically mentioned as crying *Humiliate vos* before the episcopal blessing, but in the *Ordo quando rex cum exercitu ad prelium egreditur* it is clearly the deacon's duty to call to the people, *Humiliate vos*.

<sup>58</sup> See the liturgical books listed in Petrus Siffrin, *Liber sacramentorum romanae ecclesiae* (Cod. Vatican. Reg. lat. 316) *Sacramentarium Gelasianum, Konkordanztabellen zu den Gelasianum, Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, Ser. minor, subsidia studiorum 5 (Rome, 1959), 206, Nr. 1603-1605.

<sup>59</sup> PL 72.209 f. Also see Klaus Gamber, *Codices liturgici latini antiquiores*, Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia I (Freiburg/Schweiz, 1963), 40 f., Nr. 255; and Cyrille Vogel, *Introduction aux sources de l'histoire du culte chrétien au moyen âge*, Biblioteca degli "Studi Medievali" I (Spoleto, 1966), 291 f.

<sup>60</sup> This sequence is found in both the *Collectio hibernensis* 1-8.1 (Hermann Wasserschleben, *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, 2nd edit. [Leipzig, 1885], 3-26), and the Isidorian tracts already studied. On the early migration of Spanish canonical collections and Isidorian works to Ireland, see Jocelyn Hillgarth, "Old Ireland and Visigothic Spain", in *Old Ireland*, ed. Robert McNally (New York, 1965), 210-218, and literature therein. There are occasional instances in Spanish texts where the grades, without acolyte, are ordered according to the sequence of the *DDG*. E.g., in *Gerona Bibl. capit. MS 23 (I.f.2)* (s. xi), fol. 34v, there is a canon: "Hic constituit ut per omnes gradus, primum ascenderet si quis episcopus fieri meretur ut esset hostiarius, lector, exorcista, subdiaconus diaconus, presbyter".

Despite this Gallican sequence, there are other pieces of evidence which make it not at all improbable that Irishmen, whether they lived in Ireland or were *peregrinatores* elsewhere, had a hand in the composition of the *D07G*.

First, Celtic connections are found in the earliest recension of the *D07G*. Under the title *De distantia graduum* and with modified phrasing, the *D07G* appears in the late seventh- or early eight-century canonical *Collectio hibernensis*.<sup>61</sup> There it follows the Hiberno-Hispanic hierarchical recension of the Ordinals of Christ,<sup>62</sup> a text disseminated throughout Europe by the Irish.

Second, in both the *DDG* and the Ordinal of Christ of the *Collectio hibernensis* the grade of acolyte has been omitted. Although not conclusive,<sup>63</sup> this omission is a good indicium of the Celtic connection of the *D07G-DDG*.

Third, the general structure of the *DDG* "smells" Irish. Irish authors loved to compose long litany-like lists of carefully enumerated duties, sins, events in the life of Christ<sup>64</sup> or other materials. This same tendency is clearly present in the *DDG*.

Fourth, there are similarities between the *DDG* and several canons in the *Iudicia Theodori*, an Insular collection of canons almost contemporary with the *Collectio hibernensis*.<sup>65</sup> Like the deacon of the *DDG*, the deacons of the *Iudicia Theodori* *possunt baptizare*, and like the lector, who in the *DDG* is able to *benedicere panes et fructus novos*, the deacons of the *Iudicia Theodori*

<sup>61</sup> 8.2: Wasserschleben, 26. Snijders, 182 f., came close to recognizing this. He noted that the grade of acolyte is missing in the Ordinal of Christ (see below, n. 62) in the *Collectio hibernensis* 8.1, and in "Kap IX [sic]", the *DDG*. Snijders did not, however, make the direct connection between the *D07G* and the *DDG*.

<sup>62</sup> 8.1: Wasserschleben, 26. What I have called the "Ordinals of Christ" are brief treatises in which the ecclesiastical grades are listed according to a prearranged sequence with events in Christ's life attached as sanctions. The Ordinals are called by André Wilmart "Les ordres du Christ" ("Les ordres du Christ", *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 3 (1923), 304-327), and by Ernst Kantorowicz the *Ordines Christi* ("The Baptism of the Apostles", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 9-10 [1956], 218 f., 229 f.). Also see Joseph Crehan, "The Seven Orders of Christ", *Theological Studies*, 19 (1958), 81-93. In a forthcoming study I shall be dealing extensively with the Ordinals of Christ.

<sup>63</sup> See Wilmart, "Les ordres", 309. The oft-stated proposition that the Irish had no acolytes has been exploded by Bieler and Binchy's edition of the Irish penitentials. In two pre-ninth-century Old Irish canons, penances for certain sins of *acolythi* are listed. Ludwig Bieler, ed., with append. by D. A. Binchy, *The Irish Penitentials*, *Scriptores latini hiberniae*, 5 (Dublin, 1963), 264 f.

<sup>64</sup> On this Irish penchant, see the following works by Robert E. McNally, "Old Ireland, Her Scribes and Scholars", *Old Ireland*, 132-138; "Dies Dominica: Two Hiberno-Latin Texts", *Mediaeval Studies*, 22 (1960), 355-361; "The Pseudo-Isidorian 'De vetere et novo testamento quaestiones'", 48 f.; "'Christus' in the Pseudo-Isidorian 'Liber de Ortu et Obitu Patriarcharum'", *Traditio*, 21 (1965), 175-181.

<sup>65</sup> P. W. Finsterwalder, ed., *Die canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929); and the review of this work by G. Le Bras, "Iudicia Theodori", *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 4th Ser., 10 (1931), 95-115.

are able to *cibum et potum benedicere* and the *monachi et clerici possunt benedicere cibum*.<sup>66</sup> Also in the *Iudicia Theodori* the bishop is able to *consecrare*, the presbyter on occasion is able to *populum benedicere*, and the bishops and *sacerdotes* may *penitentiam iudicare*.<sup>67</sup>

A fifth and final bit of evidence, although inconclusive in itself, points to a Celtic provenance. The doorkeeper is appointed to ring the bells, probably a reference to the ringing of the canonical hours. Although bells were not uncommon in Europe before the eighth century, it was especially the Irish who were associated with their use.<sup>68</sup> Not only were the *cloccae* or *cymbala* preserved in the sacristy,<sup>69</sup> a confine under the immediate jurisdiction of the doorkeeper, but also they were venerated as relics.

### E. CONCLUSION

Although it is impossible to assign an exact date or provenance to the *D07G*, our scrutiny of the possible models and sources considerably narrows the boundaries. A *terminus ante quem non* is still impossible to give. A nucleus for the text may have been composed as early as the fifth century and materials gradually added, but there still seems to be no conclusive evidence thereof. Only a *terminus post quem non* can be established. Given the appearance of the *D07G* as the *DDG* of the *Collectio hibernensis*, it is certain that the treatise had been composed by ca. 700. Since the *Collectio hibernensis* was, however, a collection of canons many of which were written long before 700, it cannot be claimed categorically that the *DDG* was original with the compiler of the *Collectio hibernensis*.

To pinpoint the exact provenance of the *D07G* is also impossible. Nonetheless, our study of its structure, phrasing, and individual functions seems to suggest that the *D07G* was written in a region where Celtic and Gallican influences met and were mixed. Continental areas missionarized by the Irish wanderers immediately come to mind, but the British Isles also fulfill these specifications since Gallican and Celtic influences met and were mixed there.

<sup>66</sup> Finsterwalder, 315.

<sup>67</sup> Finsterwalder, 243, 245, 322.

<sup>68</sup> *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 3.2 (Paris, 1914), 1954-91; Puniet, I, 144; and Ludwig Bieler, *Ireland: Harbinger of the Middle Ages* (London, 1963), 41, 109.

<sup>69</sup> *Tres canones hibernici*, c. 1; and the *Old Irish Penitential*, 3.7: Bieler and Binchy, 182, 267. For the doorkeepers in the Irish penitentials, see *Synodus IS. Patricii*, c. 6; and the *Canones hibernenses*, 5.8: Bieler and Binchy, 54, 174.



III. THE EARLY MEDIEVAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE *D07G*

With its inclusion in the *Collectio hibernensis*, the *D07G-DDG* did not cease to develop. Old functions were sometimes omitted and new ones added, and the text in its entirety was cast in a variety of forms. As a canonical text, as a component piece in the florilegal literature on sacred orders, and as a liturgical ordination allocution, the *D07G* assumed various configurations. These changing forms of the *D07G* are the subject of the third part of this study.

A. CANONICAL FORMS OF THE *D07G* (s. VIII-XII)

While the *D07G* is noted primarily as a liturgical ordination allocution, the text under the title *De distantia graduum* was in early medieval canonical collections one of the most commonly used epitomes of the functions of the ecclesiastical officers. In addition to or rather than using extended extracts from Isidore's *DOO* or *Origines*, early medieval canonical compilers often included the *D07G-DDG* as a brief introduction to or summation of their canons on the ecclesiastical offices. Until the addition of the "Isidorian" *Epistula ad Leudefredum* to canonical collections, the *DDG* was virtually the sole epitome of ecclesiastical functions. Occasionally an abbreviated form of the Pseudo-Hieronymian *D70E* was used, but this was quite uncommon.<sup>70</sup> Even after the tenth century when the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* became the most popular epitome, the *DDG* was not entirely excluded from canonical collections. It was too closely attached to the Ordinals of Christ and thus made its way into the canonical collections by virtue of this association. Hence, whereas the *Epistula ad Leudefredum* was a rarity in liturgical manuscripts, the *D07G* was common in both canonical and liturgical manuscripts.

It was probably due to the wide dissemination and popularity of the *Collectio hibernensis* in the early Middle Ages that the *DDG* entered a multitude of canonical collections. Within these collections from the seventh to the middle of the twelfth century the treatise took essentially three forms: 1) the primitive and complete *Hibernensis* form; 2) a spate of abridgements of the *Hibernensis* form in both canonical collections and florilegia; and 3) a Poitevin form.

1. THE *HIBERNENSIS* RECENSION.

Besides its many appearances in the *Collectio hibernensis* as edited by Wasserscheleben, the *DDG* assumed a rather unusual form in several early

<sup>70</sup> See my article, "The Pseudo-Hieronymian *De septem ordinibus ecclesiae*", 241.

Italian manuscripts containing either the *Collectio hibernensis* or canonical collections heavily dependent upon it.<sup>71</sup> In both instances the *DDG* was attached to a recension of the Ordinals of Christ. In the form edited by Wasserschleben the *DDG* succeeded a hierarchical version of the Ordinals. This was the usual pattern. In the Italian form, however, the *DDG* occasionally succeeded a chronological recension of the Ordinals of Christ:

De distantia graduum. Episcopum<sup>a</sup> decet judicare et interpretari<sup>b</sup> et consecrare et consummare et ordinare et baptizare et offerre.<sup>c</sup>

Sacerdotem<sup>d</sup> autem<sup>e</sup> oportet offerre et<sup>e</sup> bendicere et<sup>e</sup> bene praeesse, praedicare et baptizare.

Levitam i.e. ministrum oportet ministrare ad altare et<sup>e</sup> baptizare et communicare.

Subdiaconum<sup>f</sup> decet ministrare aquam<sup>g</sup> altari<sup>h</sup> diacono et dehonustare<sup>i</sup> altare.

Exorcistam oportet abicere demones<sup>j</sup> et dicere his, qui<sup>k</sup> communicant, <sup>l</sup>ut requirant<sup>m</sup> aquam ministerii<sup>n</sup> effundere.

Lectorem oportet legere ei qui praedicat<sup>o</sup> et lectiones<sup>p</sup> decantare et benedicere panes et fructus<sup>q</sup> novos.

<sup>r</sup>Ostiarium<sup>s</sup> percutere cymbala,<sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup>aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et codicem tradat<sup>v</sup> ex<sup>v</sup> quo praedicatur aut<sup>w</sup> legitur.

Edit. Wasserschleben, 26; Italian Form: V = *Vallicelliana T. XVIII*, fol. 65rab; N = *Vat. Lat. 1349*, fol. 4v-5r; F = *Vat. Lat. 1339*, fol. 20r-v.

*Titulus De... graduum*] om. F add. ecclesiasticum N — <sup>a</sup>Episcopo F — <sup>b</sup>interpretare V — <sup>c</sup>offerre N baptizare et offerre] offerre et baptizare V N F — <sup>d</sup>Presbyterum N F — <sup>e</sup>om. V N F — <sup>f</sup>Subdiaconus N — <sup>g</sup>aqua N — <sup>h</sup>ad altare F — <sup>i</sup>deonestare V N honestare F *suprascr.* id est hornare F — <sup>j</sup>demonia V N F — <sup>k</sup>add. non F — <sup>l</sup>add. date locum et requirere F — <sup>m</sup>ut requirant] om. F — <sup>n</sup>add. et F — <sup>o</sup>ci... praedicat] in ecclesia V N F — <sup>p</sup>lectionem F — <sup>q</sup>fructo N — <sup>r</sup>in margine cloccas signa que nos dicimus campanas F — <sup>s</sup>Hostiarium F add. decet V N F — <sup>t</sup>clocos V coclos N cloccas F *suprascr.* id est campanas F — <sup>u</sup>add. et V N F — <sup>v</sup>om. V N F — <sup>w</sup>et V N F.

A comparison of the recension printed by Wasserschleben and the Italian form shows that there are very few major differences. In the Italian form *baptizare* and *offerre* have been reversed in the episcopal grade, a reversal which would later become normative. In the grade of lector the poten-

<sup>71</sup> Wasserschleben, 26; the *Hibernensis* of the ninth-century MS *Bibl. Vallicelliana T. XVIII*, fol. 65rab, the tenth-century *Collection in IX Books*, *Vat. Lat. 1349*, fol. 4v-5r; and the early eleventh-century *Collection in V Books*, *Vat. Lat. 1339*, fol. 20r-v. On these Italian collections, see P. Fournier, "Un groupe de recueils canoniques italiens des x<sup>e</sup> et xi<sup>e</sup> siècles", *Mémoires de l'Institut national de France, Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, 40 (1915), 95-213; and more recently S. Lindemann, "Auxilius et le manuscrit Vallicellian Tome XVIII", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 57 (1962), 470-484, and literature therein. The *DDG* as it appears in the *Collection in V Books*, L. I, c. 3, has now been edited by M. Fornasari, *Collectio canonum in v libris*, *Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis*, 6 (Turnhout, 1970), 24 f. Cf. G. Fransen, "Principes d'édition des collections canoniques", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 66 (1971), 130-136.

tially confusing *ei qui praedicat*<sup>72</sup> has been replaced by the simple *in ecclesia*. And in the ostiariate the common Irish term *clocos*<sup>73</sup> replaces *cymbala*.

In addition to the Wasserschleben and Italian forms, the *Hibernensis* recension of the *DDG* is also found with a few minor variants in the tenth-century Veronese manuscript, *Bibl. capit. LXIII* (61), fol. 84v-85r, and in the eleventh-century *Collection of Madrid, MS Lat. A 151*.<sup>74</sup>

## 2. ABRIDGEMENTS OF THE HIBERNENSIS RECENSION.

One of the earliest abridgements of the *Hibernensis* recension of the *DDG* is found in the late eighth- or early ninth-century canonical *Collection of Saint-Germain, Paris BN 12444*.<sup>75</sup>

De distantia graduum. Episcopum decet iudicare et interpretari et consecrare et confirmare et ordinare et offerre.

Sacerdotem oportet offerre, benepraeesse, benedicere et baptizare.

Diaconem oportet ministrare, baptizare et communicare.

Subdiaconem ministrare aquam altari diacono et dehonestare altare.

Exorcistam oportet abicere demones et dicere his qui communicant ut requirant aquam ministerii effundere.

Lectorem oportet legere ei qui praedicat et lectiones cantare et benedicere panes et fructos novos.

Hostiarium oportet tangere clocas et aperire aecclisiam et sacrarium et codicem quo praedicatur aut legitur.

Although this form is almost identical to the *Hibernensis* form printed by Wasserschleben, there are several distinctions. The most important of these is in the episcopal grade. The archaic *consummare* has begun to break down and has been replaced by the look-alike word<sup>76</sup> *confirmare*. Of less importance are the omission of the function of baptizing in the episcopal grade, of preaching in the presbyteral grade, and the substitutions of *diaconem* for *levitam* and *clocas* for *cymbala*.

<sup>72</sup> But see Puniet, 1.145, who tries to explain this phrase.

<sup>73</sup> William Smith and Samuel Cheetham, *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, 1 (Hartford, 1880), 184.

<sup>74</sup> See P. Fournier, "De l'influence de la Collection irlandaise sur la formation des collections canoniques", *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger*, 23 (1899), offprint, 23 f. I have not been able to see the Madrid MS to verify Fournier's report.

<sup>75</sup> Fol. 97v-98r. On this MS and collection, see Fournier, "De l'influence", offprint, 6 f. A partial edition of this collection (without the text of the *DDG*) has been published by Aug. Jos. Nürnberger, *Über eine ungedruckte Kanonensammlung aus dem 8. Jahrhundert* (Mainz, 1890). According to Bischoff, "Panorama der Handschriftenüberlieferung aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen", *Karl der Grosse: Lebenswerke und Nachleben*, II, *Das geistige Leben*, ed., Bernhard Bischoff (Düsseldorf, 1965), 241, n. 53, this manuscript was written in the scriptorium at Fleury.

<sup>76</sup> On the possibilities for scribal error in this word, see below, p. 147.

Another abridgement of the *Hibernensis* recension, this time looking ahead to the later pontifical forms, is found in a florilegial tract on orders in *British Museum MS Royal 5 E XIII*.<sup>77</sup>

Episcopis decet iudicare et consecrari et ordinare.

Sacerdotem oportet offerrae et benedicere et predicare.

Ministrum oportet ministrare ad altare et baptizare.

Subdiaconum decet ministrare altari et diacono deonestare altare.

Exorcistum oportet abiecere demonianes et dicere his qui communicant ut requirant aquam ministraritionis effundere.

Lectorem oportet legere et lectiones decantare.

Hostiarium oportet percutere cimbala et aperire ecclesiam.

In this abridgement the bishop is limited simply to his judicial, consecrating, and ordaining roles; the *sacerdos-presbyter* to offering, blessing, and preaching; and the deacon to his ministration at the altar and baptizing. More important, the lector no longer blesses the *panes et fructos novos*, nor does the doorkeeper bear the codex.

A third abbreviation of the canonical *Hibernensis* form appears in a group of related florilegial tracts on the ecclesiastical grades in Latin and in several letters in Old English concerning clerical duties. In a treatise in three English manuscripts, *Boulogne-sur-Mer Bibl. mun. 63* (fol. 22r-24v, esp. fol. 22v), *Cambridge Corpus Christi College 190* (pp. 201-204) and 265 (pp. 185-194, esp. p. 189),<sup>78</sup> the diaconal verse of the *Hibernensis* form is inserted as a lone fragment into the body of the treatise:

Diaconus grece minister latine quia ministrat presbitero, quia sicut in sacerdote consecratio ita in diacono ministri dispensatio habetur. Nam sacerdos sine diacono nomen habet, sed officium non habet. Hii et Levite ex nomine

<sup>77</sup> Fol. 53v. This ninth-century MS probably comes from the Cathedral Library at Worcester. See N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edit. (London, 1964), 208; and B. Bischoff, "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter", *Sacris erudiri*, 6 (1954), 221, n. 4, and p. 280.

<sup>78</sup> These three MSS have been the subject of an extensive literature by students of Old English. On the Boulogne MS, see E. M. Raynes, "MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric", *Medium Aevum*, 26 (1957), esp. 68 f.; on *CCCC 190*, see D. Bethurum, "Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace Book", *PMLA*, 57 (1942), 916-929; and on all three MSS, see N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), 207, 70 ff., 92 ff. J. de Ghellinck, "Le traité de Pierre Lombard sur les sept ordres ecclésiastiques: ses sources, ses copistes", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 11 (1910), 30, n. 1, mentioned the treatise in the Boulogne MS in connection with his studies on tracts on ecclesiastical officers; and A. van Hove, *Prolegomena ad codicem iuris canonici*, 2nd editio (Rome, 1945), 337, n. 2, mentions *CCCC 265* in relation to canonical collections. The treatise in the three MSS has been published by Bernhard Fehr, *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 9 (Hamburg, 1914) (repr. with suppl. by Peter Clemoes, Darmstadt, 1966), 256-258. With modifications the treatise also appears in a twelfth-century MS, *Edinburgh Bibl. Univ. Laing. 56* (Borland 105), fol. 31v.

auctoris vocati. De Levi autem Levite exorti sunt. *Levitam, id est ministrum oportet ministrare ad altare et baptizare et communicare.*<sup>79</sup>

The treatise in which this fragment appears was probably a copy of a tract composed by Ælfric (ca. 955-ca. 1020).<sup>80</sup> Hence, it is no surprise to find a fragment of this diaconal verse included in his *First Latin Epistle to Wulfstan: Sextus diaconus, id est minister, qui ministrat presbytero ad altare et legit evangelium. Cui licet baptizare et communicare;*<sup>81</sup> in his *Old English Epistle to Wulfsige: Diaconus is þén, þe þenað þam maessepreoste and þa offrunza sett uppon þæt weofod and zodspell eac ráetaet zodes þenunzum. Se mot fullizan cild and þae folc huslizean;*<sup>82</sup> and in his *First Old English Epistle to Wulfstan: Diaconus is zecweden þonne sé þenað þam maessepreoste oþþe þam bisceope aet þære maessan and zodspel raet. Hé mót hlaf syllan and cild fullian.*<sup>83</sup>

Further, in Ælfric's florilegial tract there may be an echo of the *percutere cymbala* or *tangere* (*percutere*) *clocos* of the *Hibernensis* form of the *DDG: Hostiarii sunt idem et ianitores qui clavem omnia intus extraque custodiant atque signo populum vocant, inter bonos et malos iudicium habent, fideles recipiunt, infideles respuunt.*<sup>84</sup>

Again this form appeared in Ælfric's *Old English Epistle to Wulfsige: Hostiarius is þære cyrcan durewerd. Se sceal mid bellan bicnizan þa tida and þa cyrcan unlúcan zeleaffullum mannum and þa unzeleaffullan belúcan wiðútan.*<sup>85</sup>

Finally, there may be a trace of this sentence in a tract, *De ecclesiasticis gradibus*, perhaps connected with Wulfstan: *And ealswa Crist into þære earce gelaðode, þa þe he þærinne gehealdenne habban wolde, swa man sceall ladian Godes folc mid bellhrince into Godes huse and hit þærinne mid Godes lofe gehealden, oð hit mid godcundre bletsunge þanansides leafe haebbe.*<sup>86</sup>

### 3. THE POITEVIN RECENSION.

The Poitevin recension of the *D07G-DDG* appears in two late eleventh-century canonical collections which may have come from a school of canonical activity centered around Poitiers.<sup>87</sup> In both collections, the

<sup>79</sup> Fehr, 257.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* cxxvii.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.* 49f.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.* 10.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.* 108; *MS CCCC* 190.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.* 256.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.* 8.

<sup>86</sup> Karl Jost, ed., *Die "Institutes of Polity, Civil and Ecclesiastical": ein Werk Erzbischof Wulfstans von York*, *Schweizer anglistische Arbeiten* 47 (Bern, 1959), 229. Also see 28-31 on the problem of Wulfstan's authorship of this tract.

<sup>87</sup> On this, see my note, "The Turin Collection in Seven Books: A Poitevin Canonical Collection", *Traditio*, 25 (1969), 508-514.

*Collection in Thirteen Books of Berlin SB MS Lat. Savigny 3*, and the *Collection in Seven Books of Turin MS Univ. D. IV. 33*, a recension of the *D07G-DDG* closely resembling the *Hibernensis* recension succeeds a chronological Ordinal of Christ:

Episcopum oportet eum iudicare, interpretari et *congregare*, consummare, ordinare, *offerre*, et baptizare.

Sacerdos et presbyter oportet eum offerre et praeesse et praedicare et baptizare.

Levita id est minister oportet eum ministrare ad altare et baptizare et communicare.

Subdiaconem oportet eum praeparare aqua administrationem altaris et ministrare diacono et honestare altare.

Exorcistam oportet eum abicere demones et dicere his qui non communicant ut recedant et aquam ministerii effundere.

*Ostiarium* eum oportet percutere cimbalum et aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et librum qui praedicat.

*Lector* oportet eum legere ei qui praedicat et lectiones canere et benedicere panem et omnes fructus.<sup>88</sup>

The Poitevin recension is interesting for several reasons. First, there is a very unusual sequence of the lower grades. The lector and doorkeeper have been reversed. Although the cause for this reversal is not *prima facie* obvious, it is possible that the immediately precedent Hibernian chronological Ordinal of Christ with the lector listed first induced the canonical compiler to order the lector as the lowest grade in the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the *D07G-DDG*. Second, the subdeacon prepares water for ministrations at the altar, a duty assigned him in the pontifical forms of the *D07G*.

The other unusual modifications in the Poitevin form are found in the episcopal office. The word *consecrare* has been changed to *congregare*. In his study of the word *consummare* Botte argued that *consecrare* had been introduced into the later liturgical forms of the *D07G* to explain the strange Latin archaism of the primitive text. In the Poitevin form it is clear that there is no confusion over the archaism, only over the supposed explanation. The other modification in the episcopal grade comes in the sequence of duties. In Wasserschleben's *Hibernensis* form the baptizing obligations of the bishop had taken precedence over his sacrificial duties. With the ninth century there had begun a reversal of this precedence, and this is reflected in the Poitevin form of the *D07G*.

<sup>88</sup> *Berlin SB MS Sav. 3*, fol. 126v-127r.

## B. NINTH-CENTURY FORERUNNERS OF PONTIFICAL FORMS

With the Carolingian Renaissance there came a flood of reforming canons directed at the clergy. The gross ignorance of the eighth century was to be combatted with clerical examinations, visitations, pedagogical treatises, and new and better editions of liturgical, canonical, and scriptural texts. An immense new literature was created by scholars of the ninth century to accomplish this reform. Older works were plundered for relevant texts, and these were combined to form florilegia and new tracts for the education of the clergy.<sup>89</sup> Among the works plundered were the canonical collections, and it is probably in this way that the *DDG* passed from its canonical setting to florilegia and pedagogical tracts. Andrieu has traced a similar transference of extracts from the Fathers to pedagogical florilegia and finally to liturgical manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries.<sup>90</sup> In the case of the *D07G-DDG*, it was probably through these pedagogical florilegia that the treatise would eventually pass into later pontificals.

## 1. THE CAROLINGIAN PROTO-PONTIFICAL FORM.

In the Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form modifications began to appear which would characterize later Roman pontifical forms. The title *De officiis vii graduum* was first used, and the structure and phrasing of this form were almost exactly that of the *D07G* of the tenth-century *Pontificale romano-germanicum*.

The Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form can be found in a group of manuscripts, which, despite their divergent provenances and dates, are probably related,<sup>91</sup> *Leiden Rijksuniversiteit MS Voss. Lat. Q119*, fol. 131r-v, *Verona Bibl. capit. Lat. XXXVII (35)*, fol. 59v, *Munich Clm 19414*, fol. 85v:

De officiis vii graduum. Officiarium [sic] oportet percutere cymbalum et aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et librum aperire ei qui praedicat.

<sup>89</sup> Robert Amiet has edited an early ninth-century admonition to clerics on their duties, "Une 'Admonitio Synodalis' de l'époque carolingienne: Étude critique et Édition", *Mediaeval Studies*, 26 (1964), 12-82. Several of these admonitions have something of the flavor of the *D07G*: see, e.g., Nr. 32, 41, 42. To be added to Amiet's list of MSS containing this synodical text are those listed in my article, "The Turin Collection in Seven Books", 511, as well as *Troyes Bibl. mun. 1979*, fol. 160rf.; *Brussels Bibl. roy. 2067-73 (V.d.G. 368)*, fol. 71rf.; *Vat. Reg. Lat. 979*, fol. 174rf.; *Cambridge St. John's College MS 42*, fol. 114rf.; *Avranches Bibl. mun. 135*, fol. 2rf.; the *II Collection of Châlons-sur-Marne*, *Châlons-sur-Marne Bibl. mun. 75 (83)*, fol. 329 rf.; *London BM Cott. Tib. C i*, fol. 191r-193v; *Tortosa Bibl. capit. MS 10*, fol. 215 rf.; *Paris BN Lat. 1460*, fol. 66rf.; *Zurich ZB C 101*, fol. 97rf.; *Tarragona Bibl. prov. MS 11 (olim 49)*, fol. 34rf.; *Ivrea Bibl. capit. MS LXXXXIV*, fol. 197rf.; *Vercelli Bibl. capit. MS XCIV*, fol. 256rf.; and *Milan Bibl. Amb. I 145 Inf.*, fol. 72vf. Also see the extensive comments in George E. McCracken, *Early Medieval Theology*, Library of Christian Classics 9 (Philadelphia, 1957), 371-378.

<sup>90</sup> Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, 1.476-485.

LECTOREM *Oportet* legere ei qui praedicat et leccionem cantare et benedicere panem et omnes fructos novos.

EXORCISTA *Oportet* abicere demones et dicere populo qui non communicat de locum et aquam ministerii effudere.

SUBDIACONUM *Oportet* praeparare ad ministrationem altaris et ministrare diacono.

DIACONUM *Oportet* ministrare ad altare et baptizare.

SACERDOTEEM *Oportet* offerre et benedicere et praedicare et baptizare.

EPISCOPUM *Oportet* iudicare, interpretare et consecrare, consumare, ordinare, offerre et baptizare.<sup>92</sup>

In comparing the Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form with the primitive *Hibernensis* form it is clear that few changes have been made. The most noticeable difference is that the ecclesiastical grades now progress from door-keeper through bishop, a progression which will be the standard usage in later Roman pontificals. Although it cannot be explained with certainty why the reversal of sequence occurred, it is quite possible that it was done to adapt the tract to strictly liturgical use by bishops who wished to utilize it as an ordination allocution.

The second variation in the Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form is found in the diaconal verse, where *communicare* has been omitted. Earlier it was mentioned that a possible interpretation for *communicare* was *dare viaticum*. The omission of the word *communicare* in the *D07G* may reflect what appears to be an early medieval dispute as to whether or not the deacon could administer the viaticum.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>91</sup> On these MSS and their relationship, see my article, "A Florilegium on the Ecclesiastical Grades in *Clm 19414*: Testimony to Ninth-Century Clerical Instruction", *Harvard Theological Review*, 63 (1970), 241, 250.

<sup>92</sup> *Leiden MS Voss. Lat. Q 119*, fol. 131r-v. In the MS the names of the officers are capitalized, thereby serving as rubrics. After the *D07G* there is an explicit, *Explicit deo gratias amen*. The text of this form of the *D07G* is given in a description of the manuscript by G. H. Pertz, *Archiv*, 7 (1839), 738f.

<sup>93</sup> According to several ninth-century canons, the deacon was allowed to administer the viaticum. See Victor Krause, "Die Münchener Handschriften 3851, 3853 mit einer Compilation von 181 Wormser Schlüssen", *Neues Archiv*, 19 (1894), 117. But there was a conflicting opinion which made the presbyter (and bishop) the ordinary and even the sole minister. See the Council of Mainz (847) c. 26, "per presbyteros", (*Mansi* 14.910), the Council of Pavia (850) c. 8 (*Mansi* 14.932 f.), and the later Council of Anse (ca. 990) c. 1 (*Mansi* 19.101). It is significant also that c. 2 from the Council of Rouen of ca. 650 (*Mansi* 10.1199), which does not speak specifically of the viaticum, has been changed by at least the time of Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*, 1.121 (H. Wasserschleben, ed., [Leipzig, 1840] 77 f.), who makes it a Council of Rheims, to apply to the viaticum, which is to be administered by the presbyter. There were a number of similar ninth-century canons (which ultimately went into the canonical collections of Regino, Burchard, Ivo, and Gratian) which listed only the presbyter as carrying the viaticum: *Capitula de presbyteris* (809) c. 16 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum* I, ed. G. H. Pertz [Han-



There are other changes of a more minor nature which foreshadow later pontifical forms. The verb *oportet* is consistently used. *Baptizare* and *offerre* have been reversed in the episcopal grade, a reversal already found in the Italian form of the *Hibernensis* recension. In the verse for the exorcist it is clearly stated that the exorcist is to perform the deacon's traditional duty of dismissing those who are not to take communion.<sup>94</sup>

## 2. THE ALBI FORM.

The second ninth-century forerunner of the pontifical forms of the *D07G* is found in an unusual codex from Albi, *Bibl. mun. MS Lat. 38 bis.*, fol. 41v:

De distantia graduum. Episcopum decet iudicare et interpretari, consecrare et confirmare, ordinare et offerre.

Sacerdotem oportet offerre, bene preesse et benedicere.

Diaconum oportet *evangelizare*, ad altario ministrare, *populo verbum dei adnuntiare*.

Subdiaconum ministrare aquam altari diacono.

Exorcistam oportet subicere demones et dicere his qui communicant aquam ministeria effundere.

Lectorem oportet legere eos qui praedicat et lectiones, bene dicere panes et fructus novos.

Ostiarium oportet tangere cloccas et aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et codicem quod praedicatur aut legitur.

*Acolitum oportet cereos accendere et ante evangelium deportare.*

This form resembles in many ways the one already described in the canonical *Collection of Saint-Germain*, parts of which collection appear in the Albi manuscript. Like the abridged *Hibernensis* form of the *Collection of Saint-Germain*, the Albi form succeeds a Hibernian hierarchical Ordinal of Christ and both texts are sandwiched between pedagogical interrogatories and responses. And like the *Collection of Saint-Germain*, the Albi form lists the grades in descending sequence from bishop through doorkeeper, with virtually no alteration in the texts for the bishop, subdeacon, exorcist, lector, and

nover, 1885], 161); the *Capitula Radulfi* (840) c. 6 (PL 119.706f.); and the *Capitula Walterii* (871) c. 7 (PL 119.734f.). On the question of the viaticum in the early Middle Ages, see James J. Hannon, *Holy Viaticum: A Historical Synopsis and Commentary*, Cath. Univ. Amer., CLS 314 (Washington, D.C., 1951), 4-22; and Peter Browe, "Die Sterbkommunion im Altertum und Mittelalter", *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 60 (1936), 1-54, 211-240. Browe, 4, mentions the late tenth- or early eleventh-century *Epistle to Wulfsgie* of Ælfric with its fragment of the *DDG*.

<sup>94</sup> In the *Expositio missae* of Ps.-Germain de Paris (s. VII/VIII) (PL 72.92), and Isidore's *Origines* 6.19 (PL 82.252), the deacon is the one who dismissed the catechumens and others. In his *Dialogues* 2.23 (PL 66.178), Gregory describes this same diaconal action in words very similar to those in the *D07G*: *Cumque in eadem ecclesia missarum sollemnia celebrarentur, atque ex more diaconus clamaret, si quis non communicat det locum....*

doorkeeper. In the remaining grades, however, there are important variants which foreshadow later pontifical forms.

Within the presbyteral grade there is an omission of some significance. *Baptizare* has been omitted, an omission later found in several of the best Italian manuscript exemplars of the *Pontificale romano-germanicum*.

The deacon in the Albi form continues to minister at the altar, but two new functions have been added. Perhaps on the basis of the Pseudo-Hieronymian *D70E*<sup>95</sup> or following the decisions at Rheims (A.D. 813)<sup>96</sup> and Amalarius, who used these decisions,<sup>97</sup> the deacon is now bidden to *evangelizare*. This duty would be repeated later, as will be seen, in the *D07G* of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals. Further, the deacon is to *adnuntiare populo verbum*. This may simply be the influence of the Pseudo-Hieronymian *D70E*,<sup>98</sup> or alternatively, it may be an explanation of the word *communicare*.<sup>99</sup>

The most important innovation in the *DDG* of the Albi form is the addition of a verse for the acolyte. According to both Leroquais and Snijders, the acolyte did not appear in the *D07G* until the twelfth-century *Pontifical of Christian I of Mainz*. In our Albi manuscript a verse for the acolyte not only appears long before the *Pontifical of Christian I*, but it also appears in a form significantly different from that of the later pontificals.

In the Albi form the tenuous position of the acolytical verse is seen in its hierarchical position. The acolyte is first of all not placed in his usual Gallican hierarchical position immediately prior to the subdeacon or in the Hispanic position of the *Origines* prior to the lector-psalmist, but below the doorkeeper or on the lowest rung of the ecclesiastical ladder. Second, unlike later pontifical forms for the acolytical verse, the Albi form has not followed the usual model of the *SEA*.<sup>100</sup> Rather, an almost *sui generis* text appears. Perhaps this oddity can be explained by a ninth- or tenth-century pontifical now at Albi, the *Pontifical of Aurillac*. In that Pontifical the normal ordination text of the *SEA* has not been used. Rather there appears an unusual sentence: *Accipe hoc gestatorium luminis, ut per illud [sic] valeas adversa-*

<sup>95</sup> Kalf, 38.

<sup>96</sup> C. 5; *Mansi* 14.77.

<sup>97</sup> Amalarius, *Liber officialis* 2.11.5: Johann Michael Hanssens, ed., *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, 2. *Liber officialis*, Studi e Testi 139 (Vatican City, 1948), 221.

<sup>98</sup> Kalf, 38: *adnuntiantes bonas*.

<sup>99</sup> See above, nn. 56f.

<sup>100</sup> Munier, *Les Statuta*, 96f.: *Acolythus cum ordinatur ab episcopo quidem doceatur qualiter se in officio suo agere debeat sed ab archidiacono accipiat ceroferarium cum cereo ut sciat se ad accendenda ecclesiae luminaria mancipari; accipiat et urceolum vacuum ad suggerendum vinum in eucharistiam sanguinis Christi*.

*riorum tenebras effugare, et verissimum lumen, quod inluminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum, fideliter invenire.*<sup>101</sup>

Behind the variations in the Albi form there seems to have existed a desire to conform more closely to ninth-century developments in the theology of orders. The works of the Fathers were being reworked and fitted into new expositions of the ecclesiastical grades, and the Carolingian reforming councils of the second decade of the ninth century were issuing torrents of canons dealing with the ecclesiastical offices. Little wonder that these new developments began to be reflected in ancient epitomes on the ecclesiastical grades.

### 3. THE ALCUINIAN FORM.

Chief among the scholarly luminaries of the court of Charlemagne was Alcuin of York. Not only was this minister of education set in charge of educational reforms, but he is also said to have composed several pedagogical tracts in dialogue form for the benefit of clerics and laymen alike. One of these tracts is the *Disputatio puerorum per interrogationes et responsiones*.<sup>102</sup> In Chapter IX of this tract there is a consideration of eight ecclesiastical grades, and within this there is a fragment of the *D07G*: *Oportet enim illis [subdiaconibus] apostolum legere, honestare altare, et aquam praeeparare in ministerio altaris*.<sup>103</sup> The same fragment occurs in a small tract on the ecclesiastical grades in the ninth-century *Collection of Laon*.<sup>104</sup> In this Alcuinian form for the subdeacon it is interesting to note that a new duty takes precedence in the list of functions. The subdeacon is to read the Epistle. Although it is possible that there may have been an ancient form of the *D07G* which contained this duty, an alternative source lies in the canons of the post-Al-

<sup>101</sup> *Albi Bibl. mun.* 34, fol. 11r. Text found in Leroquais, l.li.

<sup>102</sup> *PL* 101.1097. Migne places this tract among the *opera dubia* of Alcuin, but notes that the style is very much like Alcuin's. Cf. Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I (Munich, 1911), 281.

<sup>103</sup> *Vienna ÖNB MS Lat. 458 (Salz. 174)*, fol. 66v. In this ninth-century MS attributed to the Salzburg master, Baldo, the word *apostolum*, which Migne (*PL* 101.1132) reported with some reservation, is quite clear. The same reading appears also in *Vienna ÖNB MS Lat. 966 (Theol. 331)*, fol. 22v. Also cf. *Clm* 6385, fol. 24r-25r; *Clm* 5257, fol. 16vf.; and *Vich Bibl. capit. MS* 39, fol. 135r.

<sup>104</sup> The text of this tract, taken from the Corbie MS, *Leningrad Publichnaja Biblioteka Q.v.II* no. 5, fol. 8r, is printed in A. Staerk, *Les manuscrits latins du V<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle conservés à la Bibliothèque impériale de Saint-Petersbourg*, I (St. Petersburg, 1910), 194. The *Collection of Laon* as found in the Leningrad MS is an expansion of the *Collection* as found in *Laon Bibl. mun. MS Lat. 201*. On the *Collection*, cf. P. Fournier, "Notices sur trois collections canoniques inédites de l'époque carolingienne", *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 6 (1926), 217-230; and P. Finsterwalder, "Eine parteipolitische Kundgebung eines Anhängers Lothars I", *Neues Archiv*, 47 (1928), 393-415.

cuinian Council of Rheims (A.D. 813), where among the duties of the higher orders, it is said: *Subdiaconi ministerium est eundem apostolum legere....*<sup>105</sup>

The subdiaconal fragment of the *D07G* which appears in the *Disputatio puerorum* is also found in another tract, based on the *Disputatio*, in the tenth-century *Dunstan Pontifical* and the *Pontificale Lanaletense*.<sup>106</sup> As well as the subdiaconal verse the tract also contains appended verses for the bishop, presbyter, deacon, and subdeacon:

Oportet illis [subdiaconibus] epistolam legere honestare<sup>a</sup> altare et aquam preparare in ministerio altaris.

Episcopum<sup>b</sup> decet iudicare et interpretare et consecrare, conservare<sup>c</sup> et consummare<sup>d</sup> et ordinare<sup>e</sup> et baptizare et offerre.

Sacerdotem<sup>f</sup> oportet offerre et benedicere et bene presse, predicare et baptizare.

Levitam<sup>g</sup> id est ministrum oportet ministrare ad altare et baptizare et communicare.

Subdiaconum decet ministrare.

Edit. *Dunstan Pontifical*, E. Martène, ed., L = *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. Doble, 41.

<sup>a</sup> onestare L — <sup>b</sup> presbiterum L — <sup>c</sup> conservare om. L — <sup>d</sup> consummare L — <sup>e</sup> ordine L — <sup>f</sup> add. hoc L — <sup>g</sup> Levita L.

In the consideration of the ecclesiastical orders in the *Disputatio* proper, the grade of episcopate seems to have been missing.<sup>107</sup> It appears that the author behind our modified Anglo-Saxon version in the *Dunstan Pontifical* and *Pontificale Lanaletense* attempted to rectify the situation by attaching a *Hibernensis* form of the *DDG*. He did not, however, use the episcopal verse alone, but continued down through the subdeacon. On reaching the subdeacon, he realized that there was already a fragment of the *D07G* in his modification of the *Disputatio* and thus concluded with the simple sentence: *Subdiaconum decet ministrare*.

### C. PONTIFICAL FORMS

The Alcuinian form of the *D07G* has been an excellent example of the way in which the treatise as a part of longer florilegal and pedagogical

<sup>105</sup> C. 4: *Mansi* 14.77. To argue that the Rheims canon was the source of the verse in the *Disputatio* is, of course, to argue that the *Disputatio* is not by Alcuin († 804) or was a later addition to his work.

<sup>106</sup> *Paris BN* 943; text given in Edmund Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri...*, *Lib. I*, cap. viii, art. xi, *Ordo III*: and *Rouen Bibl. mun.* 368 (A. 27), fol. 55v; text given in G. H. Doble, ed., *Pontificale Lanaletense* (*Rouen Bibl. mun.* A.27, Cat. 368): *A Pontifical formerly in use at St.-Germans, Cornwall* (London, 1937), 41. On the Rouen MS, see Ker, *Catalogue*, 447f. and J. Stéphan, "Tavistock et Jumièges: Nouvel examen du 'Pontificale Lanaletense'", *Jumièges: Congrès scientifique du XIII<sup>e</sup> Centenaire, Rouen, 10-12 Juin 1954* (Rouen, 1955), 309-313.

<sup>107</sup> PL 101.1133f.

tracts was transferred into liturgical manuscripts. The next step in this process would be the complete absorption of the *D07G* into the ordination allocutions proper of early medieval pontificals.

### 1. ANGLO-SAXON PONTIFICALS.

The earliest appearance of the *D07G* in the ordination allocutions of early medieval pontificals is in those pontificals most closely associated with the Celtic tradition, the Anglo-Saxon pontificals. In the pontifical ascribed to Alcuin's teacher, Egbert of York, in the *Dunstan Pontifical*, and in the *Pontificale Lanaletense*<sup>108</sup> the *D07G* in a new form was combined with other fragments to form an ordination allocution under the rubric: *De vii gradibus ecclesiae quos adimplevit Christus*. Among the other fragments are the peculiar Anglo-Saxon recension of the Ordinals of Christ and fragments from genuine Isidorian material.

In the lower grades of doorkeeper, lector, and exorcist the compiler of the Anglo-Saxon allocution has not used familiar sentences from the *D07G-DDG*, but fragments which only resemble it or which come from Isidore's *Origines* or *DOO*:

Unde modo hostiarii<sup>a</sup> qui dicuntur<sup>b</sup> aecclesie<sup>c</sup> ostia<sup>d</sup> et sacrarii et tangere signum ut occurrant omnes, custodiri<sup>e</sup> iubentur.

Sunt igitur lectores qui verbum dei predicant, quibus dicitur, clama ne cesses quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam.

Exorcistae ex greco in latino<sup>f</sup> adiurantes vocantur; invocant enim super catecuminos<sup>g</sup> vel superbos<sup>h</sup> qui habent spiritum immundum<sup>i</sup> nomen<sup>j</sup> iesu<sup>k</sup> adiurantes per eum ut egrediatur ab eis.

Edit. *Pontificale Egberhti*, Greenwell, 10. D = *Dunstan Pontifical*, E. Martène. L = *Pontificale Lanaletense*, Doble, 49.

<sup>a</sup>ostiarii DL — <sup>b</sup>qui dicuntur] dicuntur qui DL — <sup>c</sup>ecclesiae D eclesia L — <sup>d</sup>hostia L — <sup>e</sup>custodire DL — <sup>f</sup>latinum DL — <sup>g</sup>catechumenos D — <sup>h</sup>superbos] super eos DL — <sup>i</sup>immundum D — <sup>j</sup>add. domini DL — <sup>k</sup>iesu L.

These texts seem to reflect a period or locality in which the bishop had no established ordination allocution. He simply chose whatever texts he thought appropriate.<sup>109</sup>

In the higher grades of the Anglo-Saxon ordination allocutions, more standard forms of the *D07G* are used, but they contain several additions which bespeak possible primitive recensions of the text:

<sup>108</sup> W. Greenwell, ed., *The Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A. 732-766* (Durham, 1853), 10f. *Dunstan Pontifical*, loc. cit. Doble, 49f.

<sup>109</sup> See Snijders, 182f. In the ostiarate, note how close the *tangere signum ut occurrant* is to the phrases in the Old English and Latin texts of Ælfric cited earlier.

Subdiaconum vero oportet *apostolum legere*, vestire et honestare altaria, et ministrare diacono.

Diaconus namque oportet ministrare ad altare et *evangelium legere in aecclesia* baptizare et *communicare in vice presbiteri*, peregrinorum pedes lavare, et mortuorum corpora sepelire.

Presbiterum autem oportet benedicere, offerre et benepreesse, predicare et baptizare, atque communicare, quia his supradictis gradibus senior est et vicem episcopi in aecclesia facit.

Episcopum oportet iudicare et interpretari, consecrare et consummare, quin et ordinare, *offerre et baptizare*.<sup>110</sup>

In the grade of subdiaconate the similarities to the Alcuinian form are quite clear. Already it has been noted that this unusual form may be a reflection of canon 4 of the Council of Rheims (A.D. 813). If, however, this allocution as it appears in the *Pontificale Ecgberhti* goes back to the eighth century,<sup>111</sup> we may have found the source for the late eighth-or early ninth-century Alcuinian form of the subdiaconal verse.

The most interesting of the verses from the *D07G* in the Anglo-Saxon form are those for the diaconate. Like the *Hibernensis* form, the deacon is to minister at the altar, baptize, and *communicare*. The newly added duty of reading the Gospel may stem from several sources. Possible antecedents are the Pseudo-Hieronymian *D70E*, the Albi form of the *DDG*, or the Council of Rheims of 813.<sup>112</sup> *Communicare in vice presbiteri* may reflect the older debates concerning the right of the deacon and presbyter within the Eucharistic consecration and distribution or perhaps a part of the early medieval "dispute" already mentioned concerning the diaconal and presbyteral right of communicating the viaticum. The duties of the pedilavium of *peregrinatores* and burial of the dead are the strangest additions. Their sources are not certain, but they seem to hark back to traditions of the early medieval Church. From early times the deacon was connected with the pedilavium. His stole was pictured as the towel with which Christ had girded himself, and the pedilavium had long been associated with both

<sup>110</sup> Greenwell, 10f. The versions in the Dunstan and Lanalet pontificals are identical to this passage from the *Egbert Pontifical* except for the following variants: 1) in both the Dunstan and Lanalet pontificals *Diaconum* replaces *Diaconus*; 2) in the *Lanalet Pontifical* the spelling of *baptizare* and *ecclesia* throughout and *offere* in the episcopal verse; and 3) in the *Dunstan Pontifical* the spelling of *ecclesia* throughout.

<sup>111</sup> Greenwell, xviii, has claimed that the *Pontifical* as a whole goes back to the eighth century, but most modern scholars have held that it was written considerably after the eighth century. See, e.g., Gerard Ellard, *Ordination Anointings in the Western Church before 1000 A.D.* (Cambridge, Mass., 1933), 80; and Leroquais, I. xxv.

<sup>112</sup> See above nn. 95-97.

the *mandatum* and hospitality to strangers and pilgrims.<sup>113</sup> To give a dominical sanction for the deacon's pedilavium, almost all ancient and Anglo-Saxon Ordinals of Christ<sup>114</sup> had pictured Christ as the deacon as he washed the feet of his disciples. Given the proximity of the Ordinal of Christ to the *D07G* in the Anglo-Saxon pontificals, it would not be surprising if the Ordinal's diaconal text influenced the *D07G*. As for the burial of the dead, the deacon in the ancient Church and the early medieval Spanish Church is known to have been closely associated with this duty.<sup>115</sup>

In the presbyteral and episcopal verses the compilers of the Anglo-Saxon Pontifical form of the *D07G* seem to have followed, with a few exceptions, the *Hibernensis* form of the *DDG*. In the latter form nothing is said regarding the presbyter's power to communicate. In the Anglo-Saxon form the specification of this duty may be an extension of the *in vice presbiteri* of the diaconal verse. In the episcopal verse *offerre* precedes *baptizare* as it later would in the Roman pontificals.

In a slightly modified form the Anglo-Saxon version appears in the twelfth-century palimpsest manuscript, *Tortosa Bibl. capit. MS 122*, fol. 43v-44r. The verses of the *D07G* for the subdeacon and deacon are virtually the same as those presented above, but for the presbyter and bishop the list of duties has been modified:

Presbiterum autem oportet bene offerre, preesse, predicare et baptizare atque communicare, necnon et penitentiam dare quia in supradictis gradibus seniorum et vice episcopi in ecclesia facit.

Episcopum oportet iudicare, interpretare et consecrare quin et ordinare veniam quoque peccantibus dare.

In the presbyteral and episcopal verses of the Tortosa manuscript there are conflations and omissions, but in both verses the most striking feature is the addition of the power to administer penance.

## 2. THE PONTIFIGALE ROMANO-GERMANICUM (*PRG*) AND ITS VARIANTS.

Shortly after the middle of the tenth century a new pontifical was produced at St. Alban's in Mainz. This pontifical, later to be accepted in Rome as the authentic Roman pontifical, contained several didactic treatises, including the *D07G*. In the earlier *Ordines romani* there had been ordina-

<sup>113</sup> Kantorowicz, 219; and Thomas Schäfer, *Die Fusswaschung im monastischen Brauchtum in der lateinischen Liturgie*, Texten und Arbeiten 47 (Beuron, 1956), 10f., 26f.

<sup>114</sup> See, e.g., the *Collectio hibernensis* 8.1; Wasserschleben, 26: ... *diaconus fuit* [Christus] *quando lavit pedes discipulorum*; and the *Pontificale Lanaletense*; Doble, 49: *Diaconus fuit* [Christus]... *quando lavit pedes discipulorum suorum*.

<sup>115</sup> Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.11.24. On the important part played by the Spanish deacon in the burial of the dead, see the *Liber Ordinum*, 142f., 146.

tional allocutions but no trace of the *D07G*. It was through the addition of such non-Roman treatises as the *D07G* to manuscripts of the *Ordines romani* that the *PRG* came into being.

The original manuscript of the Pontifical of Mainz or the *PRG* has unfortunately been lost. But there still exists a tenth-century manuscript from Lucca which is based on a Mainz model. In this manuscript, *Lucca Bibl. cap. 607*, fol. 23v, the *De officiis septem graduum Ysidori* appears in a form almost identical to the Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form.

From the end of the tenth century, manuscripts of the *PRG* were produced in great numbers, so many, in fact, that about fifty of them still exist. Usually the *D07G* is found in these manuscripts, and in their edition of the *PRG* Vogel and Elze have used nine manuscripts described by Andrieu as a basis for their recension of the *D07G*:<sup>116</sup>

XIV. De officiis VII graduum Ysidori capitula.

1. De ostiariis. Ostiarium oportet percutere cymbalum et aperire ecclesiam et sacrum et librum aperire ei qui predicat.

2. De lectoribus. Lectorem oportet legere ei qui predicat et lectiones cantare et benedicere panem et omnes fructus novos.

3. De exorcistis. Exorcistam oportet abicere demones et dicere populo qui non communicat ut det locum et aquam in ministerio effundere.

4. De subdiaconibus. Subdiaconum oportet preparare aquam ad ministrationem altaris et ministrare diacono.

5. De diaconibus. Diaconum oportet ministrare ad altare et baptizare.

6. De presbiteris. Sacerdotem oportet offerre et benedicere, preesse et predicare.

7. De episcopis. Episcopum oportet iudicare, interpretari, et consecrare, consummare, ordinare, offerre et baptizare.

A comparison of the Vogel-Elze edition with the Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form shows few differences. The individual grades in the Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form did not usually have rubrics, but in several manuscripts of the *PRG*, the *D07G* also did not.<sup>117</sup> Further, in the presbyteral grade of the Vogel-Elze edition *et baptizare* has not been added, whereas in the Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form it was. But again, the overwhelming majority of manuscripts of the *PRG* contains this addendum.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>116</sup> With the MSS of Vogel and Elze I have collated the following MSS: *Bamberg Staatl. Bibliothek Cod. Lit. 59* (Anc. Ed. IV.12), f. 23r-v; *British Museum, Addit. 17004*, pp. 334f. (= J); *Clm 3917*, ff. 19v-20r; *Wolfenbüttel, Herz.-August-Bibliothek Cod. Lat. 164* (olim Helmst. 141), f. 71r (= R<sup>1</sup>); *Wolfenbüttel, Herz.-August-Bibliothek Cod. Lat. 530* (olim Helmst. 493), f. 98v; *Wolfenbüttel, Herz.-August-Bibliothek Cod. Lat. 4099* (olim Weissenb. 15), f. 39r, 94v; *Vienna Nationalbibliothek Cod. Lat. 1817*, f. 78v; *Vienna Nationalbibliothek Cod. Lat. 1832*, f. 35r (= T<sup>2</sup>); *Troyes Bibl. mun. Cod. Lat. 2272*, f. 3r-v; *Pontifical of Châlons-sur-Marne, Troyes Bibl. mun. Cod. Lat. 2262*, ff. 6v-11v; *London BM Cott. Tib. C.*, f. 86r; and *Vich Bibl. capit. MS 103* (CXIII), f. 99r-v (= V).

<sup>117</sup> Especially is this true in MSS J, R<sup>1</sup>, T<sup>2</sup>, and V of n. 116 above.

<sup>118</sup> In all of the MSS listed in n. 116 above, *et baptizare* has been added.



The *D07G* of the *PRG* did not remain unchanged. Like other forms for several centuries before, it continued to be adapted to the needs of the time. One of the first, albeit minor, changes in the *D07G* of the *PRG* was the breaking up of the individual verses and placement of these separated verses within the ordination rites for the individual grades. Originally the *D07G* was set *en bloc* before the ordination rites for the individual grades, probably with the assumption that a bishop could use the verses as he saw fit.<sup>119</sup> With the *PRG* of *Vendôme Bibl. mun. 14*, its copies,<sup>120</sup> and the *Pontifical of Châlons-sur-Marne (Troyes Bibl. mun. 2262, fol. 6v-11v)*, a pontifical of the first half of the eleventh century closely related to the *PRG*, we begin to see the gradual dissolution of the treatise. That the *D07G* would undergo such a fragmentation in the ordination rite is not surprising; a similar process had already taken place in florilegial tracts of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals. Later this same splintering of the *D07G* would appear in the *Pontificale romanum XII saeculi*.

Far more important than the fragmentation of the *D07G* into individual verses was the addition of a new verse for the acolyte. In the first exemplars of the *PRG* in which it is added, the new verse, whose immediate model seems to be the *SEA*,<sup>121</sup> is intercalated into the proper hierarchical niche between the exorcist and subdeacon. In their manuscripts of the *PRG* Vogel and Elze found this new acolytical verse in two Italian manuscripts, the early eleventh-century manuscript, *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173*, where the verse appears *in textu* of the *D07G*, and in the mid-eleventh-century manuscript, *Monte Cassino Bibl. abbaz. 451*, where the verse appears *in margine*: *Acolitum oportet ceteroferarium ferre et luminaria accendere et vinum et aquam et (in) eucharistiam ministrare*.<sup>122</sup> It also appears in the eleventh-century Spanish manuscript, *Vich Bibl. capit. MS 103 (CXIII)*, fol. 99r-v, where the text of the *D07G* is identical with that of *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173*.

That a text for the acolyte should appear in two Italian manuscripts of the *PRG* is interesting for several reasons. First, Kleinheyser has shown

<sup>119</sup> In the Anglo-Saxon pontificals the *D07G* was one among many sets of verses which could be used. There may be traces of a bishop's detaching individual verses of the *D07G* in many *PRG* MSS, where a modification of the presbyteral verse has been inserted into the ordination rite itself for the presbyter. See *PRG* XVI.25: Vogel and Elze, 1.32.

<sup>120</sup> Puniet, 1.290-293, has reproduced the ordination rite from *Vendôme 14*. On the copies of this MS, see Andrieu *Les Ordines*, 1.351.

<sup>121</sup> In the acolytical verse from the *SEA* c. 94 (Munier, *Les Statuta*, 96f.) the bishop is given an opportunity to instruct the ordinand in the duties of his office. At this point presumably a verse from Isidore's works would have been used by the bishop.

<sup>122</sup> Vogel and Elze, 1.13.

<sup>123</sup> Kleinheyser, *Die Priesterweihe*, 170.

that the *PRG* of *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173* is probably related to the *Pontifical of Aurillac*, *Albi Bibl. mun. 34*, through a pontifical which underwent the influence of the Aurillacan circle of Gerbert, later Pope Sylvester II.<sup>123</sup> It has already been noted that the *Pontifical of Aurillac* contained a strange replacement for the normal text from the *SEA* for the acolyte<sup>124</sup> and that it was in another early manuscript now from Albi, *Bibl. mun. 38bis*, that a verse for the acolyte appeared in the *DDG*. There seems to have been more than the usual concern for the acolytical grade in southern France. It is thus perhaps possible that the idea or a model for a verse for the acolyte in the *D07G* passed from southern France into Italy with the Aurillacan Gerbert and was finally lodged in the *D07G* of *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173*.<sup>125</sup>

Another possible source for the idea of adding a verse for the acolyte may be found in an early eleventh-century manuscript written in Beneventan script containing various theological, patristic, and canonical pieces. In *London BM Addit. MS Lat. 16413*, a version of the *D07G* resembling very much the old Carolingian Proto-Pontifical form, but with additions reminiscent of the Alcuinian and *Hibernensis* forms, contains a verse for the acolyte inserted *in textu* between the exorcist and subdeacon: *Acolitum oportet cyrostagos cum cereis portare et luminaria in ecclesia accendere*.<sup>126</sup> Although the verse, with its unusual addition of the Greek word *cyrostagos*, is unlike the verse for the acolyte in the *PRG* manuscripts, it is interesting that the verse is found added in the proper hierarchical niche of the *D07G* in a presumably Italian manuscript contemporary with *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173*.

It is finally interesting that the Monte Cassino manuscript of the *PRG* contains in its margins a verse for the acolyte. In another manuscript from Monte Cassino of approximately the same date, there appeared for the first time a verse for the acolyte in the *Ordinals of Christ*.<sup>127</sup> It seems that

<sup>124</sup> See above n. 101.

<sup>125</sup> Kleinheyer, *Die Priesterweihe*, 168, points out that this Roman MS is furthest removed from the "Ur-*PRG*". It is perhaps for this reason that the acolytical verse is included in the text of *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173* and is simply added to the margin of the Monte Cassino MS, a MS based on a Rhenish model.

<sup>126</sup> Fol. 16r. This text was kindly called to my attention by Professor Robert Somerville. Cf. E. A. Loew, *The Beneventan Script: A History of the South Italian Minuscule* (Oxford, 1914), 340, who dates the MS to the beginning of the eleventh century; and J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English, 597-1066* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 252, who dates the MS to the tenth century.

The verse for the subdiaconate reads: *Subdiaconum oportet apostolum legere, preparare aqua ad ministrationem altaris et ministrare diacono, et vestire et deonestare altare*. The addition of *apostolum legere* resembles the Alcuinian form and the Anglo-Saxon Pontifical form. The addition of *et vestire... altare* is like the ancient *Hibernensis* form, which, it will be recalled, early travelled to Italy.

In the verse for the *sacerdos* the words *et baptizare* are present.

<sup>127</sup> *Monte Cassino Bibl. abbaz. 217*, p. 373: *Acolitus fuit ubi accepit incensum et ceraptata et dixit:*

in the area of the Roman Church where the acolyte was held in especially high esteem <sup>128</sup> the need was first felt to compose verses for his grade and include them in the correct hierarchical position of the *D07G* and the Ordinals of Christ.

In the episcopal verse of the *D07G* of the *PRG*, an attempted clarification of an antique word appears. In the *DDG* of the canonical *Collection of Saint-Germain* and in the Albi form, the antique word *consummare* had begun to be replaced with *confirmare*. With several exemplars of the *D07G* in the *PRG* the same change begins to occur. In a twelfth-century manuscript from Amiens, now *British Museum Addit. 17004*, p. 335, there is a large erasure on the ligated *ir* of *confirmare*, as if the scribe had begun to write *consummare* and changed it to the more meaningful *confirmare*. In another eleventh-century manuscript of the *PRG* found in *Vienna ÖNB 1817*, fol. 78v, *confirmare* clearly replaces *consummare*.

### 3. THE PONTIFICALE ROMANUM XII SAECULI (*PR XII*).

From the *PRG* the *D07G* passed to the *PR XII*, whose basis the *PRG* was. The form of the *D07G* which found its way into the *PR XII* was that of *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173*, containing a verse for the acolyte.

One of the earliest manuscripts of the *PR XII* to contain the *D07G* was a late eleventh-century manuscript from Monte Cassino, *Vat. Barb. Lat. 631*, fol. 99r-v. In that manuscript the *D07G* appears *en bloc*:

De officiis vii graduum. Ostiarium oportet percutere cymbalum et aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et librum aperire ei qui predicat.

Lectorem oportet legere ea quae predicat et lectiones cantare et benedicere panem et omnes fructus novos.

Exorcistam oportet abicere demones et dicere populo qui non communicat ut det locum et aquam in ministerio effundere.

*Acolitum* oportet ceterarum ferre et luminaria accendere et vinum et aquam in eucharistiam ministrare.

Subdiaconum oportet preparare aquam ad ministrationem altaris et ministrare diacono.

Diaconum oportet ministrare ad altare et baptizare.

*pars hereditatis meae*. The text of this Ordinal appears in Wilmart, "Les ordres", 313f. In the MS itself it is interesting to note that the text for the acolyte appears *in textu*, but that the one for the subdeacon has been added *in margine* (quite correctly, however, since the *titulus* lists eight grades).

<sup>128</sup> In early medieval Rome the lowest functional clerical order above *clericus* through which young clerics passed was that of acolyte. Andrieu, *Les Ordines*, 3.546. Only as Gallican influence crept into Rome were the other lower orders conferred. A perusal of the illustrated Exultet rolls of southern Italy will furnish good evidence of the importance of the acolyte in southern Italy in the tenth and eleventh centuries. See Myrtille Avery, *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton, N.J., 1936).

Sacerdotem oportet offerre et benedicere, preesse et predicare *et baptizare*.<sup>129</sup>  
Episcopum oportet iudicare, interpretari et consecrare, consummare, ordinare, offerre et baptizare.

Like the *D07G* of *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173*, which had a slightly different title,<sup>130</sup> the number "seven" is maintained in the title of *Vat. Barb. Lat. 631*, despite the listing of eight grades in the text. This anomaly would continue to exist in those manuscripts of the *PR XII* where the *D07G* was reproduced *en bloc*. Among these manuscripts were the thirteenth-century Italian manuscripts, *Vat. Borgh. Lat. 49*, fol. 2v-3r<sup>131</sup> and *Vat. Lat. 7114*, fol. 44v-45r.<sup>132</sup>

One solution to the problem of a *D07G* with eight grades had already been suggested in several eleventh-century manuscripts of the *PRG* and the *Pontifical of Châlons-sur-Marne*. There the *titulus* had been discarded and the verses broken up to be used separately in the ordination rite for each grade. In these manuscripts, however, there was no acolytical verse and hence no problem of eight grades. Beginning with the manuscript, *Vat. Ottob. Lat. 270*, fol. 2v-20r, of the *PR XII* the title *De officiis vii graduum* was completely dropped and the verses, including one for the acolyte, were spread throughout the ordination rite of the *PR XII*. This same solution was also used in the *PR XII* of *British Museum Addit. 17005*, fol. 5r-17v and *Bibl. des Facultés catholiques de Lyon MS 2*.<sup>133</sup>

#### EPILOGUE: THE *D07G* BEYOND THE MID-TWELFTH CENTURY.

From the middle of the twelfth century the *D07G* continued to take the forms which it had found in the *PR XII*. Although it rarely appeared as a canon in the body of canonical collections,<sup>134</sup> the *D07G* was disseminated throughout both pontifical manuscripts and florilegal tracts on the sacred orders. In both these genres of literature it appeared *en bloc* and in fragmented form.

<sup>129</sup> Like the overwhelming majority of *PRG* MSS (including *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173*, but excluding *Monte Cassino 451*), this *PR XII* MS contains *et baptizare* for the presbyter.

<sup>130</sup> *Incipit de officiis clericorum de singulis vii ordinibus*. Also cf. *Vich MS 103*, fol. 99r, and the *Pontifical of San Ramón, Tarragona Bibl. prov. MS 26 (olim 44)* (ca. 1120), fol. 217v, both of which have this same title.

<sup>131</sup> This MS contains *confirmare* after the *consecrare* of the episcopal verse.

<sup>132</sup> The unusual features of this version are: 1) the incipit, *Incipit de officiis clericorum de singulis vii gradibus*, and 2) the addition of *predicare* as the last verb of the episcopal verse. I have not been able to consult another MS, *Grenoble Bibl. mun. 140*, fol. 21v-22r, which according to Andrieu, *Le Pontifical*, 1.23, contains the *D07G en bloc*.

<sup>133</sup> R. Amiet, "Un nouveau témoin du Pontifical romain du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Bulletin des Facultés catholiques de Lyon*, n.s. 42 (1967), 27f.

<sup>134</sup> By this time the favorite epitome of the functions of the ecclesiastical officers had become the *Epistula ad Leudefredum*. See Gratian's *Decretum* D. 25, c. 1 (Friedberg, 1.89-91).

An example of the *D07G en bloc* with its eight grades can be found in a twelfth-century florilegal tract of a manuscript from the library of Saint-Victor in Paris, *Paris BN 14993*, fol. 45r-v. From its title, *Incipit de officiis clericorum de singulis vii ordinibus*, and its inclusion of the acolyte, this florilegal form of the *D07G* seems to be based on a recension something like that found in three manuscripts already mentioned, the *PRG* of *Rome Bibl. Aless. 173*, *Tarragona Bibl. prov. MS 26 (olim 44)*, or the later *PR XII* of *Vat. Lat. 7114*.

In both florilegal tracts and pontificals where it was fragmented into verses and inserted into other material, the *D07G* in its primitive *Hibernensis* and pontifical forms began to disappear. Verses were completely dropped, and older or newly composed verses were substituted.<sup>135</sup> A twelfth-century florilegal tract on sacred orders in a manuscript from Saint-Martin of Tournai, *Paris BN Lat. 4286*, fol. 84v-89v, provides an excellent example of this disintegration and recasting of old forms of the *D07G*:

Sententiae dicendae super illos qui ordinandi sunt.

Tunc, oportet ei [ostiario] aperire ecclesiam et sacrarium et codicem quo predicatur.

Ipsum [lectorem] oportet legere ei qui predicat et lectiones cantare et benedicere panes et fructus novos.

Illorum [exorcistarum] officium est ut ponant manus super demoniacos et super catechuminos et per invocationem nominis dei repellant demones ab eis dicentes: Adiuro te immunde spiritus per deum patrem omnipotentem et cetera.

Illorum [acolorum] officium est ut deportent cereos quando legitur evangelium in ecclesia.

Ilius [subdiaconi] ministerium est ut ministret diacono et deferat ei linteam super quod consecrandum est corpus et sanguis domini. Deferat ei patenam cum oblatis et calicem in quo vinum et aquam habeatur quia de latere Christi processit aqua et sanguis.

Diaconem oportet ministrare, baptizare et communicare.

Presbiterum oportet offerre, benepresse, benedicere et baptizare.

Episcopum ergo decet iudicare et interpretare et consecrare et confirmare et ordinare et offerre.

These verses are mixed through a tract on sacred orders based largely on the Pseudo-Alcuinian *Liber de divinis officiis*.<sup>136</sup> In the grades of the exorcist, acolyte, and subdeacon, verses from the Pseudo-Alcuinian tract

<sup>135</sup> E.g., in Honorius "of Autun", *Gemma Animae* 1.175-181 (PL 172.598f.), there are newly composed passages which resemble the verses of the *D07G*.

<sup>136</sup> PL 101 esp. 1231-36. This tract was composed ca. 910. See M. Andrieu, "L'Ordo romanus antiquus et le *Liber de divinis officiis* du Pseudo-Alcuin", *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 5 (1925), 642-650; V. L. Kennedy, "The 'De officiis divinis' of MS Bamberg Lit. 134", *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 52 (1938), 318, n. 23.

have been used rather than verses from the *D07G*. In the grades of the doorkeeper, lector, deacon, presbyter, and bishop, however, verses from a recension of the *D07G-DDG* very close to the *Collection of Saint-Germain* have been modified and used. In the ostiariate the *tangere cloccas* has been omitted, but most of the remainder of the old Saint-Germain form survives. The verses for the diaconate and presbyterate are almost verbatim like the Saint-Germain form, and the verse for the episcopate follows the Albi form, which, as has been noted, is related to that of the *Collection of Saint-Germain*.

In highly fragmented form the *D07G* finally worked its way into the two most famous liturgical commentaries of the high Middle Ages, the *Mitræ* of Sicard of Cremona and the *Rationale* of William Durandus. In the *Mitræ* fragments of the *D07G* are present in the grades of doorkeeper, lector, and subdeacon:

Oportet enim ostiarium libros et campanas, et omnia quae sunt intra ecclesiam custodire, sed et librum praedicantibus et legentibus tenere et signum pulsare, ...

Eiusdem [lectoris] quoque officium est panem benedicere, et omnes fructus novos, unde moris est alicubi terrarum, ut mensas et praelatorum lectiones, pueri benedicant.

Huius [subdiaconi] est officium epistolam legere et diacono ministrare....<sup>137</sup>

In the *Rituale* of William Durandus only a portion of the verse for the lector appears: *Ad eius quoque pertinet officium panem et omnes novos fructus benedicere*.<sup>138</sup>

The destiny of the *D07G* as it was fragmented and used in later medieval pontifical manuscripts is well illustrated in Andrieu's edition of the two recensions of the *Pontificale romanae curiae* and the *Pontificale Guilelmi Durandi* and in Leroquais' description of French pontificals. In Andrieu's later Roman pontificals, the individual verses of the *D07G* have been inserted as introductions to the ordination rite for each grade<sup>139</sup> or as integral parts of the allocution directed by the bishop to the ordinand.<sup>140</sup> Besides this fragmentation two additional changes were taking place. First, in some manuscripts there was a tendency to omit the sentences of the *D07G* in the higher orders.<sup>141</sup> Second, new duties were occasionally added or substitutions in wording made. In the office of ostiariate, for example, the

<sup>137</sup> PL 213.62f.

<sup>138</sup> Gulielmus Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Naples, 1859), 84.

<sup>139</sup> E.g., Andrieu, *Le Pontifical*, 2.341. Also see *Tortosa Bibl. capit. MS 133* (s. XIII), fol. 6v-18r, 197r.

<sup>140</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, *Le Pontifical*, 2.329-338, 343; 3.340-381.

<sup>141</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, *Le Pontifical*, 2.337.

"Italian" word *campana* was substituted for or used in addition to the older *clocca* or *cymbalum*.<sup>142</sup>

In Leroquais' French pontifical manuscripts the tendency to omit sentences from the *D07G* for the lower grades is readily apparent. The verse for the ostiariate appears with some degree of regularity, but those for the offices of lector, exorcist, and acolyte are sporadic at best. In fact, Leroquais in his introduction took special note of the instances in which a verse for the exorcist was omitted.<sup>143</sup> It is possible that these verses were left out capriciously, but in view of the sometimes bizarre and certainly antiquated functions listed in these verses, it is equally possible that towards the later Middle Ages they were dropped because they no longer corresponded to existing ecclesiastical practice.

In her liturgical rites the Church has generally been conservative. While some word or phrase has continued to serve a useful purpose — be it a symbol of tradition or a more obvious pragmatic purpose — the Church has been loathe to suppress it. Dozens of such words or phrases from patristic antiquity and the early Middle Ages continue to survive. Although many texts like the *D07G* have succumbed to the exigencies of time, our treatise has somehow lasted. As an allocution or an introduction to the ordination rite and as an instructional tool, the *D07G* still serves a useful purpose. As it was in the early Middle Ages, so today the *D07G* remains a convenient and simple device to impress upon the minds of both young ordinands and mature clerics alike the obligations which they are called upon to fulfill.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, *Le Pontifical*, 3.340.

<sup>143</sup> Leroquais, I.xlvi. Although neither his catalogue nor his indices present by any means a totally accurate picture of the occurrences of verses from the *D07G* in the French pontificals, the following tabulation, based upon Leroquais' indices and catalogue, gives some indication of the number of occurrences of verses of the lower and higher grades in the French pontificals:

	Door- keeper	Lector	Exor- cist	Acolyte	Sub- dcn	Dcn	Pres- byter	Bishop
Indices	28	8	7	4	28		18	5
Add. in Catalogue		5	1	1	1	14	1	
	28	13	8	5	29	14	19	5

In Leroquais' catalogue one often cannot tell whether or not a MS contained the *D07G* within the rite.

<sup>144</sup> The continuing usefulness of the *D07G* has recently been demonstrated in one of the best popular expositions of the Sacrament of Orders. In his book directed to youthful ordinands, Bernardin Goebel, *Seven Steps to the Altar: Preparation for Priesthood* (London, 1963) (trs. from the German *Auf sieben Stufen zum Altar* [Regensburg, 1962]), 103-144, has again turned to the *D07G* and has used verses from it as a framework on which to hang his comments on the functions of the higher ecclesiastical officers.

HUGH OF ST. VICTOR, BERNARD SILVESTER  
AND MS TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, 0.7.7\*

*Brian Stock*

I

IN his *Catalogue* of the manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge, M. R. James draws attention to a short treatise in MS 0.7.7 (James, no. 1335), ff. 26r-27v, bearing the *incipit*: *Plato ad ostendendum mundum esse factum ad exemplar diuine sapientie...*<sup>1</sup> Thorndike and Kibre also make a note of the first line and repeat James's dating of the manuscript as early thirteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The little treatise is in fact a product of the middle of the twelfth century. Preceding it in the codex in the same hand is an incomplete copy of Bernard Silvester's *Cosmographia* (ff. 1-25v). Both texts have been gone over in a second hand which probably dates from the early years of the thirteenth century. In this latter hand on f. 27v are found three pieces in verse. As they are not connected to *Plato ad Ostendendum*, it may be useful to record them beforehand.

(1)

Nescio quid sit amor, sed amoris sentio nodum;  
sed scio siquis amat, nescit habere modum.<sup>3</sup>

\* I should like to thank the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, for permission to publish the text of MS 0.7.7, ff. 26r-27v, and the Canada Council for a grant in aid of research.

<sup>1</sup> A list of the other contents of the MS is found in M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College...*, 3 (Cambridge, 1902), pp. 348-350.

<sup>2</sup> L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 1051.

<sup>3</sup> For other copies of this oft-recorded couplet, see H. Walther, *Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina I. Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi...* (Göttingen, 1959), p. 602, no. 11741.



## (2)

Sunt tibi Saturne domus, Egocerontis et Urne,<sup>4</sup>  
 Inde Ioui dona Pisces, ipsumque Chirona.<sup>5</sup>  
 Est Aries Martis et acute Scorpio partis.  
 Libram cum Tauro Venus ambit purior auro.  
 Occupat Erogonem<sup>6</sup> Stilbon, Geminumque Latonem.<sup>7</sup>  
 Omnes seru<i>unt<sup>8</sup> Soli, Lune Cancer, Leo Soli.  
 Est Libra, Aries, Scorpio, Taurus,<sup>9</sup>  
 Sagittarius, Gemini, Cancer, Canis,  
 Leo, A<qua>rius,<sup>10</sup> Pisces, Virgo.

## (3)

Cum sit 'ego'  
 quod 'nos,'  
 et cum sit 'amo'  
 quod 'amamus,'  
 iunge licenter  
 'amo', 'nos',  
 et 'amamus', 'ego.'

## II

The little cosmology on folios 26r to 27v cites only two authorities by name, Plato and Augustine. On f. 27v is found an outline of the structure of the world as the author understands it, and this may serve as a preface to the treatise itself.

<sup>4</sup> James, *op. cit.*, 349 records this *incipit* as: "sunt tibi saturne domus egocorytis et urne", while Thorndike and Kibre, *op. cit.*, col. 1543 read: "Sunt tibi Saturne domus egocentricis...".

<sup>5</sup> On *Chirona* (Gr. acc.) see Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VI. 126.

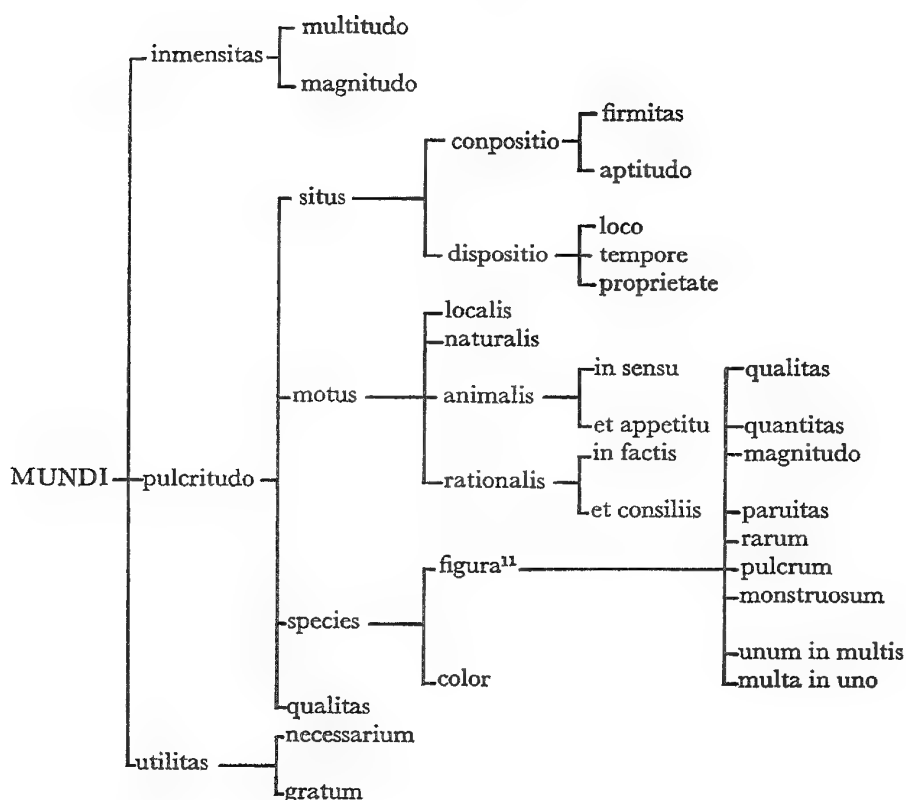
<sup>6</sup> MS *Erogonem*, i.e. *Erigonem*.

<sup>7</sup> MS *Latonem*, i.e. *Latonam*?

<sup>8</sup> MS *ferunt* or *serunt*.

<sup>9</sup> MS *Taurus*, i.e. *Taurus*.

<sup>10</sup> MS *Arius*.



Using this schema as a guide the reader may dispel some of the initial mystery surrounding the treatise. It is not, as its *incipit* would suggest, a wholly original cosmology, but a paraphrase of the *De Tribus Diebus* attributed to Hugh of St. Victor and printed as book seven of the *Didascalicon* in the Migne edition of his works.<sup>12</sup> I have indicated how close the borrowings are by printing both texts in parallel columns. By way of introduction, a few words are necessary to place *Plato ad Ostendendum* in its context in the early twelfth-century revival of naturalism.

What is most interesting about the treatise is the way in which it begins and ends and the material from Hugh's work which it appears inten-

<sup>11</sup> MS *fugura*.

<sup>12</sup> PL 176. 811C—838D. The editors of Migne prefaced this highly imperfect edition with the words: "Hunc in Didascalico non comperi, sed quasi illius appendicem". The edition of the *Didascalicon* of C. H. Buttmer, *Hugonis de Sancto Victore Didascalicon de Studio Legendi* (Washington, D.C., 1939) rejects the *De Tribus Diebus*. There are numerous MSS of the work, and a critical edition would be useful.

tionally to have omitted. Fascinating, but more hypothetical, is the possibility that the author may have been inspired to excerpt Hugh under the influence of the *Cosmographia*.

To turn first to the *accessus*: the author states that in the world's immensity one discovers *Dei potentia*; in its beauty, *sapientia*; and in its utility, *bonitas* and *benignitas*. These parallels are taken almost word for word from chapter 1 of the *De Tribus Diebus*. Their context, however, has been changed, requiring the reader to take account of certain refinements in twelfth-century trinitarian theory.

The first person to have proposed that the Trinity was in some way equivalent to *potentia*, *sapientia* and *benignitas* was Peter Abelard.<sup>13</sup> A *locus classicus* is the opening chapter of book one of the *Theologia Christiana*, written between 1122 and 1125.<sup>14</sup> From the school of Abelard, or possibly through contemporary discussions of the same ideas, the notion spread in many directions, influencing authors as different in their viewpoints as Robert of Melun and Hugh himself.<sup>15</sup> In William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres, who were presumably active during Abelard's career, the idea was given a naturalistic twist. Not only were the three persons of the Trinity represented as abstractions, but they were identified as forces in the creation and operation of the physical universe.<sup>16</sup> In his *Philosophia Mundi*, perhaps written before 1130,<sup>17</sup> William presents the Trinity as *potentia*, *sapientia* and *voluntas* and states that matter and these three forces acting in unison constitute the four causes of creation.<sup>18</sup> In his commentary on the opening chapters of Genesis, Thierry echoes William's views:

Si quis igitur subtiliter consideret mundi fabricam, efficientem ipsius causam deum esse cognoscet, formalem vero dei sapientiam, finalem ejusdem benignitatem, materialem vero quattuor elementa...<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> U. HORST, *Die Trinitäts- und Gotteslehre des Robert von Melun* (Mainz, 1964), p. 119.

<sup>14</sup> *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica* II (C.C. Con. Med. XII), ed. E. M. Buytaert, p. 72. Abundant references to *sapientia* are indexed under 'Filius Dei', p. 503.

<sup>15</sup> For an outline, see U. Horst, *op. cit.*, 119-132. J. Taylor, *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor* (New York, 1961), pp. 160-161, n. 16, draws attention to differences of opinion between Hugh and William of Conches.

<sup>16</sup> For a full discussion, see T. Gregory, *Anima Mundi. La filosofia di Guglielmo di Conches e la scuola di Chartres* (Florence, 1955), pp. 106-121, supplemented by the earlier discussion of J. M. Parent, *La doctrine de la création dans l'école de Chartres. Étude et textes* (Paris-Ottawa, 1938), pp. 29-43, 69-94, 108-110.

<sup>17</sup> This possibility has recently been suggested by P. Dronke, "New Approaches to the School of Chartres", *Anuario de estudios medievales* 6 (1971), pp. 129-130.

<sup>18</sup> Chapters V-IX; PL 172. 44-45.

<sup>19</sup> *De Sex Dierum Operibus*, cap. 2; ed. N. Häring, *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres and his School* (Toronto, 1971), p. 556.

William's notions in particular were criticized by his Cistercian contemporary, William of St. Thierry,<sup>20</sup> but once his ideas had entered cosmological thinking they were impossible to suppress.<sup>21</sup> Trinitarian images that are both theological and naturalistic resurface as late as the 1170s in the *Liber de Naturis Inferiorum et Superiorum* of Daniel of Morley<sup>22</sup> and recur in numerous contexts in the *Anticlaudianus de Antirufino* of Alan of Lille.<sup>23</sup> While they may have had only a minor importance in theology, they mark one of the decisive stages in the emergence of twelfth-century scientific thought.

*Plato ad Ostendendum* lies well within this natural-philosophic tradition. Throughout the treatise great emphasis is placed on *sapientia* as a creative instrument and this is done, by and large, in a naturalistic rather than a theological context. This point may be confirmed through a simple comparison with Hugh's *De Tribus Diebus*. Both the author and Hugh take as their point of departure a quotation from *Ecclesiasticus* 1, 1-2:<sup>24</sup>

Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est,  
et cum illo fuit semper et est ante aevum.

<sup>20</sup> *De Erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis ad Sanctum Bernardum*, PL 180. 334-335. For a discussion of the condemnation, see T. Gregory, *loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> A good example of mixed views from an orthodox thinker is provided by a gloss to an early twelfth-century copy of the *Philosophia*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 6560, f. 33v: "... Auctor huius operis [i.e. William] prius modum emendauit. Ait ergo, 'Verba non faciunt hereticum, sed defensio'. In libello nostro diximus in diuinitate esse tria: potentiam, sapientiam, uoluntatem; potentiam esse patrem, sapientia <m> filium, uoluntatem spiritum sanctum. Sed quod dictum est de potentia, quod sit pater, de uoluntate quod spiritum sanctum — etsi possit quoquo modo defendi tamen quia non in Euangelio nec in scripturis sanctorum patrum inuenimus — propter illud amplius dampnamus prophanas uerborum nouitates de uita. De sapientia quod sit filius non dampnamus, cum amplius dicat Christum dei uirtutem et dei sapientiam. In eodem conati sumus ostendere quomodo pater genuit filium; illudque quod dictum est "generationem eius quis enarrabit". [Act. VIII, 33] Ideo esse dictum quia sit difficile non quia impossibile. Hoc iterum dampnamus et alius esse dampnandum pronunciamus...". Is this gloss a link between the schools of Abelard and William of Conches?

<sup>22</sup> Ed. K. Sudhoff, *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik* 8 (1917), pp. 13-14: "Plato in rerum principiis quatuor causas constituit, primam efficientem, secundam formalem, tertiam finalem, quartam materialem nominabat. Efficientem causam, ipsum deum, formalem, dei sapientiam, finalem diuinam bonitatem, materialem, quatuor elementa asseuerabat". Cf. T. Silverstein, "Daniel of Morley, English Cosmogonist and Student of Arabic Science", *Mediaeval Studies* 10 (1948), pp. 191-192.

<sup>23</sup> E.g., Book VI. 237 ff.; ed. Bossuat (Paris, 1955), p. 148.

<sup>24</sup> *Ecclesiasticus* i. 2 is cited in *Plato ad Ostendendum*, par. [3]; cf. n. 35. The citation in *De Tribus Diebus* is mostly indirect and occurs in chapter II, which is cited below as a parallel to par. [2]. It is interesting that, in this instance, Hugh's paraphraser goes back to the original; yet he does not repeat any of the other scriptural references which Hugh provides in chapter III (PL 176, 813D-815A) to support the notion of *sapientia*.

Arenam maris et pluviae guttas  
 et dies saeculi quis dinumeravit?  
 Altitudinem caeli et latitudinem terrae  
 et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?

However, the way in which each uses this passage is quite different. In Hugh, its context is made clear by a citation of *Romans* in the opening lines of the treatise:

‘Invisibilia enim ipsius a creatura mundi per ea quae facta sunt intellecta conspiciuntur’. (*Rom.* 1, 20) Tria sunt invisibilia Dei: potentia, sapientia, benignitas. Ab his tribus procedunt omnia, in his tribus consistunt omnia, et per haec tria reguntur omnia. Potentia creat, sapientia gubernat, benignitas conservat.<sup>25</sup>

The *De Tribus Diebus* is concerned with world’s *visibilia* (chapters 1 to 16) and *invisibilia* (chapters 16 to 27), the former being subordinated to the latter. *Plato ad Ostendendum*, on the other hand, is concerned primarily with the *visibilia*. The citations it makes from Hugh are all from chapters 1 to 14; and the quotation from *Ecclesiasticus*, while not diminishing God’s power, intends that the reader experience this through the real physical universe. While the invisible Platonic model of the world’s order is mentioned as a point of departure, nothing is said of *invisibilia* in Hugh’s sense. It is possible that the author, in haste, has merely omitted what did not first strike his eye. Yet the consistent oversimplification of theological material together with the emphasis on the natural processes of the world suggest that he was aiming, however crudely, at a consistent design, one which does not differ markedly from those of William, Thierry and Bernard Silvester. Thierry states in the preface to his *De Septem Diebus*..., that “the utility of the book is a knowledge of God through his works...”<sup>26</sup>. In his concluding paragraph which, significantly, is not derived from Hugh, the author of *Plato ad Ostendendum* states: “... it is evident how *this sensible world* bears in itself the certain signs of the potency and also of the benignity of its creator’s wisdom”. The similarity in the two points of view is unmis-takeable.

As stated above, most of the natural-scientific content of the treatise is taken from Hugh. While it is perhaps unfair to the *De Tribus Diebus* to cite it through the eyes of a paraphraser, a few quotations may serve to illustrate how well Hugh’s views actually support the author’s frame of reference. They also point out dramatically that the difference between ‘theology’ and ‘natural philosophy’ in this period is often a question of

<sup>25</sup> *Cap.* I; col. 813D.

<sup>26</sup> *Cap.* I; ed. Häring, *op. cit.*, 555: “Utilitas uero huius libri est cognitio dei ex facturis suis...”.

context or emphasis, rather than content. (The numbers in square brackets refer to the appropriate paragraphs of the Latin text in part III).

[Translations:]

[2] The immensity of the world is divided into multitude and magnitude. See how multitude may signify the power of God ! Look at the stars of heaven, the sands of the sea, the dust of the earth, the drops of rain, the feathers of birds, the scales of fish, the hair of animals, the grasses of the fields, the fruit and leaves of the trees ! Not only are they innumerable as individuals but also innumerable in kinds.

[3] Just as multitude displays potency, so does magnitude. For, if it is potency to make one leaf from nothing, is it not more powerful to create such a variety and quantity of things from nothing ? 'Who has measured the height of the heavens and the breadth of the land and the depth of the abyss ?' (*Ecclus.* 1, 2).

[5] Does not heaven encircle everything, separated, so to speak, from the flowing air ? And does not earth, poised in the middle, remain immobile ? Then are not the other floating [elements, i.e. air and water] confined between these solid ones ? Does not the descent of waters both cement the dry mass and thus supply moisture to the exterior parts lest they lose cohesion ? Similarly in animals the tendons join the bones, the interior marrow is poured out through the pipes of the tibias, blood hastens through the veins and breath through the arteries<sup>27</sup> — these administer life to the whole body !

[6] The heavens [are] above, the earth below. In heaven [there are] lights [i.e. the stars] in order to illuminate what is beneath. Movement is brought about in the air by the winds and the clouds in order to pour forth rain. Streams follow the bosom of the earth in order that, by their meanderings, they may run about in agreement with the boundary of him who commands them.

[6] Does not this wisdom provide for the common frequency of men what necessity demands ? For, whatever individual thing desire asks for, [does it not] lie hidden within the secret confines of the earth's regions ?

[7] The temporal also expresses the same prudence while day follows night, in order that it may busy those who are inactive, [as] while night follows day, in order that it may give rest to the weary. If there were always day, excessive work would be shattering; if always night, continual rest would corrupt nature; if always equal days for nights, the sameness would produce boredom. In order that she [i.e. wisdom] may remove tedium, the world changes the seasons of the year. For the universe is brought forth in springtime tenderness; in youth it grows strong by the summer heat; in autumn it is brought to the maturity of a man; in winter it turns into aged weakness: and thus it is worn out so that it can be renewed.

[8] The instruments of the senses are made marvellously in accordance with the distinct quality of [each's] potency. The more eminent is sight, since it is, so to speak, the scout, whose purpose it is to see, before the danger, what is about to overtake the others. However taste is located in one [instrument], since it senses nothing but what it touches. Between these two are placed the rest in accordance with the measure of each's range. But touch lacks a specific [instrument] since it is universal and covers everything.

<sup>27</sup> Is this 'breath' a weak reflection of the Stoic *pneuma* ? Galen, of course, had disproven the ancient theory that air flowed in the arteries; see M. T. May, *Galen. On the Usefulness of the Parts of the Body...*, vol. 1 (Ithaca, N.Y., 1968), pp. 47-48.

[20] And is not colour as well a mark of God's wisdom? For how great is the wisdom which produces from the dust of the earth red roses, white lilies, purple violets! And how much fresh greenness returns when, with a new spring, the fields are replenished and corn sprouts up in little shoots above, as if, with death trodden down below, it burst forth in the likeness of the future resurrection! When heaven is serene, it radiates like a sapphire, it reddens like glass. The moon grows as pale as an amber ball. Some of the stars glimmer with a flaming appearance; some glow with a rosy light; others show now a rosy, now a green, now a snowy face.

The last-cited paragraph provides a summary of many of the author's (and of Hugh's) most interesting attitudes: his experience of the beauty and diversity of nature, his awareness of its dynamism and complexity, and his desire to see Biblical *sapientia* and *resurrectio* completed by physical change. The poetic images, so to speak, have given him a means of expressing a direct, empirical apprehension of the universe.

*Plato ad Ostendendum*, then, provides rapports with the movement in natural philosophy which characterized the first three decades of twelfth-century France. Are there any further conclusions which may be drawn from it?

While caution must be exerted in discussing a period whose literary history still remains so vague, some indirect evidence would seem to be provided for the early influence, not only of Hugh, but of Bernard Silvester's *Cosmographia*.

Hugh's *Didascalicon* was completed around 1127.<sup>28</sup> In the absence of contrary evidence it may be assumed that the *De Tribus Diebus* dates from the same period. *Plato ad Ostendendum* would therefore have to reflect Hugh's influence after 1127; this date may be taken as its *terminus a quo*. It is also thought that the *Philosophia Mundi* as well as William of Conches's early versions of his commentaries on Macrobius and Boethius were in circulation in the late twenties,<sup>29</sup> the period in which we associate the early activity of Thierry of Chartres.<sup>30</sup> A reasonably strong case may be made for placing *Plato ad Ostendendum* within the range of influence of this group.

But if the evidence of the manuscript has any weight, it may be Bernard Silvester, in addition to Hugh, who is associated with naturalism in the mind of the author. The problem which arises is that, to date, Bernard's influence

<sup>28</sup> J. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 158, n. 1.

<sup>29</sup> E. Jeuneau, *Guillaume de Conches. Glosae super Platonem* (Paris, 1965), p. 10.

<sup>30</sup> If the *Terricus quidam* who defended Abelard at the Council of Soissons in 1121 was indeed Thierry of Chartres; see D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard...* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 57-58. Häring, *op. cit.*, 47, 'narrows' the period of composition of the *De Sex Diebus* to 1130-1140.

has not been recorded before the late 1140s.<sup>31</sup> Either we must assume that the conjunction of part of *Cosmographia* book one and *Plato ad Ostendendum* in a single, early twelfth-century manuscript is an accident, or that Bernard, directly or indirectly, may have exerted an influence earlier than expected. Granted that the evidence is not strong in either direction, a better argument may perhaps be made for early influence. First of all, it may be assumed that the author's presentation of the controversial analogy between the Trinity and *potentia*, *sapientia* and *benignitas* was written before those same views were censured by William of St. Thierry. While the *De Erroribus Guillelmi de Conchis* has not been dated, it must be before the 1140s, since the Chartrain William, conscious of criticism, was already revising his views into the more acceptable form in which they appeared in the *Dragmaticon*.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, the author of *Plato ad Ostendendum*, like William, Hugh and Thierry, does not reflect the new physics or the new astronomy, again products of the forties, and what is most important, those parts of *Cosmographia* book two which reflect best the new science are not found in Trinity College MS 0.7.7. Therefore it would not be an unreasonable hypothesis that at least a part of *Cosmographia* book one was in circulation early enough to have caught and to have influenced the first wave of interest in the phenomenal world, which *Plato ad Ostendendum* clearly reflects.<sup>33</sup> If this view could be corroborated by other evidence, then Bernard could be shown to be part of the first rather than the second generation of natural-philosophic writers whose works did so much to shape nascent scientific thought in the West.

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<sup>31</sup> R. L. Poole, "The Masters of the Schools of Paris and Chartres in John of Salisbury's Time", *English Historical Review* 35 (1920), p. 328. I have suggested that Bernard's influence may be felt at an earlier date in my forthcoming study, *Myth and Science in the Twelfth Century. A Study of Bernard Silvester*.

<sup>32</sup> T. Gregory, *op. cit.*, 3. Gregory dates the *Dragmaticon* from 1144-1149, but William cannot be assumed to have been idle throughout the 1130s.

<sup>33</sup> M. André Vernet, who has kindly communicated to me his unpublished critical edition of the *Cosmographia*, states that Bernard was the teacher of Matthew of Vendôme between 1130 and 1140; *Bernardus Silvestris...* (Diss. Paris, 1938), p. 221-1.



MS Trinity College, Cambridge, 0.7.7, f. 26r-27v. (Note: the numbers in square brackets refer to paragraph signs in the MS.)

Hugh of St. Victor, *De Tribus Diebus*, P.L. 176. cols. 811-838.

[1] Plato ad ostendendum mundum esse factum ad exemplar diuine sapientie, sepius replicationem illam sumptam a mundi pulcritudine. Si quis enim interius inspiciens mundi pulcritudinem notet, inueniet eam esse rationem, quare mundus iste possit dici ymago sapientie diuine, et ad eius exemplar factus.<sup>34</sup>

[2] Cum enim in mundo tria sunt, immensitas, pulcritudo et utilitas, in eius immensitate cognoscitur dei potentia, in pulcritudine sapientia, in utilitate eius bonitas et benignitas. Quod quomodo sit, inspiciamus. Immensitas mundi diuiditur in multitudinem et magnitudinem. Vide quomodo multitudo significet dei potentiam! Intuere stellas celi, harenas maris, terre puluerem et pluuię guttas,

I. Tria sunt invisibilia Dei: potentia, sapientia, benignitas... potentiam manifestat creaturarum immensitas, sapientiam decor, benignitatem utilitas. immensitas creaturarum in. multitudine et magnitudine. Multitudo in similibus, in diversis, in permistis (cols. 811 C-812C).

II. Numera stellas coeli, arenam maris, pulverem terrae, guttas pluvię, pennas volucrum, squamas piscium, pilos animalium, gramina camporum, folia sive fructus arborum, et caeterorum innumerabilium innumerabilia numera... Et ita in caeteris innumerabilibus innumerabilium rerum generibus, infinita, rerum genera et in singulis generibus infinita similia (813 B-D).

<sup>34</sup> Pars [1], [2] and [3], as noted above, combine Plato or Platonism and *Ecclesiasticus*. The source of the Platonism, if identified, would provide us with the other master of the author of *Plato ad Ostendendum*. Unfortunately the notions are presented in such a generalized form that they cannot be traced. One point may be established: the 'Plato' of the *incipit* and *explicit* is neither Plato himself nor Calcidius (who was often cited in the Middle Ages as Plato). The notion that the sensible world is based on a divine model is of course from *Timaeus* 27D ff., but there is no mention in the Latin translation of *sapientia* or *pulcritudo*. Calcidius' definition of *sapientia* is quite clear in chapter CLXXX, ed. J. H. Waszink, *Plato Latinus* vol. IV (London-Leiden, 1962), pp. 208-209: "Optima porro pars animae ea est quam descripsit Plato duplicem habere uirtutem, unam in comprehensione diuinarum rerum, quae sapientia est, alteram in dispositione rerum mortalium, quae prudentia nominatur". For Calcidius, *sapientia* is an attribute of the soul; for twelfth-century Platonists who equated it with *filius dei*, it is an active principle in the creative ordering of the world.

auium plumas et piscium squamas, animalium pilos, camporum gramina, arborum fructus et folia! Non tamen innumerabilia sunt singula, sed etiam innumerabilia genera.

[3] Sicut multitudo potentiam significat, ita magnitudo. Si enim potentia est unum folium de nichilo facere, nonne potentius est tot et tanta de nichilo creare? 'Altitudinem celi et latitudinem terre et profundum abyssi quis dimensus est?'<sup>35</sup>

[4] Pulcritudinem parciuntur situs, motus, species, qualitas; situm, compositio et dispositio; compositio <m>, aptitudo et firmitas. Porro in qualitatem et quantitatem scissa est aptitudo. Qualitatis aptitudinem habet hic mundus. Non enim sociat continue calidissima frigidissimis, humidissima siccissimis, leuissima grauissimis. Aptitudinem quoque quantitatis habet, quia in eo non coherent<sup>36</sup> magis exilia corpulentissimis. Sed aptitudo nota est tibi sapientia dei, firmitas autem sic.

III. Sed fortassis qui tot fecit, parva fecit, multa simul et magna facere non potuit, quanta tamen? Metire moles montium, tractus fluminum, spatia camporum, altitudinem coeli, profunditatem abyssi (813D).

IV. Quamvis multis ac variis modis creaturarum pulchritudo perfecta sit, quatuor tamen praecipue sunt, in quibus earumdem decor consistit. Hoc est in situ, in motu, in specie, in qualitate... (813D-814A).

Situs est in compositione et ordine, id est in compositione et dispositione. Compositio duo habere debet; aptitudinem et firmitatem; hoc est ut componenda apte et competenter coeant; et composita firmiter cohaereant: laudabilis est compositio talis. Aptitudo consideratur in quantitate et qualitate: in quantitate ne nimis tenuia et exilia grossis et corpulentis; in qualitate, ne nimis humida siccis, nimis calida frigidis, nimis levia ponderosis (815B).

<sup>35</sup> *Ecclesiasticus* i. 2.

<sup>36</sup> MS *choerent*, possibly confusing *coeant* and *cohaereant* in the parallel passage from Hugh.

[5] Celum omnia ambiens nonne quasi ex ere fulsili cernitur? Terra et in medio librata immobilis persistit? Inter hec tamquam solida alia fluitancia coartari? Nonne et aridam aquarum decursus conglutinant et exteriores partes ne dissoluantur rigant? Sic et in animalibus nerui iungunt ossa, per tibiarum fistulas interne funduntur medulle, per uenas sanguis, per arterias hanelitus<sup>37</sup> discurrit — qui toti corpori uitam ministrant. Pellis extra munit corpus, eiusque humores choibet. Rigor ossium idem intus sustinet. Et sicut medulla utpote infirma intuitiori parte reclusa caro exterius uestiit, sic cortex munit arborem, penna et rostrum uolucrum, squama piscem. Quid referam lapidum duriciem, metallorum soliditatem, glutinum tenacitatem? Hec de prima specie situs.

[6] Est autem dispositio triplex: in loco, in tempore, in proprietate. Vide quomodo hee omnes sapientie dei note sunt! Celum sursum, terra deorsum. In celo lumina sunt ut subiecta illustrent. Ventis et nubibus in aere datur agitatio ut pluuiam fundant. Gremium telluris tenent amnes ut meatibus pro meta iubentis transcurrant.<sup>38</sup>

IV. Ecce coeli qui ambitu suo concludunt omnia, quomodo solidi sunt, et quasi ex aere fusiles desuper circumquaque oppansi! Terra vero in medio, suo pondere librata, semper immobilis perseverat, ut caetera in medio fluctuantia, hinc soliditas coelorum, illinc terrae stabilitas in unum coarctent et constringant... Ecce quomodo in humani corporis fabrica juncturas ossium vincula nervorum ligant, et medullis intus per fistulas tibiarum diffusis, canales etiam vitalem venarum sanguinem per omne corpus deducunt, ac deinde teneritudinem carniū cutis tegmen involvit, ut et rigor ossium intrinsecus corpus sustineat, et pellis munimen foris defendendo custodiat. Quis duritiam lapidum, quis soliditatem metallorum, quis nodositatem roborum, quis tenacitatem glutinum, quis caetera innumerabilia enumerare queat? (815D-816B)

V. Post compositionem sequitur ut de dispositione rerum qualis sit consideremus... Ecce coelum sursum est et terra deorsum. In coelo stellas et luminaria collocavit, ut subiecta omnia illustrarent. In aere ventis et nubibus viam fecit, ut cogitationibus suis dispersae pluuiam deorsum funderent. In gremium telluris moles aquarum

<sup>37</sup> I.e. *anhelitus*, 'breath'.

<sup>38</sup> Both texts parallel Bernard Silvester, *Cosmographia* I, 3, 233-234; ed. Barach-Wrobel (Innsbruck, 1876), p. 22: "Per gremium telluris aquae diffunditur humor..." Cf. I, 3, 316; p. 24: "Telluris gremio..." And does not the manner in which *Plato ad Ostendendum* distorts the original in this case recall Bernard's inveterate habit of word-play (i.e. 'meatibus pro meta')?

Volucres aere suspense, pisces immersi aquis, bestiis reptilibus terram implentibus. Nonne sapientia quasdam regiones ditavit libertate frugum, alias opulencia vinearum, alias fertilitate olerum, alias fecunditate [f. 26v] pecorum, has herbis, illas gemmis, has animantibus, illas animalibus, has metallis, illas studiis? Et sic omni regioni aliquid speciale pre ceteris datum est. Nonne sapientia ea que necessitas querit in communi hominum frequentia constituit? Quantum uero speciem cupiditas expetit, in abditis terrarum finibus abscondit.

[7] Temporalis quoque eandem exprimit prudentiam. Dum post noctes dies succedit ut torpentes exercent, post diem nox ut fessos refocillet. Si semper dies esset, inmoderatus labor frangeret; si semper nox, continua quies naturam corrumpere; si equales semper dies noctibus, identitas tedium ingereret. Quod ut tedium re-

recipi jussit, ut per gurgites suos huc illucque quo nutus ferret jubentis discurrerent. Volucres in aere suspendit, pisces aquis immergit, terram bestiis et serpentibus et aliorum reptilium vermiumque generibus replevit. Quasdam regiones ditavit ubertate frugum, quasdam opulencia vinearum, alias fertilitate olerum, alias fecunditate pecorum, alias potentibus herbis, alias gemmis pretiosis, alias animalibus et bestiis monstruosis, alias coloribus variis, alias diversarum artium studiis, alias metallorum, alias thimiamatum diversis generibus, ut nulla prorsus regio sit, quae non aliud prae caeteris novum et speciale possideat; nulla item quae non aliquid novum et speciale ab aliis accipere queat. Quid quod etiam ea quae humanis usibus necessaria sunt, in communi hominum frequentia ipsa Creatoris providentia constituit; ea vero quae non natura propter necessitatem, sed cupiditas expetit propter speciem; in abditis terrarum sinibus abscondit, ut quem amor virtutis ab immoderato appetitu non castigat saltem laboris taedio victus conquiescat (816B-D).

VI. Quis satis admirari potest, quam mira ratione providentia divina cursus temporum distinxit? Ecce post noctem venit dies, ut torpentes in otio labor exercent; post diem sequitur nox, ut fessos ad refocillandum quies excipiat. Non semper dies, non semper nox, non semper aequalis dies et nox, ne vel immoderatus labor debilita-

moueatur, anni tempora mundus transformat. Nascitur enim mundus uerna teneritudine; in iuuentute roboratur estiuo feruore; autumno ad uiri maturitatem prouehitur. Hieme in senilem uergit defectum, et ideo deficit ut renouari possit. Hec de dispositione temporalis.

[8] Proprietatum uero dispositio circa hominem talis est. Facta sunt instrumenta sensuum pro qualitate potencie mirabiliter distincta. Eminentior enim est uisus, quia est quasi speculator, ut ante pericula uideat que aliis superuentura sunt. Gustus uero in uno locatus est utpote nil sciens nisi quod tangit. Inter has duo reliqui pro captus sui modo dispositi. Nam tactus speciali sede caret utpote uniuersalis et qui cunctis cooperatur. Vnde pollex est signum omnibus coadunatis in unum solus respondet. Hec de situ.

tos frangat, vel quies continuata naturam inficiat, vel identitas perpetua animo taedium gignat. Item quemadmodum vicissitudo dierum ac noctium animantia renouat, ita quatuor tempora anni ordine sibi succedentia, totius mundi speciem immutant. Primum per teporem ueris quadam innovatione mundus nascitur. Deinde per fervorem aestatis, quasi in iuuentutem roboratur. Post haec superveniente autumno ad maturitatem conscendit. Postremo succedente hieme, ad defectum vergit. Idcirco autem semper deficit, ut semper post defectum renouari possit, quia nisi prius a statu suo deficerent vetera, quasi illis locum occupantibus non valerent exurgere nova (816D-817B).

VII. Ecce in humana facie quam rationabili distinctione instrumenta sensuum collocata sunt. Supremum locum obtinet visus in oculis. Deinde auditus in auribus; post hunc in naribus olfactus, atque post hunc in ore gustus. Scimus autem quod reliqui omnes sensus foris intro veniunt, olus visus intus foras exit, et eminens posita mira prae caeteris agilitate percipit. Bene ergo quasi speculator, eminentiorem cunctis locum obtinuit, ut quae caeteris sensibus superventura sunt, ante periculum praevidere possit. Post hunc auditus, et loco et nobilitate secundus est. Deinde olfactus. Gustus autem qui nil sentire potest nisi id quod tangit, merito (tardior caeteris sensibus) in imo resedit. Tactus specialem sedem non habet, qui ideo univer-

[9] Motus uero quadrifariam diuiditur: in localem, naturalem, animale, rationalem. Localis sapientia artificis taliter nota<sup>39</sup> est. Sapientia enim indeficientem uenam aquarum semper fluentem ministrat, motum uentorum educit, infatigabilem cursum astrorum moderatur. Solem per hiberna signa descendere precipit, rursus eum per estiuam facit ascendere, ab ortu ad occasum ducit, ab occasu ad ortum reuehit.

[10] Naturalis quoque idem significat. Sapientia est que nascentibus incrementum tribuit, in apertum germinantia ducit, marcentia,<sup>40</sup> unde uenerant, reducit.

[11] Motus animalis est in sensu et appetitu. Sapientia omnium uiuentium sensus fabricat; appetitus creat; quidue appetere et quantum debeant ordinat.

salis est, quia cunctis cooperatur sensibus. Unde et in digitis pollex, qui tactum significat, coadunatis in unum digitis solus omnibus respondet, quia sine tactu nullus sensuum esse potest (818A-B).

VIII. Motus est quadrifarius, localis, naturalis, animalis, rationalis. De quibus quia per singula multa dicere non possumus, breuiter singula perstringimus. Vide quomodo in motu locali sapientia conditoris appareat. Cogita nunc unde defluentibus semper aquis indeficiens semper uena ministratur, unde motus uentorum educitur, quis infatigabilem astrorum cursum moderatur, quis solem per hiberna descendere signa praecipit, quis rursus per aestiua eum signa ascendere facit, quis eum ab oriente in occidentem ducit, et iterum ab occidente ad orientem reuehit (818C-D).

Quid etiam de naturali motu dicam? Quis putas nascentibus cunctis incrementum tribuit, et quasi de quodam occulto naturae sinu in apertum germinantia educit, rursumque eadem marcentia illuc unde uenerant reuerti facit? (818D).

Deinde sequitur motus animalis, qui est in sensibus et appetitibus. Cogita ergo qualis esse possit, qui sensus omnium uiuentium fabricat, appetitus creat et in singulis quibusque animantibus quid

<sup>39</sup> MS *notus*.

<sup>40</sup> MS *marcescentia*?

[12] Motus rationalis in factis et consiliis. Sapientia animorum facta, uoluntates, cogitationes ita temperat, quod ad decorem operum suorum retorqueantur. Hec de motu.

[13] Speciem dicimus inuisibilem formam. Hec continet figuras et colores. Septem autem sunt causae quare figure mirabiles dicantur: magnitudo, paruitas, raritas, pulcritudo, monstruositas, quia in multis una, quia in uno diuersa. Singula ordine prosequamur.

[14] Figura secundum magnitudinem attenditur, quia res sui generis modum excedit. Vnde mirabilis est gigas inter homines, cetus inter pisces, griphus inter aues, elephans inter quadrupedes, draco inter serpentes.

[15] Secundum paruitatem quando res quantitati sui generis non equatur, ut suedo, tineae, cynifes, ut miramur apri dentem, sic tineae, ut alas griphi, sic cyniphis, ut crura elephantis, sic culicis. O quam

appetere et quantum appetere debeant, ordinat.

Denique motus rationalis qui est in factis et consiliis satis admirationis tibi ingerit, si attendere uolueris, quam ineffabilis sit sapientia quae omnia hominum facta, omnes uoluntates, omnes denique cogitationes cordium; ita ad suae uoluntatis arbitrium intorquet, ita imperat et moderatur ut nihil in universitate possit fieri quod non ipsa ad decorem operum suorum aut praecipiendo aut permittendo fieri uelit (819A).

IX. Species est forma uisibilis, quae continet duo, figuras et colores. Figurae autem rerum multis modis apparent mirabiles: aliquando ex magnitudine, aliquando ex paruitate, aliquando quia raras, aliquando quia pulchras, aliquando ut interim ita loquar, quia quodammodo convenienter ineptae, aliquando quia in multis una, aliquando quia in uno diuersa; singula ordine suo prosequamur (819B).

Figura secundum magnitudinem attenditur, quando res quaelibet sui generis modum in quantitate excedit; sic miramur gigantem inter homines, cetum inter pisces, gryphonem inter uolucres, elephantem inter quadrupedes, draconem inter serpentes (819B).

Figura secundum paruitatem consideratur quando res quaelibet sui generis quantitati aequari non potest, ut est succerio in capillo, tineae in indumento, vermes et sciniphes, et similia, quae inter

magna sapientia que dedit hiis  
ut in tam parvis [f. 27r] nulla  
desint liniamentis<sup>41</sup> que sint in  
magnis !

[16] Quedam rara mira sunt  
uel quia in suo genere pauca creata  
sunt uel quia in remotis<sup>42</sup> sedibus  
obstrusa. Hec uel noxia sunt uel  
preciosa. Noxia seorsum collo-  
cauit sapientia, ne eorum consor-  
cio ledamur, preciosa ut cupiditas  
naturam choibeatur.

caetera quidem animalia vivunt,  
sed caeteris omnibus corporis exi-  
guitate dispares sunt. Vide ergo  
quid magis mireris, dentes apri,  
an tineae, alas gryphis an scini-  
phis? caput equi an locustae?  
crura elephantis an culinis? ...  
Ibi miraris magnitudinem, hic mi-  
raris parvitatem; corpus parvum  
magna sapientia conditum. Magna  
sapientia cui nulla subrepat negli-  
gentia ! Illis dedit oculos, quos  
vix comprehendere potest oculus;  
et in tam exiguis corporibus sic  
omnifariam lineamenta naturae su-  
ae congrua plenissime distribuit,  
ut nihil videas deesse in minimis  
eorum omnium quae natura for-  
mavit in magnis (819C-D).

X. Restat nunc dicere de iis  
quae rara sunt, et ob hoc magis  
mira videntur. Sunt quaedam in  
rebus conditis quae idcirco cum  
videntur magis mira sunt quia ad  
hominum notitiam raro perve-  
niunt, vel ob hoc quod in suo  
genere pura creata sunt, vel quia  
remotiss edibus et in abditis naturae  
sinibus abstrusa. Haec autem id-  
circoc reatoris providentia seorsum  
collocare voluit, ut illorum con-  
sortio quae noxia sunt non laedatur  
humana societas, eorum quae pre-  
tiosa sunt specie probetur humana  
cupiditas, eorum quae rara sunt  
novitate excitata admirari discat  
humana tarditas (819D-820A).

<sup>41</sup> MS *ligiamentis*.

<sup>42</sup> MS *remotibus*.



[17] Quedam tante pulcritudinis sunt nil quod in eis sapientia artificis natura specialiter dilicentiam suam adhibuisse <uideatur>.

[18] Quedam monstruosa sunt que tanto magis nos ad mirationem trahunt, quanto magis eorum plasmatio a nostra ratione aliena est. Quomodo cocodrillus inferiorem molam non mouet? Quomodo salamandra in ignem illesa manet? Quis docuit herinatium<sup>43</sup> ut se pomis inuolueret, quibus honustus incedens gemit ut plaustrum? Quis fecit formicam future hiemis presciam ut granis horrea repleat? Quis docuit araneam nectere laqueos ut predam capiat?

[19] Sapientia eius nota est quod in multis una forma. Folium serratis dentibus per girum distinguitur et productis intrinsecus costulis huc et illuc intexitur. Quot dentes

XI. Sequitur de iis quae mirabilia sunt propter pulchritudinem. Quarumdam rerum figurationem miramur quia speciale quodam modo decorae sunt et convenienter coaptatae, ita ut ipsa dispositio operis quodammodo innuere videatur specialem sibi adhibitam diligentiam conditoris (820A).

Rursus alia idcirco miramur quia monstruosa sunt vel ridicula; quorum quidem psalmatio quantum ab humana ratione aliena est, tanto facilius humanum animum in admirationem compellere potest. Quare crocodilus manducans inferiorem molam non movet? et quomodo salamandra in igne illaesa permanet? quis dedit ericio spinas, et docuit eum, ut se pomis turbine discussis involvat, quibus onustus incedens stridet quasi plaustrum? et formicam quae hiemis superventurae praescia granis horrea sua replet? araneam quae de visceribus suis laqueos nectit unde praedam capiat? (820A-B).

Est adhuc aliud verum et evidens divinae sapientiae argumentum, quod omne genus simile sibi procreat, et in tam multis similitudo una propagata primae origi-

<sup>43</sup> The MS reads *herinatium* for *herinaceus* and appears to be missing the last stroke of the 'm' in *pomis*. Judging by the MS, it is also probable that the scribe started writing *pomis* but debated with himself over *spinas* in Hugh's text before finally writing it. The sense of both authors is made clear by Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* VIII, LVI, 133: "Praeparant hiemi et irenaei cibos ac voluntati supra iacentia poma adfixa spinis, unum amplius tenentes ore, portant in cavas arbores". The clause "quibus... plaustrum" perhaps echoes *Amos* 2, 13: "Ecce ego stridebo subter vos, sicut stridet plaustrum onustum foeno". The other references to animals in [18] and in Hugh appear to be derived from Pliny but somewhat distorted; e.g. *crocodilus*: VIII, XXXVII, 89-90; *salamandra*: X, LXXXVI, 188; *formica*: XI, XXXVI, 108-110.

in uno tot in alio, tot costule talis forma, talis color, mora et fraga<sup>44</sup> circumquaque distinguuntur, quibusdam granulis adinuicem et pactis tale unum quare<sup>45</sup> alterum. In uno quoque corpore diuersa sunt membra: auris, oculis, lingua, nasus, pes, manus. Suus singulis locus, suus effectus, sua forma et licet diuersa inuicem tamen coeperantur omnia. Hec de figura.

nis formam non mutat... Hoc quoque insensibilis natura custodit, aliud genus arboris est tilia, aliud fagus, aliud quercus, unumquodque speciem suam habet, et unumquodque generis sui servat similitudinem. Vide folium quomodo ferratis dentibus per gyrum distinguitur, quomodo intrinsecus productis costulis huc illucque intexitur. Numera unum, numera aliud. Omne quod est unius generis, unius invenies et multitudinis et similitudinis, tot dentes in uno quot dentes in alio, tot costulas in uno quot costulas in alio, talem formam in uno qualem formam in alio, talem colorem in uno qualem colorem in alio. Ecce quomodo mora, quomodo fraga, quibusdam granulis ad invicem compactis circumquaque distinguuntur... Hoc quoque mirabile est quod in uno corpore tot constituuntur membra, tot membrorum formae, tot loca, tot officia. Ecce in uno hominis corpore quot membra? Aliud auris, aliud oculis, aliud lingua, aliud nasus, aliud pes, aliud manus; singulis sua forma, sua loca, sua officia, et cum sint ita diversa in se, singula invicem tamen cooperantur omnia (820B-D).

[20] Color quoque nonne sapientie dei nota<sup>46</sup> est? Quanta enim sapientia est que de terre pulvere producit rubentes rosas,

XII. Post figuram sequitur color... Quid jucundius ad videndum coelo cum serenum est, quod splendet quasi saphirus; et gratissimo

<sup>44</sup> MS *fraga*.

<sup>45</sup> Marg. note: *quale*, in a later hand.

<sup>46</sup> MS *notus*.

candida lilia, purpureas uiolas! Quantus autem uiror recipit quando uere nouo gramina procedunt, et ceres<sup>47</sup> sursum in spiculis, quasi deorsum calcata morte, ad ymaginem future resurrectionis in lucem erumpit!<sup>48</sup> Cum serenum est celum splendet ut saphirus, ut utrum rutilat, luna pallet ut electrum, stellarum quedam flammeo aspectu rutilant, quedam rosea luce micant, alie nunc roseum, nunc uiridem, nunc niueum uultum monstrant. Hec de specie.

[21] Qualitates tam diuerse date sunt rebus ut omnis sensus oblectamenta inueniat. Visum enim pascit colorum pulcritudo, auditum concentus cantilene, olfactum<sup>49</sup> odoris fragrantia,<sup>50</sup> gustum saporis dulcedo, tactum corporis aptitudo. Hec de qualitate; similiter pul-

quodam suae claritatis temperamento visum excipit et demulcet aspectum? Sol sicut aurum rutilat, luna pallet quasi electrum, stellarum quaedam flammeo aspectu radiant; quaedam luce rosea micant, quaedam uero alternatim nunc roseum, nunc uiridem, nunc candidum fulgorem demonstrant. Quid de gemmis et lapidibus pretiosis narrem? ... Videmus rubentes rosas, candida lilia, purpureas uiolas, in quibus omnibus non solum pulchritudo sed origo quoque mirabilis est. Quomodo scilicet dei sapientia de terrae pulvere talem producit speciem. Postremo super omne pulcrum uiride, quomodo animos intuentium rapit; quando uere nouo, nova quadam uita germina prodeunt, et erecta sursum in spiculis suis quasi deorsum morte calcata ad imaginem futurae resurrectionis in lucem pariter erumpunt (820D-821B).

XIII. Post speciem de qualitate rerum disserere debemus, ob hoc providentia creatoris tam diuersas qualitates rebus indidit, ut omnis sensus hominis sua oblectamenta inueniat. Aliud percipit visus, aliud auditus, aliud odoratus, aliud gustus, aliud tactus. Visum pascit

<sup>47</sup> MS *in del.*, after *ceres*.

<sup>48</sup> Both texts may be echoing Prudentius, *Apotheosis*, 1063-1065; ed. M. P. Cunningham, *C.C.S.L.* CXXXVI (Turnhout, 1966), p. 114: "Veniam quibus ille reuenit / calcata de morte uiis (quod credimus hoc est) / et totus ueniam".

<sup>49</sup> MS *olfactus*?

<sup>50</sup> MS *flagrantia*.

critudo mundi sapientie dei nota est.

[22] Utilitas uero diuine bonitatis sic. Hec in necessarium et gratum diuisa est. Necessarium est quo uita eget, ut in uictu, panis et aqua, in uestitu lanea indumenta et similia.

[23] Gratum est sine quo uita duci potest attamen delectabile est. Hoc placet uel gustu ut poculum uini, esus carnum, uel uisu ut aurum lapides, uel tactu ut purpura et bissus. Hec etsi necessaria non sint tamen uoluit diuina bonitas esse. Si enim sola necessaria faceret bonitas, quidem esset, sed diues non esset, sed cum grata necessariis addit, diuicias sue bonitatis ostendit.

[24] Sicut arbitror, eiuidens est quomodo mundus iste sensibilis certas habet in se notas potencie creatoris sui, sapientie quoque et benignitatis. Vnde et Augustinus: Considera, inquit, mundum et ornatum mundi: terram fructificantem herbis et lignis et animalibus plenam,

pulchritudo colorum, suauitas cantilenae demulcet auditum, fragrantia odoris olfactum, dulcedo saporis gustum, aptitudo corporis tactum (821C).

XIV. De immensitate creaturarum et de pulchritudinem earum quomodo potuimus non quomodo debuimus locuti sumus, nunc restat ut ad considerandam earundem utilitatem transeamus. Utilitas rerum quatuor complectitur: necessaria, commoda, congrua et grata. Necessarium unicuique rei est, sine quo ipsa subsistere commode non potest, utpote in victu hominis panis et aqua, in vestitu lanea sive pellicea, aut quaelibet eiusmodi indumenta (821D-822A).

Gratum est ejusmodi, quod ad usum quidem habile non est; et tamen ad spectandum delectabile, qualia sunt fortasse quaedam cerbarum genera et bestiarum, voluhrum quoque et piscium, et quaevis similia... Hoc est quod diximus cur deus illa etiam creare uoluit, quae humanis usibus necessaria non esse praevidit. Si enim sola necessaria tribueret, bonus quidem esset, sed diues non esset. Cum vero necessariis etiam commoda adjungit, diuitias bonitatis suae ostendit... (822B-D).

mare [f. 27v] tantis natatilibus,  
a<e>rem tantis uolatilibus. Con-  
sidera omnia et uide si non spe-  
cie tamquam uoce respondeant  
tibi, 'deus nos fecit'.<sup>51</sup> Hoc quo-  
que notauit Plato, dum mundum  
sensilem diuine sapientie esse imag-  
inem ex mundi sensilis pulcritudine  
crebrius ratiocinatur.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Conf.* 10, 6, 9. *Enarr. in psalm.* 144, 13, *PL* 37, 1878-9.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *Tim.* 28C ff., in Calcidius, ed. J. H. Waszink, p. 21, 11 ff.

## THE TROUBADOUR AND HIS LABOR OF LOVE

*Edward I. Condren*

THE first expression in western civilization of what came to be called Courtly Love was made by the troubadours of the *Languedoc* in the twelfth century. The voices of these singers carried in directions long recognized by scholarship. In southern Europe Italian poets writing in Provençal learned the *dolce stil nuovo* from the troubadours, and this in turn led to Petrarch and the sonnet. In the north, under the influence of Eleanor of Aquitaine, granddaughter of the first troubadour, and her daughter Marie de Champagne, love poetry enjoyed a somewhat different career in narrative poets like Chrétien de Troyes, Guillaume de Lorris, and Guillaume de Machaut.

In contrast to the general acceptance of the love poet's indebtedness to the troubadours, the Provençal lyrics themselves remain relatively unexamined as literature. Recently, however, L. K. Shook made a most interesting observation about troubadour poetry which invites a fresh inquiry, and suggests a potential line of investigation for all subsequent songs of love. Shook prefaced a discussion of Chaucer's *House of Fame* thus:

It seems to me that medieval poets spoke of themselves as "lovers" because they felt that to be a lover was in some way to be a poet... If one wishes to be a poet, one becomes a lover.

In this assumption, it is not impossible that when the Roman poet Ovid was writing of love as an Art, the "art" he had in mind was largely the Art of Poetry: when he said he was composing an *Ars amatoria*, he was in fact writing an "Art of Poetry"...

It is not extravagant to read the Troubadour poets in this way.<sup>1</sup>

Troubadour poetry reveals a less monolithic structure than Shook's words tend to suggest. The contributions of Jeanroy, Nykl, Denomy, and

<sup>1</sup> "The House of Fame", *Companion to Chaucer Studies*, ed. Beryl Rowland (Toronto; Oxford Un. Press, 1968), 343.

many others have persuaded us that the poets of Provence celebrated a complex concept of profane love conditioned by an uncertain combination of many factors — the emotions, Arabic mysticism, Neo-Platonism, Albigensian philosophy, and so forth.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, these aspects of the Provençal poet's conception do not preclude Shook's remark. On the contrary, the equation, if true, between "poet" and "lover" enables us to realize that the troubadour's profound sense of awareness was not confined to matters of the heart and the intellect, but extended to aesthetics as well — to style and poetic form. Many troubadour lyrics seem indeed to speak about a new and rarefied concept of love — about *fin' amors*. But several of them also use the language of love to describe the poet's search for poetry. Similarly, the poet's anguish and frustration in love are frequently co-subjects with his inability to create songs.

A traditional assumption of consistency among the troubadours, as well as the belief — held until very recently — in the historicity of their songs, have encouraged scholars to concentrate on the precise nature of the love which inspired them. Thus, a purely literary approach has been overlooked. Consistency, however, cannot be demonstrated among the troubadours, as a brief look at Bernard de Ventadour will indicate. In one song, often taken as representative of the whole troubadour movement, Bernard praises the ennobling effects of love and credits it with his ability to sing:

Chantars no pot gaire valer,  
si d'ins dal cor no mou lo chans;  
ni chans no pot dal cor mover,  
si no i es fin' amors coraus.<sup>3</sup>

But in another poem, assumed to be by the same Bernard, the poet chides a friend who has stopped singing because love has left him. Bernard's

<sup>2</sup> A branch of the troubadours, concerned with divine love and represented by poets like Marcabru and Bernart Marti, does not concern us here. This study confines itself to the troubadours' expression of profane love which marked a significant departure in western thought and literature. The question of the source or origin of this new concept of love is far from settled, but see: Alfred Jeanroy, *La poésie lyrique des troubadours* (Paris, 1934); A. R. Nykl, *The Dove's Neck-Ring* (Paris, 1931); A. J. Denomy, "An Inquiry into the Origins of Courtly Love", *Mediaeval Studies*, 6 (1944), 175-260; Denomy "Fin' Amors: the Pure Love of the Troubadours, its Amorality and Possible Source", *Mediaeval Studies*, 7 (1945), 139-207.

<sup>3</sup> Raymond Thompson Hill and Thomas Goddard Bergin, eds. *Anthology of the Provençal Troubadours* (New Haven, 1941), No. 26, lines 1-4; Trans.: Singing is hardly of value if the song comes not from the heart; nor can the song come from the heart in which there is no *fin' amors*. Translations of Provençal poems are my own unless otherwise noted.

admonishment implies that poetry may thrive regardless of what happens in the poet's own love-life:

Peirol, motz i fatz gran foudat  
 s'o laissatz per tal ocaizo;  
 S'eu agues agut cor felo,  
 Mortz fora un an a passat,  
 Qu'enquer non posc trobar merce:  
 Ges per tant de chant no'm recre,  
 Car doas perdas no m'an at.<sup>4</sup>

Through the nineteenth century the historicity of the troubadour lyrics was taken for granted. Early attempts to construct biographies of the troubadours based on their poetry claimed that Jaufré Rudel, for example, was enamoured of the Countess of Tripoli, though he had never seen her. In 1899 Gaston Paris effectively rejected Rudel's synthetic biography, and now no *vida* is seriously believed to be historical.<sup>5</sup> Yet if these biographies have been rejected as history, the historicity of the poetic evidence on which they were based has not been similarly rejected. Forced to accept Gaston Paris' sound conclusion, that Rudel's *amor de lonh* could not have been the Countess of Tripoli, critics attempted to construct for Rudel a *vida* of their own. Monaci suggested that his loved one was really Eleanor of Aquitaine. Later, Appel proposed the Blessed Virgin. And in spite of Olin H. Moore's convincing argument that most of Rudel's poetry was drawn from poetic sources and thus not likely to have been based on experience, in 1942 Grace Frank commented on the one hand that these attempts to construct a biography were foolish, while on the other hand she ironically claimed that Rudel's far-away love was really the Holy Land. Even as recently as 1957 Irénée Cluzel proposed dates for the composition of Rudel's six poems based on the assumption that the poems were in some obscure way autobiographical.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Pierre Bec, ed. *Petite anthologie de la lyrique occitane du moyen âge* (1966), No. V, lines 15-21; Trans.: Peirol, you make a big mistake to stop for such a reason; if I had had the heart of the thief I would have been dead a year ago, and even now I can find no mercy: but I still do not give up song, because two losses are no good to me.

<sup>5</sup> Gaston Paris, "Jaufré Rudel", *Revue historique*, 53 (1899), 225-60. The *vidas* are conveniently collected in Boutière and Schutz, eds. *Biographies des Troubadours*, 2nd ed. revised, with the collaboration of Irénée Cluzel (Paris, 1964).

<sup>6</sup> E. Monaci, "Ancora di J. Rudel", *Rendiconti Reale Accad. dei Lincei*, serie 5 (1893), 927 ff. C. Appel, "Wiederum zu Jaufré Rudel", *Archiv*, 107 (1901), 338-49. Olin H. Moore, "Jaufré Rudel, and the Lady of Dreams", *PMLA*, 29 (1914), 517-36. Grace Frank, "The Distant Love of Jaufré Rudel", *Modern Language Notes*, 57 (1942), 528-34. Irénée Cluzel, "Jaufré Rudel et L'Amor de Lonh", *Romania*, 78 (1957), 86-97.



This strong desire to insist that the troubadours were writing from experience, and not from their imagination, has led to the prolonged inquiry into the nature of the love they celebrated. Some have claimed that the poets had abstract women and idealized (perhaps even spiritual) possession in mind; and others have insisted that they had real women and physical possession in mind. Indeed, with respect to Jaufré Rudel, whose *Chanson II* and *Chanson V* are closer to the center of Courtly Love than any other troubadour poems, the argument is over which of his poems belong to which classification. Jeanroy himself betrays indecision. He agrees with the traditional division of Rudel's poems into two groups: "L'un est formé des pièces II, V, VI, qui chantent un amour idéal et 'lointain'; l'autre des pièces I, III, IV, relatives à des amours plus réelles, semble-t-il, et dont l'objet était plus rapproché du poète".<sup>7</sup> Yet in discussing the more realistic group he seems to destroy the very basis of the division:

A la suite de cette mésaventure (*Ch. IV*, a night encounter during which the speaker was discovered naked, beneath the covers), le poète aurait — si j'interprète bien le même texte — renoncé à l'amour humain; il se serait guéri (32) de cette maladie, féconde en angoisses (17-18), pour se tourner vers la dévotion. N'est-ce point une "joie" spirituelle que celle à laquelle il se félicite d'être revenu, avec l'aide de Dieu (22-5)? Ce port, où il se flatte désormais de trouver le repos, allégé d'un "sot fardeau" (56), n'est-ce point celui que la religion offre aux âmes blessées? Ce "pur amour qui trahit personne" (35), que serait-ce, sinon l'amour divin?<sup>8</sup>

There is little wonder that Moshé Lazar has recently reacted so strongly to these observations: "L'on doit rêver. Où Jeanroy trouve-t-il une trace quelconque d'âme blessée, de joie spirituelle, d'intervention de Dieu?"<sup>9</sup>

Jeanroy's interpretation — characteristic of the majority of the critical material written about the troubadours — fails to assess the poet's attitude to his material, his style. Having assumed that Rudel brought to poetic realization some physical or mental experience, Jeanroy must dismiss the possibility that the poem may be a wholly imaginative construct: "les allusions qu'elles contiennent sont trop précises pour que l'amour qui y est chanté soit purement fictif".<sup>10</sup>

There is, however, a growing tendency to see the troubadour movement as a commitment to poetry rather than to a unique attitude to love. Etienne Gilson may have been the earliest to point the way toward this view by

<sup>7</sup> Alfred Jeanroy, ed., *Les Chansons de Jaufré Rudel*, 2<sup>e</sup> ed. (Paris, 1924), p. iv.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, v.

<sup>9</sup> Moshé Lazar, *Amour Courtois et Fin' Amors dans la littérature du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1964), 90. Lazar wisely suggests that Rudel's *Chanson IV* belongs to a branch of the *fabliaux*.

<sup>10</sup> *Les chansons de Jaufré Rudel*, p. v.

implying a connection with the humor of Ovid. He remarked that the troubadour love songs were a means "pour élaborer un code d'amour humain qui fût, non point mystique ni même spécifiquement chrétien, mais plus raffiné que la grivoiserie d'Ovide".<sup>11</sup> A most valuable distinction was further made by John Stevens between the lover speaking as lover (the assumption made by the anonymous Provençal biographers, as well as by Jeanroy) and the poet dramatizing himself as lover.<sup>12</sup> And, finally, Paul Zumthor has focused squarely on the question of the provençal poet's perception of reality:

La chanson se constituait de manière subtile, sur un plan objectif, où nos notions d'impression, de sincérité, d'authenticité eussent été inconcevables: où l'œuvre est pure modalité créatrice; un plan parfaitement étranger, par la même, à toute acception morale — sinon épisodique, surajoutée, et sans attache avec le chant.<sup>13</sup>

Not every troubadour lyric creates the impression of a poet dramatizing himself as lover, but a significant percentage of them seem designed to establish the identity of the lyric itself rather than anything outside the lyric. Stephen Manning has suggested that the effect of a lyric may force attention on itself either by its being "form-conscious", or by its being "dramatic".<sup>14</sup> A poet wishing to celebrate the uniqueness of his lady may do so either by the uniqueness of his expression, in which case the lyric is "form-conscious", or by describing the unique "dramatic" experience which the lady causes him to have. Thus it is, one suspects, that Jaufré Rudel's poems have traditionally been placed in two groups. But whereas Jeanroy and others have called those groups idealistic and realistic, Manning's useful distinction enables us to rename the idealistic poems "form-conscious", and the realistic "dramatic". Most importantly, however, all of the poems achieve the same effect: they individualize the poet, either by his formal *tour-de-force*, or by his experience. Some of the poems of the troubadours, as we shall see, combine both of these techniques. The lady not only causes in the poet a unique personal experience, but she inspires him to seek unique expressions to sing her praises.

Let us begin with one of the most celebrated of all troubadour love songs, *Chanson V* of Jaufré Rudel:

Lanquan li jorn son lonc en may  
M'es belhs dous chans d'auzelhs de lonh,

<sup>11</sup> E. Gilson, *La théologie mystique de Saint Bernard* (Paris, 1934), 214.

<sup>12</sup> John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Lincoln, 1961), 206-7.

<sup>13</sup> *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1963), 9.

<sup>14</sup> "Game and Earnest in the Middle English and Provençal Love Lyrics", *Comparative Literature*, 18 (1966), 230.

- E quan mi suy partitz de lay  
 Remembra-m d'un' amor de lonh:  
 Vau de talan embroncx e clis 5  
 Si que chans ni flors d'albepis  
 No-m platz plus que l'yverns gelatz.
- Be tenc lo Senhor per veray  
 Per qu'ieu veirai l'amor de lonh;  
 Mas per un ben que m'en eschay 10  
 N'ai dos mals, quar tan m'es de lonh.  
 Ai ! car me fos lai pelegris,  
 Si que mos fustz e mos tapis  
 Fos pels sieus belhs huelhs remiratz !
- Be-m parra joys quan li querray, 15  
 Per amor Dieu, l'alberc de lonh:  
 E, s'a lieys platz, alberguarai  
 Pres de lieys, si be-m suy de lonh:  
 Adoncs parra-l parlamens fis  
 Quan drutz lonhdas er tan vezis 20  
 Qu'ab bels digz jauzira solatz.
- Iratz e gauzens m'en partray,  
 S'ieu ja la vey, l'amor de lonh:  
 Mas non sai quoras la veyrai,  
 Car trop son nostras terras lonh: 25  
 Assatz hi a pas e camis,  
 E per aisso no-n suy devis...  
 Mas tot sia cum a Dieu platz !
- Ja mais d'amor no-m jauziray  
 Si no-m jau d'est'amor de lonh, 30  
 Que gensor ni melhor no'n sai  
 Ves nulha part, ni pres ni lonh;  
 Tant es sos pretz verais e fis  
 Que lay el reng dels Sarrazis  
 Fos hieu per lieys chaitius clamatz ! 35
- Dieus que fetz tot quant ve ni vai  
 E formet sest'amor de lonh  
 Mi don poder, que cor ieu n'ai,  
 Qu'ieu veyra sest'amor de lonh,  
 Verayamen, en tals aizis, 40  
 Si que la cambra e-l jardis  
 Mi resembles tos temps palatz !
- Ver ditz qui m'apella lechay  
 Ni deziron d'amor de lonh,  
 Car nulhs autres joys tan no-m play 45  
 Cum jauzimens d'amor de lonh.  
 Mas so qu'ieu vuelh m'es atahis,  
 Qu'enaissi-m fadet mos pairis  
 Qu'ieu ames e no fos amatz.

Mas so q'ieu vuoill m'es atahis.  
 Totz sia mauditz lo pairis  
 Qe-m fadet q'ieu non fos amatz !<sup>15</sup>

50

The beauty of the opening strophe sets the tone for the poem in a number of ways. An antithesis is established between the singing birds and the speaker. Though their beautiful song reaches the speaker, the connection between them is artificial. Not only are they an entirely different kind of creature from the speaker, and probably vastly superior to him as creators of vocal music, but the birds are probably not even visible to him. They are, after all, far away birds. Nor can it be said that anything like a reciprocal enjoyment, or even consciousness, is present between the speaker and the birds. The birds may be singing, but they are sublimely indifferent to the speaker of the poem; for them singing is identical with existing. It is not a distinct act. This observation may seem self-evident, but it is nevertheless of significance. It enables us to see that, in spite of the birds' singing, all the action really develops in the mind of the speaker. Essentially, he rejoices when he can hear the birds, laments when he cannot, and longs to recreate the state of one-sided, internal activity promoted by the presence of distant bird-song.

The opening two lines of the poem remind the speaker of his relationship with his far away love, not because the only point of similarity is his sadness,

<sup>15</sup> Hill and Bergin, No. 20. Trans: When days are long in May, the song of far-away birds is pleasing to me, and when I have gone I recall a love far away: I become pensive, sad and head-low; then neither songs nor hawthorne blossoms please me more than winter frost.

I believe in the Lord through whom I will see the far away love. But for a good which comes to me I receive two evils, because it is so far away from me. Alas! that I were a pilgrim there, at least my staff and my cloak would be seen by her beautiful eyes.

What joy will be mine when I ask her, for the love of God, for a shelter far away: and if it pleases her I will lodge near her, however far away I may be. What fine conversation there will be then when the far away lover will be so near that he will enjoy beautiful discourse.

Sad and joyful I will part with her, if I am never to see her, this far away love. But I do not know when I will see her, for our countries are too far apart. There are so many paths and roads, I cannot make it out... But may everything be as God wills it.

I will never have pleasure from love if I do not enjoy this far away love; for I know nowhere — neither near nor far — a woman who is more gentle and better; her merit is so true and so great that for her I would want to be called a captive in the country of the Sarazins.

May God who made everything that comes and goes, and created this far away love, give me the power, for I have the heart, that I may see this far away love, really, in such a place where the room and the garden may always seem to be a palace.

He speaks the truth who calls me avid and desirous of my far away love. For no other joy would please me as much as the enjoyment of the far away love. But what I want is denied me, because my godfather has condemned me to loving and not being loved in return.

But what I want is denied me. May every curse befall the godfather who condemned me never to be loved.

but because both relationships are identical in a variety of ways. We come to realize as the poem proceeds that the lady is no more real to him than the remote birds for, aside from suggesting that she has beautiful eyes, she is not individuated in any way. The speaker longs, moreover, merely to be near her, as he was with the birds, not to love her. He mentions explicitly only a counterpart of the birdsong he wants to restore in the opening lines. If we look for signs that a concrete human relationship is the end sought by the poet, we look in vain. What is concretized for us is the locale in which the poet will be situated if he should ever have his prayer answered. Where we expect to hear about golden hair and a graceful figure, we find only the hope of shelter and entertainment for the speaker, palatial rooms and gardens for his imagined surroundings. The most telling similarity between the image of the opening two lines and the remainder of the poem rests within the speaker. Any realization of his desire takes place entirely within his imagination which becomes, in effect, the chief subject of his song.

Rudel is not alone in realizing his love in his dreams. Arnaud de Mareuil admits that he has been imagining how he will speak with his lady,<sup>16</sup> and that her charms have made him dream of her day and night.<sup>17</sup> Guillaume de Poitou refers to his dreams, as do so many others that it often appears, as it did to Bertoni in speaking of Rudel, that the lady "est idéalisée au point de devenir une 'réalité de rêve'".<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Bec, No. IV, lines 9-12.

Domna, loncs temps a qu'ieu cossir  
 Co'us disses o vos fezes dir  
 Mon pessamen e mon coratje,  
 Per mi meteis o per messatge.

Trans: Lady for a long time I have thought of how I would speak or have you speak my thoughts or my heart, either myself or through a messenger.

<sup>17</sup> Lines 23-27; 34.

Cortesa Domna conoissen,  
 E de bon grat a tota gen,  
 Apresa de totz benestars  
 En fatz, en ditz et en pessars,  
 La cortesi' e la beutatz  
 . . . . .  
 Mi fan la nueg e'l jorn pessieu.

Trans: Lady, courteous, cultivated, gracious to all, indeed possessed of all perfections in deeds' words, and thoughts, your courtesy and your beauty... make me dream day and night.

<sup>18</sup> Giulio Bertoni, "Due poesie di Jaufré Rudel", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 35 (1911), 533; quoted by Moshé Lazar, *Amour Courtois*, 100.

Rudel's other famous poem about his *amor de lonh* is strikingly similar to *Languan li jorn son lonc en may*. *Chanson II* appears less abstract, and distinguishes the speaker so much more clearly that it may almost serve as a gloss for the poem examined above.

Quan lo rius de la fontana S'esclarzis, si cum far sol, E par la flors aigentina, E-l rossinholetz el ram Volf e refranh ez aplana Son dous cantar et afina, Dreitz es qu'ieu lo mieu refranha.	5
Amors de terra lonhdana, Per vos totz lo cors mi dol; E no-n puesc trobar mezina Si non au vostre reclam Ab atraich d'amor doussana Dinz vergier o sotz cortina Ab dezirada companha.	10
Pus totz jorns m'en falh aizina, No-m meravilh s'ieu n'afiam, Quar anc genser crestiana Non fo, ni Dieus non la vol, Juzeva ni Sarrazina; Ben es selh pagutz de mana, Qui ren de s'amor guazanha !	15 20
De dezir mos cors no fina Vas selha ren qu'ieu pus am; E cre que volers m'enguana Si cobezeza la-m tol; Que pus es ponhens qu'espina La dolors que ab joi sana; Don ja non vuelh qu'om m'en planha.	25
Senes breu de parguamina Tramet lo vers, que chantam En plana lengua romana, A-n Hugo Bru per Filhol; Bo-m sap quar gens Peitavina De Berri e de Guiana S'esgau per lui e Bretanha. <sup>19</sup>	30 35

<sup>19</sup> Hill and Bergin, No. 18. Trans: When the brook flows clear from its source, as is customary, and like the flower of the eglantine, and the little nightingale repeats, modulates, smoothes out his sweet song and embellishes it, that is just how I soften mine.

Far away love, for you all my heart is sad; and I am unable to find the remedy, if not to your

It is not a disparagement to remark that this is a beautifully deceptive lyric. On the contrary, only through its artistry can it deceive one into reading it as an intensely personal effusion. Rudel's skillful use of the language of love — key words, familiar setting, and so forth — creates the presumption that everything in the poem describes the speaker's love for a woman. But this is to read the poem far too presumptively. The opening stanza, gracefully comparing the sweet sounds of nature to the poet's own song, prepares for the second which conveys only two ideas, the speaker's inability to do something, and the physical surroundings of an imagined location. The object of his desires remains curiously indistinct with the simple phrase "*dezirada companha*" (14), a disappointingly Platonic way to refer to (we assume) the lady who has saddened all his heart. It should be noted, though, that line 8 (*Amors de terra lonhdana*) does not explicitly refer to a lady; it only does so on the questionable strength of the subsequent expressions *per vos* (9) and *vostre reclam* (11). Nor does line 12 necessarily refer to her, since it probably alludes to what the speaker himself will bring to their meeting rather than what the lady will offer.

In marked contrast to the lady's indistinctness, we are given at least four items of information about the speaker: his heart is sad (9); he cannot find the remedy (10); he is anxious for his lady's summons (11); and the lady addressed is a desirable companion for him (14). Moreover, he strongly implies that the lady's summons would enable him to find the remedy he seeks. It must still be insisted, however, that if we understand physical love to be the basis for this stanza, that meaning is only implied. On the other hand, in line 10 the word *trobar*, in addition to meaning "to find", also means "to compose poetry". As a consequence, one explicit theme begins to emerge: the creation of poetry. This is the only meaning of the first stanza; and of the two main themes in the second stanza (sad speaker; and pleasant imagined surroundings) only the speaker's use of the word *trobar* with its meaning "to compose" can be in any way related to stanza one. Nothing else in stanza two is made explicit.

call with the charm of sweet love, in an orchard or beneath a curtain, with a desired companion.

Since the occasion always fails me, I am not surprised that I am enflamed by it; because there was no gentler Christian — for God did not wish it — Jewess or Sarazin. He is well paid with manna who earns something from love.

My heart does not lose its desire toward that thing which I love so much. And I believe that my will deludes me if covetousness deprives me of it. For more poignant than a thorn bush is the sorrow that wars with joy. And that is why I do not wish anyone to complain about it.

Without a brief on parchment I send this verse which we sing, in plain language, to Uc le Brun by Filhol. It is pleasing to me that the poitou people of Berry, Guyenne and Bretagne are delighted with it.

In the subsequent two stanzas everything fades into insignificance compared with the emphasis given to the speaker's desire. But the poem fails to give further information about that desire. We assume it is a desire to possess a lady, but this is never made clear, however certain we may be that the poet knew he was implying this idea. The final stanza parallels the first by returning explicitly to the idea of poetry. Hence, by the end of the poem we are left with an implied lady; a strong sense of the speaker's desire, growing out of a vague frustration; and a clear identification of the speaker as a creator of poetry.<sup>20</sup>

These two poems of Jaufré Rudel are noticeably similar in the way they reveal the speaker's desire. In neither poem does the implied lady come to life for us. And since the speaker never articulates his desire in a way that can be assumed to signify physical love, we are driven to conclude that the poems are really about the idea of desire in general, of which human love forms but a sub-heading.

The implied woman in Rudel emerges even less vividly in the following lyric by Peire Vidal, while the speaker's own desire gains clarity as the poem progresses:

Ab l'alén tir vas me l'aire	
Qu'eu sen venir de Proensa;	
Tot quant es de lai m'agensa,	
Si que, quan n'aug ben retraire,	
Eu m'o escout en rizen	5
E'n deman per un mot cen:	
Tan m'es bel quan n'aug ben dire.	
Qu'om no sap tan dous repaire	
Com de Rozer tro qu'a Vensa,	
Si com clau mars e Durensa,	10
Ni on tan fis jois s'esclaire.	
Per qu'entre la franca gen	

<sup>20</sup> The *envoi* of Rudel's *Chanson II* may actually strengthen the emphasis on poetry beyond what I have already suggested. The word *lui* in line 35 is usually taken to refer to Uc le Brun, of Lusignan, Comte de la Marche, who was on the crusade of 1146. But this masculine form is based on only three manuscripts deemed "poor" by Grace Frank (*o. cit.*, 529 n.), whereas seven better manuscripts show the feminine *lieis*. If one adopts *lieis* it cannot possibly refer to Uc le Brun, but must refer either to the implied lady (not very likely) or to *plana lingua romana* as the only feminine expression in the stanza. But if, following all modern editors, *lui* is adopted, the word need not necessarily refer to Uc le Brun. It could as easily refer to *lo vers*. In other words, its antecedent is one of four possibilities: the lady, the Count, the language, or the verse. The first makes no sense in the context; the second is a possibility, though manuscript evidence does not favor it; and the other two — one supported by the reading in the seven best manuscripts, the other by the same argument in support of the Count — both refer to the poem at hand.



Ai laissat mon cor jauzen  
Ab leis que fa-ls iratz rire.

Qu'om no pot lo jorn mal traire 15

Qu'aja de leis sovinensa,  
Qu'en leis nais jois e comensa.

E qui qu'en sia lauzaire,  
De ben qu'en diga no-i men;  
Que-l melher es ses conten 20  
E'l genser qu'el mon se mire.

E s'eu sai ren dir ni faire,  
Ilh n'aja-l grat, que sciensa  
M'a donat e conoissensa,  
Per qu'eu sui gais e chantaire. 25

E tot quan fauc d'avinen  
Ai del seu bel cors plazen,  
Neis quan de bon cor consire.<sup>21</sup>

Less like a love lyric than a panegyric, the poem warmly praises Provence, yet the measure of that praise is the internal feeling of the poet. The degree of his pleasure becomes an indication of the excellence of the land he praises. From this opening where the presence of the speaker is distinctly subordinate to his subject, the poem moves by degrees to a final stanza where the activity of the poet has plainly become the subject and where the things that relate to him are important only insofar as they produce that activity in him. Almost as a gesture of gratitude the speaker has left his heart, full of grace, near one who makes the afflicted laugh. Because the poem has so far seemed to be an affair of the heart, we are prepared to assume that *leis* (14) refers to a specific lady whose identity remains in the unexpressed thoughts of the speaker. Yet the only description of what the word refers to recalls the description of the land which the speaker has been praising. He has said that Provence provides the air he

<sup>21</sup> Hill and Bergin, No. 65. Trans: For air I breathe the breeze I feel coming from Provence; everything that comes from there pleases me and when I hear something good said of it, I listen smiling and for a single word I ask for a hundred; such is the pleasure I get from it.

For one knows not a sweeter country than the one which stretches from Rhone to Vence and encloses the sea and Durance, nor a country where there shines a purer joy. This is why, among these good people I have left my heart full of joy near her who makes the afflicted laugh.

One cannot be unhappy on the day that he remembers her, for in her is born and begins all joy and whoever praises her and whatever he may say, his idle chatter is no exaggeration, for she is the best and the gentlest whom one can admire.

And if I know how to say or do anything of value it is to her I owe my gratitude, for she has given me the knowledge and the ability through which I am a happy singer. And everything pleasing which I make and even the thoughts which come from my heart I owe to her beautiful figure full of grace.

breathes (1-2), sends the sounds that make him smile (5), radiates the pure joy (11) with which his heart is now filled (13). When we hear in line 14 that something can produce laughter — in the afflicted in general rather than in the speaker alone — it seems natural to understand this as another of the capabilities for which the land is celebrated.

Similarly, the third stanza may certainly be understood to contain lines of unmitigated praise for the speaker's lady, but in view of the similarity between what it says and what has already been expressed in the poem perhaps these lines too are primarily about that same Provence. In the first fourteen lines the speaker has been remembering Provence and commenting on how happy it has made him. Here, at the beginning of the third stanza he simply generalizes what we have particularly observed: one cannot be unhappy on the day he remembers "her". He offers a reason for this universal judgment: because in her is born and begins all joy. But this too is exactly what he has attributed to Provence in line 11. If the language of the third stanza strongly suggests the speaker's lady, its meaning is unmistakably identical with much of what has already been said of Provence in the first two stanzas. We can, of course, carry this equation further and see in lines 18-19 a description of what the speaker has been doing through the first 17 lines. Since it is no exaggeration to praise Provence, the speaker is actually making a defense of his own expression, however idle his chatter may have appeared, for he has all along been praising Provence.

In the final stanza the speaker's attitude to himself has changed. He no longer presents himself as one who passively enjoys pleasures from the land, or even from a land vaguely allegorized into a lady. He now declares he is a singer who owes his gratitude to one who has given him his ability. The reality of a lady is expressed in terms too traditional in this stanza for it to be ignored, but she is given far less attention than that given to the speaker. She is merely called a source, or the same thing which the third stanza's object of praise was called, or the same thing Provence was called in stanzas one and two. The speaker, on the other hand, is now said to have knowledge, ability, gaiety, and charm.

The explicit identification of the speaker as a poet in the final stanza may help to explain an obscure statement in the first stanza, and may also make clear the kind of progression which the poem celebrates. Although much of the poem details what the speaker has received from sources outside himself, including the ability specifically to be a happy singer in the last stanza, he makes but one request throughout the poem. He has asked Provence for a hundred words, a request that cannot be unrelated to the profession described so explicitly at the poem's close. The speaker has presented a small history of his own poetic development. From an origi-

nal captivation with Provence, signalled by a request for her words, to a declaration of proficiency in song, the speaker has throughout his poem been giving us the story of his fascination with a poetic style, a style associated with Provence, written in Provençal, and spoken in a diction reminiscent of the language of love. The entire poem, then, is both a panegyric for an expanse of land, and a celebration of a poetic movement associated with that land.

In one important respect the *amor de lonh* poems of Rudel and the lyric by Vidal are remarkably alike. Though Rudel seems to be celebrating his love for a lady, and Vidal to be praising Provence, all three poems reveal almost exclusively the persona who sings them. Rudel creates a sense of longing in terms of the internal activity his speaker longs to achieve. Vidal praises Provence by describing how it has inspired him to become an accomplished poet.

Within the lines of some troubadours this centrality of the speaker extends to the theme often said to be most characteristic of Provençal poetry, the theme of idealized frustration. Rather than accuse his lady of traditional cruelty, Bernard de Ventadour, for example, complains of his own inability:

Ai, las ! tan cuidava saber  
d'amor, e tan petit en sai !  
car eu d'amar no'm posc tener  
celeis don ja pro non aurai.<sup>22</sup>

The lady may well have been the occasion for his recognizing his limitations, but she cannot be blamed for his frustration, since it was with her permission that he looked closely into her eyes. Cercamon seems to go a step further than Bernard in offering what amounts to almost a definition of love as power:

Que Pretz e Joys e tot quant es, e mays,  
N'auran aisselh qu'en seran poderos. (9-10)<sup>23</sup>

And Arnaud Daniel explains that the power it gives him is the power to make polished songs:

En cest sonet coind'e leri  
Fauc motz e capuig e doli,  
E serant verai e cert  
Quan n'aurai passat la lima;

<sup>22</sup> Hill and Bergin, No. 31, lines 9-12. Trans: Alas, I thought I knew so much of love, but I know so little, for I am unable to stop loving her from whom I will have no reward.

<sup>23</sup> *Les poésies de Cercamon*, ed. Alfred Jeanroy (Paris, 1922, *Classiques français du moyen âge*, 27), No. V, 9-10. Trans: Whoever has the power of love shall have Worth and Joy and all there is and more.

Qu'Amors marves plan'e daura  
 Mon chantar, que de liei mou  
 Qui pretz manten e governa. (1-7)<sup>24</sup>

Cercamon's definition of love as power, and Daniel's claim that love gives him the power to produce skillful songs, do not establish that the quest for love is really to be understood as a search for poetic expression. The ability to make songs may be only one of many gifts bestowed by love; and it need not be the reason love was originally sought. Moreover, two things equal to the same thing will only equal each other within the lines of one poet, not two. In the first stanza of a poem by Guy d'Ussel both of these objections disappear:

Ben feira chansos plus soven,  
 Mas enoja'm tot jorn a dire  
 Qu'eu planh per amor e sospire  
 Quar o sabon tuit dir comunalmen;  
 Per qu'eu volgra motz nous ab son plazen,  
 Mas re no trob qu'autra vetz dit no sia.  
 De qual guisa'us pregarai donc, amia?  
 Aquo meteis dirai d'autre semblan,  
 Qu'aissi farai semblar novel mon chan. (1-9)<sup>25</sup>

The stanza permits us to eavesdrop, as it were, on a poet at work. Like many another troubadour he suffers frustration and speaks of his desire. Unlike the vague implications of songs already discussed, Guy D'Ussel's poem explains clearly his frustration and the object of his desire. The context of his statements is no different from that of several of the other troubadours, though here it is expressed in the first line: he is a poet who has made many songs in the past. He is annoyed, he declares, at saying each day that he pines and sighs for love. Significantly he does not complain about sighing and pining, but about *saying* that he does. This is tantamount to an admission that his previous poetry has expressed the sighs and complaints so characteristic of the entire movement. He adds that his displeasure with his former efforts does not amount to simple boredom with an unvaried theme, but from his knowledge that everyone knows how to talk about sighing for love. Annoyed because his previous poems have not distin-

<sup>24</sup> Hill and Bergin, No. 52, lines 1-7. Trans: In this poem graceful and light I make words smooth and polished, and they will be true and certain when I will have passed the file because love unhesitatingly polishes and gilds my song which comes from her who guards fame and governs.

<sup>25</sup> Bec, No. 1, lines 1-9. Trans: I have often made many songs, but it displeases me to say every day that I lament for love and sigh because everyone knows how to say that; for that reason I want new words and a pleasant melody, but I cannot find something which has not been said before. How shall I implore you, loved one? I will say the same thing in another form, thus I will make my song seem new.

guished him from a vast crowd of versifiers, he longs not for the ultimate embraces of his lady, but for new words and a pleasing melody. To solve his problem he decides to use old ideas in different ways, and thus to pass off his song as new. The remainder of the poem proceeds in a fashion similar to most other troubadour lyrics. Even the familiar phrasing manages to distinguish the act of expressing praise more than the lady celebrated by it:

Domna, ben sai certanamen  
 Qu'el mon non posc mais domn'eslire  
 Don qualsque ben no si'a dire,  
 O qu'om pensan no formes plus valen. (19-22)<sup>26</sup>

A famous canso by Guilhem de Montanhagol echoes Guy d'Ussel's by beginning with the same complaint that a troubadour has difficulty finding words which have not already been too often heard:

Non an tan dig li primier trobador  
 Ni fag d'amor,  
 Lai el temps qu'era gais,  
 Qu'enquera nos no fassam apres lor  
 Chans de valor, 5  
 Nous, plazens e verais.  
 Quar dir pot om so qu'estat dig no sia,  
 Qu'estiers non es trobaires bos ni fis  
 Tro fai sos chans gais, nous e gent assis,  
 Ab noels digz de nova maestria. 10  
 Mas en chantan dizo'l comensador  
 Tant en amor  
 Que'l nous dirs torn' a fais.  
 Pero nous es, quan dizo li doctor  
 So que alhor 15  
 Chantan no dis om mais,  
 E nou, qui ditz so qu'auzit non avia,  
 E nou, qu'ieu dic razo qu'om mais no dis,  
 Qu'amors m'a dat saber, qu'aissi'm noiris,  
 Que s'om trobat non agues, trobaria.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Bec, No. 1, lines 19-22. Trans: Lady I know certainly that I cannot find another woman in the world of whom I can say such good, or whom the imagination can create with greater worth.

<sup>27</sup> Peter T. Rickets, ed., *Les poésies de Guilhem de Montanhagol* (Toronto, 1964), VIII. Trans: The first troubadours have not spoken of love so much in happy times gone by that now, after them, we are unable to make songs which are new, pleasant, and sincere. One can say what has not been said, for otherwise a troubadour is neither good nor courteous if his songs are not new, gay and well composed on new ideas and according to a new theory of composition.

But in their poems, the original troubadours, in singing of love, spoke so much that the new language became cliché. But it is new when the masters speak of things which have never been said in poetry, it is new if they say what they had never heard, and new also when I express ideas which have never been expressed. For love has given me knowledge, which so inspires me that if no one had ever composed, I would compose.



suggest strongly that the poet's earlier lines about his lady were more formulaic than real:

N'Esclarmonda, qui etz vos e Na Guia  
 Quascus dels noms d'ambas o devezis:  
 Que quecs dels noms es tan cars e tan fis,  
 Qu'om que'l mentau pueis non pren mal lo dia. (61-64)<sup>31</sup>

It is extremely unlikely that either of these two women is the intended recipient of the poet's love. What could be more insulting to a lady than to send her a love poem in which she is made to share the place of honor with a co-addressee? Nor, for that matter, does it seem psychologically believable that a man would describe his feelings for the woman he loves in a poem addressed to two other women. The personal expressions we find in this poem have no relation to reality, but are to be understood as creating a fictional reason for the poet's lifting up his voice to sing the song he spoke of in the opening stanza.

The claim that love is to be understood as fictional in most of the Provençal poems thus far examined calls for little or no adjustment in our understanding of the total meaning of each. There is reason to believe, however, that love is something else in many troubadour poems. Because of what seems to have been a tacit understanding that the troubadour's love was almost always fictional, and because of the explicit belief that love was always the source of poetic power, it does not seem impossible that the word love and the entire vocabulary used to talk about it came to signify for some the creation of poetry. There is no evidence for our assuming that every troubadour understood love thus, but the following poem argues strongly that this is at least how Raimbaut d'Aurenga understood it. The poem is a playful *je-ne-sais-quoi* whose verse form, even more playfully, disintegrates into prose as an intended indication of the incompleteness of the whole piece.

Escotatz, mas no sai que-s es,  
 Senhor, so que vuellh comensar;  
 Vers, estribotz ni sirventes  
 Non es, ni nom no-l sai trobar,  
 Ni ges no sai co-l me fezes,  
 S'aital no-l podi' acabar,

5

que hom mais no vis fach aital per home ni per femna en est segle, ni en  
 l'autre qu'es passatz.

<sup>31</sup> Trans: Madam Esclarmonde, and you Madam Guise, each of your names indicates who you are, for each of your names is so precious and so refined that one has but to think about them to be free from ill the whole day through.

Si tot m'o tenetz a foles,  
 Per tan no-m poiria laissar 10  
 Que ieu mon talan non disses;  
 No m'en poiria hom castiar;  
 Tot quant er no pretz un poges  
 Mas so qu'ades vei et esguar.

E dir-vos-ai per que: quar s'ieu vos a avia mogut e no-us o trazia a cap,  
 tenriatz m'en per folh: quar mais amaria seis deniers en mon punh que  
 mil soltz al cel.

Ja no-m tema ren far que-m pes  
 Mos amicx, aquo-l vuelh preguar,  
 S'als ops no-m vol valer manes, 20  
 Pus m'o profer ab lonc tarzar.  
 Pus leu que selh que m'a conques  
 No-m pot nulh autre gualiar.

Tot aisso dic per una dona que-m fai languir ab belhas paraulas et ab  
 loncx respiegz, no sai per que. Pot mi bon esser, senhor?

Que ben a passat quatre mes,  
 Oc, e mais de mil ans, so-m par,  
 Que m'a autreiat e promes  
 Que-m dara so que m'es pus car.  
 Domna, pus mon cor tenetz pres, 30  
 Adoussatz mi ab dous l'amar.

Dieus, ajuda, *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*! Dieus, aisso que  
 sera?

Qu'ieu sui per vos guais d'ira ples,  
 Iratz jauzens mi faitz trobar; 35  
 E sui m'en partitz de tals tres  
 Qu'el mon non a, mas vos, lur par;  
 E sui folhs chanteire cortes  
 Tan qu'om m'en apela joglar.

Domna, far ne podetz a vostra guiza, quo fetz n'Aima de l'espata, que  
 l'estuget lai on li plac.

Er fenisc mon non-sai-que-s-es,  
 Qu'aissi l'ai volgut bateiar;  
 Pus mais d'aital non auzi ges,  
 Be-l dey enaissi apellar; 45  
 E diga-l, quan l'aura apres,  
 Qui que s'en vuelha azautar;

e si hom li demanda qui l'a fach, pot dire que cel que sap ben far tota  
 fazenda, quan se vol.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Hill and Bergin, No. 35. The following translation is by Stephen Manning and appears in



Stephen Manning maintains that by using the composition of poetry as his metaphor Raimbaut sings of his love for his lady: "The lover does not know where his love is going any more than the poet can predict the course of his poem... The poet's love has been vaguely hinted at in stanza two, and then developed more fully but gradually until all of stanza five is devoted to it".<sup>33</sup> Manning accurately observes that poetry and love are both involved in the poem. The question remains, which is the metaphor for which. Manning holds that poetic creation is the metaphor for love, but the poem makes plain that love is the metaphor for poetry.

If love is "vaguely hinted at in stanza two", then it must be through the word "talan" (11). Yet this has a variety of meanings, only one of which is love. Levy lists under *talen*: *desir*, *envie*, *sentiment*, *intention*, *inclination*, *amour*, *caprice*.<sup>34</sup> And Hill and Bergin offer (p. 331): liking, desire, inclination, hope. Apparently *talen* must be taken in its context to be understood. The context here, however, says absolutely nothing about love, though it has a great deal to say about money. In Manning's implied argument the stanza makes a comparison between the poet who wants to be paid and the lover who wants to receive the embraces of his loved one. But this reading

his "Game and Earnest in Middle English and Provençal Love Lyrics", 236.

Listen, lords, but I don't know what it is that I've begun; it's not a *vers*, an *estribot*, or a *serventes*; I don't know how to find a name for it, nor do I know what to do with it, and I can't finish it, for no one has ever seen such a thing made by man or woman in this century or in the preceding one.

Even though you consider me mad, I can't stop without telling you about my desire; nor can anyone make me stop; all that isn't worth a coin, except what I immediately see and behold. And I'll tell you why: because if I've begun a song for you and haven't finished it, you'd think me mad. I much prefer six deniers in my fist than a thousand sous in the sky.

Don't be afraid to do anything that distresses me, my friend, this I pray you; and if you're in need and don't want to help me right now, then offer it to me later since no one can deceive me more than she who has conquered me. I say this because of a lady who has made me languish with beautiful words and long delays, I don't know why. Can this be good for me, sirs?

A good four months has passed, yes, and it's seemed to me more than a thousand years since she assured and promised that she would give me what is dearest to me. Lady, since you hold my heart completely, sweeten my bitterness with sweetness. Help, O God, *in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti*! God, how will this turn out?

Because of you, I, merry, am full of care; sad, to compose makes me rejoice; and I am separated from three such that the world doesn't have — except you — their equal; and I am made to sing courteously, so much that men call me a jongleur for it. Lady, you can do as you like, as Aima did with the shoulder, which she put where it pleased her.

Now my I-don't-know-what-it-is has ended, as I baptize it; since its like has never been heard, I might well give it such a name; and let me say to him who hears it later, whoever finds pleasure in it: if anyone asks him who made it, he can say that it was one who can do all things well, when he wants to.

<sup>33</sup> Manning, 236, 237.

<sup>34</sup> Emil Levy, *Petit Dictionnaire Provençal-Français* (Heidelberg, 1909), 356.

cannot be supported in stanza two on the slim evidence of one word. There, is, however, a different comparison explicitly stated in the stanza. The poet wonders how he can deliver a song for which a thousand sous have been promised but which will probably bring him only six deniers. To recite only half of the song would make him look silly. He elects to give a full story told only partly in verse. Thus he has produced a partly finished poem worthy of the partial payment he knows he will get. The comparison, therefore, is between poetic creation and financial remuneration. Each has its own sliding scale. And the precise meaning of *talan* is now apparent: desire for payment, hope of reward, expectation of money. Raimbaut has obviously used *talan* with the force of its literal meaning, a meaning closer to the original Latin *talentum*, money.

The third stanza continues the theme of payment as the poet says, in effect, "don't be ashamed of a small offering, or of being caught short — I'll accept it later". Here in line 22, and not earlier, Raimbaut introduces a love interest. A lady is suggested to him not because the lady-lover relationship generally resembles the patron-poet arrangement — this comes later — but because a patron's unkept promises to pay a poet are forms of deceit similar to a lady's deceptions. Thus the poet tells his audience not to refrain from promising him money just because they do not want to deceive him. He is already well acquainted with a similar kind of deceit — his lady's. But he also implies that if they renege in their promise to him they will be guilty of a typically feminine deception. Now, after having clearly and unambiguously established the subject of his poem, he can resort to an analogue from the world of love. And since our terms of reference for the speaker are already well set in our mind, everything he introduces in this analogue inevitably bears on his original terms of reference.

His rhetorical question, "*Pot mi bon esser, senhor*"? (25), as well as the whole fourth stanza about his privation in love are calculated to have an effect on the lords listening to him. They will make that subtle connection, so necessary for this poem, between his pitiable condition and their patronage. He helps them make that connection with some illogic in line 35 where he says he is sad because of unrequited love, yet composing poetry makes him happy. The illogic fades if we develop with the poem into an awareness that poetry and love have merged, subject and metaphor are now one.

Following the cryptic lines in the fifth stanza, which add a note of mystery and verisimilitude, the final stanza brings love and poetry closest together. As his act of poetic creation has found an analogue in a lover's service to his lady, and as the two actions have ceased being merely analogous and become one, so the product of his poetic service is his new-born offspring. It must be baptized and given a name. Behind this simple metaphor lies

a central truth about Provençal poetry. At once painful and beautiful for the poet, his creation of poetry is his act of love.

The context in which poetic creation and love become so intermingled that the distinction between them disappears is not an arbitrary one. They can be seen for the blood relatives they really are if we realize that each is an offspring of a more general creative impulse. In a philosophy that sees the creative impulse as unified, the desire to write poems, or to paint, or to sing, is no less a manifestation of that impulse than is the desire for what we call physical love. When selected members of a society are more conscious of one kind of creative activity, while everyone else is only aware of another, their common terms of reference soon come to bear two meanings. When "desire" has one meaning for some, and a different meaning for others, the opportunity for rich ambiguities is present, and talk of dedication to a muse can thrive among those who are only equipped to understand *Frauendienst*.

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## HELOWYS AND THE BURNING OF JANKYN'S BOOK

Alice Hamilton

THE two most famous lovers of the twelfth century were Heloise and Abelard. Their story was known from poems by Abelard which have since disappeared; from his *Historia Calamitatum*, a letter containing the defence of his life until 1131/32 which he sent to a friend, and which ultimately reached the hands of Heloise in the convent of the Paraclete; and from seven letters, sent between this impassioned and brilliant husband-wife, monk-nun, which were written about 1133-1135/36.<sup>1</sup>

The curious thing about the story is that it was not more popular with mediaeval writers. It was well enough known to be used as an allusion in the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> The interest in the story, certainly, was not sentimental until the close of the seventeenth century. Earlier, Abelard's love was considered an example of the folly of self-will. Heloise stood as the great figure of the educated, intelligent, passionate woman who, having brought her lover to the edge of ruin, forced him to withdraw from it.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century Jean de Meun appears as the first writer known to have shown interest in the story. He had access to a Latin text and his interest was so great that he translated the *Historia Calamitatum* and four of the letters into French.<sup>3</sup> He also inserted the story of Heloise and Abelard into his part of the *Roman de la Rose*.<sup>4</sup> Char-

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of the dates and the authenticity of these letters, see J. T. Muckle, "The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise", *Mediaeval Studies*, 15 (1953), 47-48. For detailed descriptions of the nine Latin manuscripts that survive from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see J. Monfrin, *Abélard: Historia Calamitatum* (Paris, 1959), 9-31.

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<sup>2</sup> "Metamorphosis Goliae Episcopi", in Muckle, *op. cit.*, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Charlotte Charrier, *Héloïse dans l'histoire et dans la légende* (Paris, 1933), 383-396, 601. Bibliothèque Nationale MS fr. 920. The text is printed by Charrier in *Jean de Meun: Traduction de la première épître de Pierre Abélard (Historia Calamitatum)* (Paris, 1934).

<sup>4</sup> *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. E. Langlois (Paris, 1914-24), 8759-8824. All subsequent references to the *Roman de la Rose* will be given as RR.

rier felt that it is probable that the brief account in the *Roman de la Rose* is earlier than de Meun's translation of the text of the *Historia Calamitatum*; she based her estimate on the misplacing of events in Abelard's life in the poem.<sup>5</sup> Either one of these, translation or adaptation, might have been available to Villon and to Chaucer. Charrier felt that Villon was the only poet who knew the story from de Meun's translation,<sup>6</sup> but she had not noticed Chaucer's reference to "Helowys" in the Wife of Bath's prologue.

In the fourteenth century Petrarch owned a copy of the Latin text of Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum* and of the subsequent letters that passed between Abelard and Heloise. This manuscript, with Petrarch's notes written in the margin, survives.<sup>7</sup> A fourteenth century French manuscript has a brief Latin poem on Abelard and Heloise, which is concerned with the fallen world and the frailty of man.<sup>8</sup> And then, Chaucer's clerk, Jankyn of Oxford, had a book in which (among other works hostile to women) was a story of "Helowys, / That was abbess nat far fro Paris".<sup>9</sup> Since Jankyn's book concentrated on lust and on the destructive power of women, the reference to Heloise would seem to be to the *Historia Calamitatum*. In the *Roman de la Rose* Heloise appears as an example of a rare and selfless woman who preserves her beloved from disaster. This would not be Jankyn's point.

Villon's reference to Heloise in the "Ballade des Dames du temps jadis" links the story of Heloise and Abelard with that of the infamous Marguerite de Bourgogne and of the unfortunate Jean Buridan, a fourteenth century rector of the University of Paris.

Où est la très-sage Helois,  
Pour qui fut chastré et puis moyne  
Pierre Esbaillart, à Saint-Denys ?  
Pour son amour eut cest essoyne.  
Semblablement, où est la Royne  
Qui commanda que Buridan  
Fust jetté en ung sac en Seine ?  
Mais où sont les neiges d'antan !

The theme, as in Villon's "Double Ballade", is that Love brings disaster to all men.<sup>10</sup> Villon, Charrier felt, may have been one writer to know de

<sup>5</sup> RR, 8801-8802.

<sup>6</sup> C. Charrier, *Jean de Meun: Traduction de la première épître de Pierre Abélard*, 51-53.

<sup>7</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale MS lat. 2923.

<sup>8</sup> Charrier, *Héloïse*, 642. For a contemporary historical estimate of Heloise see J. T. Muckle, *op. cit.*, 60-67.

<sup>9</sup> *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, ed. F. N. Robinson (Boston, 1957), *Canterbury Tales*, III, 676-678. All subsequent references to Chaucer will be to this edition of his works, and those to the *Canterbury Tales* will be given as CT.

<sup>10</sup> John Fox, *The Poetry of Villon* (London, 1962), 118-119.

Meun's translation of the *Historia Calamitatum*. His is, conspicuously, the message of Abelard's letter.

Jean de Meun's well-known passage in the *Roman de la Rose*<sup>11</sup> is divided, by source, into two sections: lines 8759-8806 are derived from the *Historia Calamitatum*; lines 8807-8824 are taken from Heloise's first letter in reply to Abelard. Of these two passages, totalling sixty-five lines, seventeen have to do with Heloise's advice to her lover *before* marriage; sixteen lines are concerned with the events of the lovers' lives *after* they were married. Both passages come from the *Historia Calamitatum*. The larger portion, totalling thirty-four of the sixty-five lines, relates to Heloise's continuing passion for Abelard. She declares that she would rather be Abelard's strumpet than wife of the emperor of Rome. Her passion alone is stressed. The emphasis, on innocence as well as guilt (which appears in her first letter to Abelard and this is the source of these lines) is omitted.

In the *Roman de la Rose*, de Meun does not, surprisingly, give any details of the passionate love *before* marriage. The events he relates are these: the marriage, at Abelard's insistence; Heloise's subsequent admission as a nun at the convent of Argenteuil; Abelard's castration by his enemies; his entry into the monastery of St. Denys and his removal to another house; his founding of the abbey of the Paraclete, of which Heloise became the abbess. Paris is not mentioned, nor is the fact that this abbey was far nearer Troyes than Paris.

In the *Roman de la Rose* the story of Heloise and Abelard stands not in its own right but as an illustration of a point. It is surrounded by a discussion on marriage which reaches back to the passage where Raison has offered Amant the substitute of trust in God for trust in Fortune, of friendship in place of romantic love (5795-7230). Raison has offered the permanent in place of the variable. When Amant rejects Raison's advice, Amis arrives with the view that duplicity, bribery, prayers, and tears are the effectual way to a woman's heart; Bel Acueil varies in moods, and a lover must adjust himself to these moods. Still further Amis presses his point: Mal Bouche has power; money has power to win a woman; money has power to keep a woman. Women who are true, innocent, pure in character, and educated in mind never fade. But where can you find them? In the Golden Age it was different. Pure love and equality reigned then, and mutual love was known. But now, love cannot survive the treatment that some men give their women. Men may be slaves before marriage. But, at marriage, men and women want property and supremacy for themselves. All equality in love is destroyed.

<sup>11</sup> RR, 8447-8454.

Trestuit pareil estre soulaient  
 Ne rien propre avoir ne voulaient:  
 Bien savaient cele parole,  
 Qui n'est mencongiere ne fole,  
 Qu'onques amour e seignourie  
 Ne s'entrefirent compaignie,  
 Ne ne demourerent ensemble:  
 Cil qui maistrie les dessemble.  
 (RR, 8447-8454)

This, then, is the setting for the story of Heloise. The Golden Age has disappeared, Amis tells Amant, when supremacy is asserted. Chaucer has turned to this very passage (RR, 8355-8454) for his poem "The Former Age", and to the passages from Boethius<sup>12</sup> and Ovid<sup>13</sup> from which it came. Chaucer and Jean de Meun were continually borrowing, from the same authors, the same situations and ideas.

After the lament for the destruction of the Golden Age, Amis sets up a hypothetical situation (as the Wife of Bath does in her prologue) in which a jealous man protests against the levity and infidelity of women. The man asserts that he wishes that he had taken the advice of Theophrastus and Valerian against marriage. Now that there are no Lucretias or Penelopes, no perfect woman exists. Heloise never wanted to be the *wife* of Abelard, for she insisted that marriage must be lived "senz seignourie e senz mais-trise". (RR, 8780).

What Amis wanted to point out was the folly of all marriages. What de Meun pointed out was that the Golden Age was gone forever, because people wanted to own money and to have power over the lives of others. What Abelard in his *Historia Calamitatum* said that Heloise had wanted to make clear was that women continued to be responsible for the downfall of men; moreover, that she refused to join the miserable band of women whose names have come down to us for no better reason than that they have ruined great men.<sup>14</sup> Chaucer was making Amis' and de Meun's points through the voice of the Wife of Bath. He was making the point of the *Historia Calamitatum* through the voice of Jankyn.

Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum*<sup>15</sup> is his own account of his desires and

<sup>12</sup> Chaucer, *Liber Boecii de Consolacione Philosophie*, 2, metrum 5, *op. cit.*, 336-337.

<sup>13</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. A. H. Allcroft and J. F. Stout (London, 1931), I, 89-150.

<sup>14</sup> Chauntecleer made this ironic comment in *The Nun's Priest's Tale*: "For al so siker as In principio, Mulier est hominis confusio" (CT, 7, 3163-3164). In "Principio", *PMLA*, 37 (1922), 214, R. A. Law affirmed that this remark was almost proverbial in the Middle Ages.

<sup>15</sup> J. T. Muckle, "Abelard's Letter of Consolation to a Friend" (*Historia Calamitatum*), *Mediaeval Studies*, 12 (1950), 163-213. All subsequent references to the *Historia Calamitatum* will be to Muckle's text and will be referred to as HC.

The ages of Abelard, Chaucer and the Wife of Bath must have been similar.

adversities from the time that he was born until he attained some measure of peace when he was in his fifties. As Gilson has remarked, the subject is God; the object is the lecherous and wilfully proud Abelard.<sup>16</sup> In this, from the opening, there is a distinct relationship to the matter of the prologue of the Wife of Bath. Both monologues open with the declaration that experience of human misfortune must be spoken about.<sup>17</sup> Abelard offers his personal experience to arouse or lessen the emotions of others, to console them, and to give some measure against which their own troubles can be assessed.<sup>18</sup> The Wife asserts her personal right to speak from experience<sup>19</sup> concerning the woes of marriage;<sup>20</sup> and she asserts the fact that those who will not learn from the troubles of others will prove themselves to be an example of woe to others.<sup>21</sup> She places the source of her problems and joys in her "bel chose" that is never satisfied, and ignores her self-will that makes her life a running battle. Abelard places the source of his troubles in his lechery, that had an abrupt termination in castration; and in his pirde, that even survived the forced burning of his book, at his own hand, without a trial. So, in Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum* the two threads in the Wife of Bath's prologue are joined: first, of lechery and folly in the cleric Abelard, in the Wife, and in her Jankyn who "sometyme was a clerk of Oxenford"; second, of the forced burning of a personal book, without trial, by a clerk of Paris and by a clerk of Oxford.

That Chaucer knew the tale of Heloise in the *Roman de la Rose* is probably beyond question. That he knew the *Historia Calamitatum* in either French or Latin is possible. No satisfactory source, at any rate, has so far been advanced for the burning of Jankyn's book and for the linked "suster Alisoun" passage. This source may be considered, though parallels rather than specific quotations must be admitted.

Two Latin manuscripts survive of the sort that might have come to Chaucer's hand. One is the thirteenth century MS 802 in the Bibliothèque municipale at Troyes. It is a very carefully written manuscript, conjectured to be a copy of the one originally at the Paraclete, which was seen by d'Amboise about 1593 but which has since disappeared. MS Troyes 802 was in the possession of the Chapter of Notre-Dame in Paris, and sold to Roberto de' Bardi (a member of the Chapter and Chancellor of the University of

<sup>16</sup> J. T. Muckle, *The Story of Abelard's Adversities* (Toronto, 1954), 7.

<sup>17</sup> HC, 175; CT, III, 1-3.

<sup>18</sup> HC, 175.

<sup>19</sup> In fact, to experience she adds the "authoritee" of the Bible and St. Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*.

<sup>20</sup> CT, III, 1-3, 172-175.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 169-181.



Paris) on 21 March, 1347. D'Bardi was a member of the famous Florentine family who invited Petrarch to come to Paris in 1340 to receive the laureate crown.<sup>22</sup>

The second thirteenth century manuscript in Latin but of French origin is the one that belonged to Petrarch.<sup>23</sup> Here a parallel exists, for Professor Severs has shown that he regards the prologue of the *Clerk's Tale* to have come directly from Petrarch's Latin, and the Tale from a Latin text and a French translation of Petrarch's story.<sup>24</sup> Petrarch did not compose the two versions of the story of Griselda until 1373, 1374. The Clerk speaks of learning the tale from Petrarch's "wordes and his work" at Padua (CT, iv, 26-33) and he knows that Petrarch (1374) and John of Legnano (1383) are dead. Chaucer seems to have kept contact with Padua and Milan to know of these events. He may have known about the fate of Petrarch's manuscripts. Petrarch's *Historia Calamitatum* passed, after his death, into the hands of the dukes of Milan.<sup>25</sup> Here there may be another link through Violante, wife of Prince Lionel, who was closely related to the Milanese family. Chaucer was certainly in Milan, with Lord Berkeley, in the summer of 1378.

A third possibility that Chaucer may have known the *Historia Calamitatum* lies in the French translation made by Jean de Meun in the second half of the thirteenth century. Chaucer used de Meun's *Roman de la Rose* and his translation of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* consistently. It seems unlikely that he would not know this text on which de Meun had lavished such care, when apparently Villon did know it in the fifteenth century.

In brief, the *Historia Calamitatum* tells how Abelard was born in Le Pallet in Brittany, of a soldier father who loved learning and who allowed his sons to choose between a military and a clerical life. So Abelard chose the field of Minerva rather than that of Mars.<sup>26</sup> Abelard had careful instruction in logic, and, as John of Salisbury later pointed out, was one of the famous wandering scholars<sup>27</sup> of France. It was when Abelard settled in

<sup>22</sup> Monfrin, *op. cit.*, 13-15.

<sup>23</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS lat. 2923.

<sup>24</sup> J. Burke Severs, *The Literary Relationship of Chaucer's Clerkes Tale* (New Haven, 1942), 7-8, 125-134, 177 ff. For another opinion of the probable text, see G. Dempster, "Chaucer's manuscript of Petrarch's Version of the Griselda Story", *Modern Philology*, 41 (1943), 6-16.

<sup>25</sup> Monfrin, *op. cit.*, 18-19. Also, John P. McCall, "Chaucer and John of Legnano", *Speculum*, 40 (1965), 484-489. Negotiations were being carried on with the Visconti in Milan over a possible betrothal of Catherine with Richard of England in 1379.

<sup>26</sup> HC, 175. This is not an unusual comparison. The Wife of Bath recognized her internal conflict as between Mars and Venus, though her external one was between Venus and Minerva (CT, III, 697-710).

<sup>27</sup> The Wife also is a peripatetic.

Paris to study under William of Champeaux that his problem began. Abelard was genuinely ambitious to be head of his own school, and he wanted reforms in teaching and in the spiritual life in the monasteries. His brilliant intelligence made him see the flaws in William of Champeaux's reasoning. Abelard's student pride forced his teacher to acknowledge his mistakes and to change his position on "universals". So the disasters for Abelard began. Both, master and student, according to Abelard's account, were trapped in the personal animosity of his teacher. Abelard lost the chance to teach at Paris and William lost his prestige at the university.

So Abelard turned from the study of philosophy to the study of theology. His indifference to the reactions of others brought him to study under a master of his enemy. The aged Anselm of Laon had been the instructor of William of Champeaux. Again the same pattern established itself. Before completing his studies, Abelard (according to his own account) was a more successful lecturer-disputant than Anselm. Anselm was bitterly jealous. So were two other clever pupils of William and Anselm: Alberic of Rheims and Lotulf of Rheims. These two clerics were later to force — at the Council of Soissons, in 1121 — the burning of Abelard's book, at Abelard's own hand. And still Abelard did not see the source of his troubles in his blind pride and his arrogant censoriousness of others. Jankyn, too, was a student who laid himself open to malice and anger.

As Abelard became a successful lecturer at Paris, in theology and philosophy, so he became filled with lechery and pride. He looked around for someone to love. He found the niece of Fulbertus (Hubert),<sup>28</sup> the brilliant young Heloise. Their story of pre-marital passion is the part that is omitted in the *Roman de la Rose*. This part certainly would have pleased Alisoun. She would have found no reason to link that, in her mind, with the tirades against women and fleshly love that are found in Valerian, Theophrastus, Tertullian, Jerome, Paul, and the "Parables" of Solomon.

But Heloise's advice to her lover *against* marriage raised the same arguments as did Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*. Indeed the works that are quoted in the *Historia Calamitatum* are strikingly paralleled in the Wife of Bath's prologue and tale. These are Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* (HC, 184) and his *De Remedio Amoris* (HC, 179); the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid (HC, 179, 184, 202); St. Jerome's letters (HC, 184, 186-187, 194, 200, 206, 211) and, tellingly, his *Adversus Jovinianum* (HC, 186 bis, 189, 199-200) in which is included an extended reference to Theophrastus (HC, 186); Seneca (HC, 187); and

<sup>28</sup> Muckle has pointed out that the name of Hubertus appears in the necrology of the Paraclete as that of the canon who was uncle of Heloise, and surmises it to be a corruption of the usual form, Fulbertus. Hubert is the name of Chaucer's Friar, who teases the Wife of Bath.

the Bible, especially Proverbs (HC, 207), I Corinthians 6 (HC, 202) and 7 (HC, 186), and the gospels of Matthew (HC, 192) and John (HC, 193, 194, 200, 201, 211). The chief reference in Heloise's appeal to Abelard *not* to marry her, draws on the authority of St. Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, St. Paul's I Corinthians 7, and Theophrastus. The Wife of Bath uses these authorities to show "wys" women how to manage husbands. Heloise uses the same authorities to teach why a wise philosopher-theologian should avoid marriage.

The argument of St. Paul, St. Jerome, and Heloise concerns the dignified Christian life of the philosopher-theologian. Wise men (HC, 188) to them are men concerned with the quality of their life rather than the quality of their knowledge (HC, 188-189). Men of Minerva (HC, 188) are temperate and chaste (HC, 187) avoiding the distractions of babies, the world, and of base pleasures (HC, 186-187). Heloise concentrates particularly on how marriage would be, for her, a loss in his fall from glory, a humiliation for both, a punishment for her, curses and weeping for others, a burden for him, distractions and hardships in daily life for both. Their ruin would be the end of their marriage (HC, 186-189). In spite of her warning, Abelard insisted on the marriage. After calamities and woe, came a spiritual peace.

Beyond the general similarities in the opening of the Wife of Bath's prologue and of Abelard's *Historia Calamitatum*, and beyond the marked similarities in sources, there are three general patterns that are alike. The first is that of the contest between virginity and passion. The second is that of the solution of "sister" to the problem of wife-nun. The third is the burning of a personal book.

In the Wife of Bath's prologue, her first concern is to justify and to legalize lust. She attempts to find an authority in Scripture for multiple marriage (CT, III, 5-58). Then she turns abruptly to virginity (CT, III, 59-74), demanding to know where God or St. Paul commanded that it be kept.

The dart is set up for virginitee:  
 Cacche whoso may, who renneth best lat see!  
 But this word is nat taken of every wight,  
 But ther as God lust gyve it of his myght.  
 (CT, III, 75-78)

"Dart" is equated by Robinson with "prize". The meaning is surely the opposite, for the passage refers to "in omnibus sumentes scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea exstinguere" (*Ephesians* 6: 16). The "dart" is set up *against* virginity, since the dart is the burning weapon of the devil. "Cacche" means "perceive". "Who renneth best lat see" is taken from I *Corinthians* 9: 24-27, where the prize of the race of life is given to

the man who strives for subjection of the body, for temperance in spirit.<sup>29</sup> The Wife is remarkable for her avoidance of the conclusions of the Bible in the passages that she quotes from Scripture to prove her case.<sup>30</sup>

The authority for this interpretation is found in the corresponding passage in St. Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*. "The word is not taken of every wight" concerns Matthew 19: 1-12. Jesus is teaching about men's hardness of heart, and how, in the beginning, men and women had not needed to be separated because of sin. The Wife has already referred to this passage (CT, III, 28-31; Matt. 19: 4-5). Now, in these days, Jesus explains, it is necessary to choose between flesh and spirit. Some are born eunuchs, some become eunuchs, and some make themselves eunuchs, for the kingdom of heaven. To some the gift is given; on others it is forced.

In *Adversus Jovinianum*, speaking about this text,<sup>31</sup> St. Jerome points out the same fact about the fallen world. Some have a "gift" for chastity, others have not. St. Paul refused, therefore, to command the necessity of virginity. Jerome continues, as the Wife does, to ask why we have "membres maad of generacioun" (CT, III, 116)? Jerome's answer is to look for perfection in the spirit rather than in the flesh. It is better to avoid thinking about the "membres" than to concentrate on lust. It would be better to shut one's eyes, fight blindfold, than *not* to drive off, with the help of the shield of truth, the darts of Satan.<sup>32</sup>

The Wife pursued the other side of the argument, concentrating on perfection of body, in creation, rather than on perfection of spirit (CT, III, 117, 111-112). Why not always, day and night, be using the organs of generation *if* they are available for use (CT, III, 148-162)? Jerome's answer to such a question is a partial question. Are you a man *only* when you use your organs?<sup>33</sup> Virgins and eunuchs, for the sake of the kingdom of heaven, are those who begin to live on earth as they will in heaven. Abelard and Heloise had not decided on the course of chastity even after their marriage. The matter was affirmed for them in terror when Abelard was emasculated and they both, in shame, entered the religious life. The Pardoner is the proper person to interrupt the Wife at this point.

The second similarity between the Wife of Bath's prologue and the *Historia*

<sup>29</sup> Ephesians 5: 25 is quoted in the Wife of Bath's prologue (CT, III, 161).

<sup>30</sup> Abelard used I Corinthians 9: 5 to justify his keeping in touch with his 'sister' Heloise. He pointed out that Pharisees might have had suspicions in their minds if they had known that Christ's mother would be entrusted to a young man, and that prophets were guests of widows (HC, 208). Abelard's teaching affirmed that sin resided not in the deed but in the intention of a man.

<sup>31</sup> St. Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum Libri Duo*, ed. Migne, PL 23, 12, 237-240.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 36, 271-272.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 36, 272-273.

*Calamitatum* comes with Jankyn's terror-stricken cry, when the Wife has fallen under his blow:

'Deere suster Alisoun.  
As held me God ! I shal thee never smyte.  
That I have doon, it is thyself to wyte.  
Foryeve it me, and that I thee beseke' !  
(CT, III, 804-807)

In the full Christian life, the life of the sister-in-Christ is superior to that of wife. So Abelard, writing to the impassioned Heloise who had just read his *Historia Calamitatum*, calmed her with this salutation: "Heloisae, dilectissimae sorori suae in Christo, Abaelardus, frater eius in ipso".<sup>34</sup> He used some form of this salutation, "soror in saeculo quondam cara, nunc in Christo carissima", at least six times more in this letter and in his next two replies to Heloise.<sup>35</sup> Heloise is to him the one who has turned the curse of Eve into the blessing of Mary. In other words, she has restored the Golden Age of Paradise. The Wife, living in the old law of a blow-for-a-blow, may long for the Golden Age of Arthur but "now kan no man se none elves mo" (CT, III, 864). The magic is gone. Chaucer's Parson, however, knew how it should be: "Man sholde loven hys wyf by discrecioun, patiently and atemprely; and thanne is she as though it were his suster" (CT, X, 860).

The third similarity, the burning of Jankyn's book, can be paralleled by the burning of Abelard's book, *De Unitate et Trinitate divina*. The *Historia Calamitatum* deals with Abelard's declaration about the angry refusal of his enemies to listen to any explanation of what he wrote (HC, 195-197). The Wife of Bath's prologue ends with the angry refusal of the wife-enemy to listen to any more stories about unvirtuous women. Jankyn's hardness of heart was evident, and so was hers. Abelard was condemned without a trial; he was forced to burn his book; he was forced to read aloud the Athanasian creed concerning the unity-in-trinity of the omnipotent God. The Wife tore out *one* leaf (CT, III, 635, 667) or tore out *three* leaves (CT, III, 790) and forced Jankyn to burn his book "anon right tho" (CT, III, 816), to submit to her "maistrie" and "soveraynetee" (CT, III, 818).

<sup>34</sup> J. T. Muckle, "The Personal Letters Between Abelard and Heloise", II. "Rescriptum ipsius ad ipsam", *Mediaeval Studies*, 15 (1953), 73.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 73-77; 90-92. Also, J. T. Muckle, "The Letter of Heloise on Religious Life and Abelard's First Reply", *Mediaeval Studies*, 17 (1955), 253.

The greeting of "sister" is explained in St. Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum*, and would be known to both Abelard and to Chaucer. The duty of a Christian was not to destroy his wife (if she were not a Christian) but to learn to treat her as a sister. Husband and wife should abstain from lust. He should help her lagging footsteps until the name of "sister" might be earned.

Now, dangerous books could be controlled by either preventive or repressive action of the Church. As early as the invention of printing, repressive action was employed. Before that time (with the rarity of books in itself a controlling factor) preventive action was the more usual course.<sup>36</sup> The case of Abelard was rather different, G. B. Flahiff points out, in that it was Abelard's intolerably proud and outspokenly censorious nature that made enemies for him, before his ideas were heard.<sup>37</sup> Abelard was condemned twice: at the Council of Soissons in 1121, when his book on the Trinity was burned; at the Council of Sens in 1140. Between these two condemnations came the *Historia Calamitatum*. Abelard's *De Unitate et Trinitate divina* was ordered to be burned at Abelard's own hand, by the orthodox, for heresy. Jankyn's orthodox book was ordered to be burned at Jankyn's hand, by the heretic — indeed, the heresiarch<sup>38</sup> — Wife of Bath, for its orthodoxy. This is the novelty of the occasion, and its ironic comment on the trial of Abelard. The Middle Ages admired Heloise only in her refusal to destroy Abelard by marrying him. Jankyn must have placed "Helowys" beside Jerome and Theophrastus, in admiration for the "belle Heloys", the "bonne Heloys", the "saige Heloys" of Jean de Meun,<sup>39</sup> because of her wisdom concerning the quality of life demanded for the philosopher-theologian. Jankyn was an excellent theorist, until he paid the price of his book.

The preventive action that the wise Heloise had urged for Abelard was concentration on a temperate and chaste life (HC, 187-189). It did not occur. Abelard paid for his pride and lechery in the ruin of his mutilated body and in the destruction of his book. The repressive action of Alisoun, who was the instructor of the eunuch-Pardoner (CT, III, 163-188) and of "wys wives" (CT, III, 209, 225, 229, 231, 524) was:

But atte laste, with muchel care and wo,  
We fille acorded by us selven two.  
(CT, III, 811-812)

<sup>36</sup> G. B. Flahiff, "Ecclesiastical Censorship of Books in the Twelfth Century", *Mediaeval Studies*, 4 (1942), 2.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>38</sup> Chaucer gives the original meaning of "heresiarch" in the *Clerk's Tale*: "For which heere, for the Wyves love of Bathe — Whos lyf and al hire secte God mayntene/In heigh maistrie" (CT, IV, 1170-1171). The master of a sect is a "heresiarch", just as a member of a particular school is a "heretic". John Mahoney, in "Alice of Bath: Her 'secte' and 'gentil text'," *Criticism*, 6 (1964), 144-155, makes a case for linking the Wife with the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirits.

<sup>39</sup> Charrier, *Jean de Meun: Traduction de la première épître de Pierre Abélard*, 52-53. See *op. cit.*, 99, 103, 107. Villon calls her "la très sage Helois", in his "Ballade des Dames du temps jadis".

The gain for Alisoun was permission to "do as thee lust the terme of al thy lyf" (CT, III, 820), which is the bondage of "Sathanas".<sup>40</sup> Jankyn, however, retained his honour, though he surrendered his "estaat".

The Catholic Church taught that books were to be judged and authorized by those who have a care, through God, over earthly as well as heavenly things.<sup>41</sup> The Wife was ready to leave heaven and men's souls "to God, that sit in magestee" (CT, III, 825) as long as earth and men's flesh were left to her. On earth she demanded to exercise her "law" (CT, III, 219) and her authority autocratically, in hardness of heart. What was dangerous to her point of view was to be removed, not because it threatened accepted truth. She enjoyed Jankyn's arrogance in love (CT, III, 513-524). There was, however, a limit to her toleration of the truth about her vices (CT, III, 661-663). Jankyn's book was burnt not to be a lesson to the future that wisdom implies strict conformity to truth, but that he might know that it was best to be conformable to authority and so receive no more condemnation. Chaucer's "Balade de Bon Conseyl", or "Truth", makes clear that Chaucer knew the one from the other.

The wrastling for this world axeth a fal.  
Her is non hoom, her nis but wildernesse:  
Forth, pilgrim, forth ! Forth, beste, out of thy stal !  
Know thy contrec, look up, thank God of al;  
Hold the heye wey, and lat thy gost thee lede;  
And trouthe thee shal delivere, it is no drede.<sup>42</sup>

The problems of wisdom and authority raise, in the end, the same question for Abelard, for Jankyn, and for Alisoun: under whose authority will you not burn ?

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<sup>40</sup> Chaucer, *op. cit.*, "Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton", 10-32.

<sup>41</sup> Flahiff, *op. cit.*, 3-5, 10-15, 22.

<sup>42</sup> Chaucer, *op. cit.*, 16-21.

## COMMENTARIES ON THE PSEUDO-ATHANASIAN CREED

*Nicholas M. Haring S.A.C.*

IN his *Summa de divinis officiis* the well-known liturgist of the twelfth century, John Beleth, enumerates four creeds used in the liturgy and states: "secundum (symbolum) est quod in Prima recitatur: *Quicumque uult saluus esse* quod ab Athanasio patriarcha Alexandriae contra Arianos hereticos compositum est, licet plerique eum Anastasium fuisse falso arbitrentur."<sup>1</sup> At a very early date this creed was added to the *cantica biblica* attached to the psalter. As a rule, the additions comprised the *Te deum*, *Pater Noster*, *Gloria*, the Creed of the Mass, the Nicene Creed, and the *Quicumque*.<sup>2</sup> This high regard for the *Quicumque* is confirmed by the fact that, when the monks of Cluny gathered at the bedside of a dying confrere, they first recited the so-called Creed of Athanasius.<sup>3</sup>

As time went on it was only natural that the *symbolum* (*hymnus*, *psalmus*, *fides*) *Athanasii* should receive the attention of glossators and commentators, for, as Clarembald of Arras notes, "Holy Church has been used to sing the Psalm of Blessed Athanasius every day."<sup>4</sup> Many centuries earlier a synod of Autun (ca. 670) had authorized bishops to punish clergymen who failed

<sup>1</sup> John Beleth, *Summa de divinis officiis* 40; PL 202. 50A. Gilbert of Poitiers who was one of Beleth's teachers attributes the *Quicumque* to "Anastasius in partibus Aquileie episcopus"; ed. N. Haring, in: *Med. Studies*, 27 (1965), 31. In MS Arras, Bibl. mun. 721 (2) the commentary is called: "Expositio simboli Athanasii pape." The title *fides Anastasii pape* occurs in MS Leipzig, Univ. Theol. 53, f. 201. G. Morin, 'Les origines du symbole Quicumque', in: *Science cath.*, 5 (1891), 673 tried to prove that the author was Pope Anastasius II (496-498), a view he retracted as "une thèse impossible" in: *Revue Bén.*, 12 (1895), 389.

<sup>2</sup> V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins*, 1 (Macon, 1940-1941), p. 1v.

<sup>3</sup> PL 149. 772B as interpreted by V. Leroquais (p. x).

<sup>4</sup> Clarembald, *De Trin.* I, 3; ed. N. M. Haring, in: *Studies and Texts*, 10 (Toronto, 1965), 86: Beati Athanasii psalmum cotidie canere sacrosancta consuevit ecclesia... Cf. Robert Paululus, *De ceremoniis, sacramentis, officiis et observ. ecclesiae* II, 1; PL 177. 408C.



“to review” the Apostles’ Creed and the *fides sancti Athanasii*.<sup>5</sup> Doubts concerning its authenticity were not unknown, but Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1141) voiced a strong conviction when he declared: “Quicumque uult beatus Athanasius composuit.”<sup>6</sup> In fact, his contemporary, Master Balderic of Trier (d. 1157/8), repeats an old story that Athanasius wrote it in his hiding place at Trier.<sup>7</sup>

Today historians are agreed that the Dutch humanist theologian, Gerhard Jan Voss (1577-1649), decisively disproved the traditional authorship of the Athanasian Creed in his *Dissertationes tres de tribus symbolis*.<sup>8</sup> However, this turn of events diminished the interest neither in the work nor in its glossators and commentators. The question of its date and authorship is still under discussion.<sup>9</sup>

### *In search of commentaries*

Writing in 1724, Daniel Waterland (1683-1740)<sup>10</sup> points out that Denis Petau (1583-1652) dealt with the *Quicumque* in his notable edition of the writings of Epiphanius,<sup>11</sup> that the famous archbishop of Armagh, James Ussher (1581-1656),<sup>12</sup> Bishop Jeremy Taylor (1613-1667),<sup>13</sup> Leo Allatius (1586-1669),<sup>14</sup> Cardinal Giovanni Bona (1609-1674),<sup>15</sup> Bishop John Pearson (1613-1683),<sup>16</sup> Pasquier Quesnel (1634-1719)<sup>17</sup> and Remy Casimir Oudin (1638-1717),<sup>18</sup> discussed the work.

<sup>5</sup> MGH. Leg. III: *Conc.* 1, 221.

<sup>6</sup> *De Sacr.* II, 9, 9; PL 176. 476D.

<sup>7</sup> *Gesta Treuerorum* 19; MGH SS 8, 153: Ibi fidem catholicam hoc est *Quicumque uult* composuit. The story dates back to the *Vita Agricii* (2, 11), found in the *Acta Sancti*. II, Jan. 13. Cf. Otto of Freising, *Chronicon* IV, 7; MGH SS 20, 199: Ibidem manens in ecclesia Treuerorum sub Maximino eiusdem ecclesie sacerdote, *Quicumque uult* a quibusdam dicitur edidisse. The *Gemma animae* (II, 59; PL 172. 634D) informs us that he composed it at the request of the Emperor Theodosius. This is confirmed by the liturgist Durandus of Mende (d. 1296), *Rationale div. off.*, (Venice, 1699), 157v who claims that “ut quidam dicunt” Athanasius wrote the *Credo in unum deum* while he was in Trier.

<sup>8</sup> Amsterdam (1642), 37-56. Voss says nothing about commentators.

<sup>9</sup> B. Altaner, *Patrology* (New York, 1960), 320. J. N. D. Kelly, *The Athanasian Creed* (London, 1964).

<sup>10</sup> *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed... with an Account of the Manuscripts. Versions and Comments*, (Cambridge, 1724), 5.

<sup>11</sup> Paris (1622), reprinted in PG 41-43.

<sup>12</sup> *De Romanae Ecclesiae symbolo apostolico vetere aliisque fidei formulis*, (London, 1647), 33-37.

<sup>13</sup> *A Discourse of the Liberty of Propheying*, (London, 1647). D. Waterland, p. 6.

<sup>14</sup> *Syntagma de symbolo* s. *Anastasio* (Rome, 1659).

<sup>15</sup> *De diuina psalmodia* (Paris, 1663). D. Waterland, p. 6.

<sup>16</sup> *Exposition of the Creed* (London, 1659). Waterland, p. 7.

<sup>17</sup> D. Waterland, p. 7: PL 56, 1062A-1065A.

<sup>18</sup> *Commentarius de script. eccl.* (Leipzig, 1722).

In 1698 the great Italian librarian and archivist, Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672-1750), edited a commentary under the title: *Expositio fidei catholice Fortunati*,<sup>19</sup> found in a manuscript of the Ambrosiana (M 97 sup.) in Milan. It begins with a passage from Alcuin: "Primo ergo omnium fides necessaria est... ad speciem beatam Domini nostri Jesu Christi."<sup>20</sup> Muratori held that the Latin poet Venantius Fortunatus (ca. 535-ca. 600) composed the commentary and, perhaps, the *Quicumque* itself. D. Waterland accepted Muratori's view concerning the commentator: "There can be no reasonable doubt but that the comment really belongs to the man whose name it bears."<sup>21</sup> He discovered "an older manuscript copy" of this commentary in the "Musaeum at Oxford among Junius's manuscripts, number 25."<sup>22</sup>

According to Waterland, Archbishop Hincmar of Reims (d. 882) was the next commentator "or rather paraphrast" on (part of) the Creed.<sup>23</sup> Waterland goes on to say that Bruno, bishop of Würzburg (1034-1045), authored the next commentary<sup>24</sup> of which a manuscript "as old as the author" was still preserved in the Cathedral Library of Würzburg. He discovered other copies at Trinity College, Cambridge ("annexed to a psalter"), at the Bodleian Library (Laud H. 61) and the Cathedral Library at York.<sup>25</sup> Waterland adds that, according to "Tentzelius", three more copies were found at Basel, Gotha, and Leipzig.<sup>26</sup> In fact, the

<sup>19</sup> *Anecdota quae ex Ambrosianae Bibliothecae codicibus...* 2 (Padua, 1698), 212-217, analyzed on pp. 217-225.

<sup>20</sup> PL 88, 585D-587A: Alcuin, *De fide Trin.* I, 2; PL 101, 13D-14B.

<sup>21</sup> Waterland, *A Critical History* 32.

<sup>22</sup> Waterland, p. 33. Waterland notes that some 10 or 12 lines were missing at the beginning. It is the so-called "Murbach Hymnal," a composite manuscript, written in the 8th and 9th centuries, probably at Murbach. The exposition on f. 108-112 (s. ix) begins with: *Fides dicitur credulitas*. See F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, (Oxford, 1937), 969-971. E. A. Lowe, *Codices lat. ant.*, part II (Oxford, 1935), 35, nos. 242-243. Before Francis Junius (1589-1677) the manuscript was in possession of the Leyden scholar M. Z. Boxhorn (1612-1653). In 1678 it came into the Bodleian. On f. 192-194v the same manuscript contains an *Expositio de fide catholica* beginning with the words: *Auscultate expositionem de fide catholica*.

<sup>23</sup> *A Critical Hist.* 35. Cf. A. E. Burn, *The Athanasian Creed and its Early Commentators*, in: *Texts and Studies*, 4 (Cambridge, 1896), pp. xxiv-xxvi.

<sup>24</sup> D. Waterland, *A Critical History*, 35. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl. medii aevi* 2 (Madrid, 1950), 222, no. 1837 lists three manuscripts: Naples, Bibl. naz. VII. AA. 7, f. 137-140; Wolfenbüttel 2516 (Aug. Fol. 42. 14) f. 231-232 and Würzburg, Univ. Mp. th. F. 91, f. 244-249 (PL 142. 557-568) from Ehrach (O. Cist.).

<sup>25</sup> D. Waterland, *A Critical Hist.*, 36-37.

<sup>26</sup> *A Critical Hist.* 37: W. E. Tentzel, *Judicia eruditorum de symbolo Athanasiano, studiose collecta et inter se collata a Wilhelmo Ernesto Tentzelio*, (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1687).

University Library of Leipzig still owns two different commentaries.<sup>27</sup>

Waterland states that B. de Montfaucon (1655-1741) was ignorant of Bruno's commentary when in 1698 he published the text preserved at Saint-Germain-des-Prés, pressmark 199.<sup>28</sup> In comparing Bruno's commentary with a Harley manuscript, written in 1457, Waterland detected "discrepancies in the length of paragraphs."<sup>29</sup> We then learn that commentaries were also written by Abelard,<sup>30</sup> Hildegard of Bingen,<sup>31</sup> Simon of Tournai,<sup>32</sup> Alexander Neckham (Bodl. N.E. 7. 8.),<sup>33</sup> Richard Hampole,<sup>34</sup> and "Wickliff."<sup>35</sup>

Returning to Bruno's commentary, Waterland reveals the existence of four more copies at Merton College,<sup>36</sup> St. John's College (Oxford),<sup>37</sup> the Bodleian Library,<sup>38</sup> and Balliol College,<sup>39</sup> respectively. He finally offers a transcription of the Fortunatus commentary edited by Muratori and collated with the Oxford copy.<sup>40</sup>

In 1872, E. S. Ffoulks published a study in which he proposes Paulinus of Aquileia (d. 802) as the author of the Creed.<sup>41</sup> Hence he was bound to

<sup>27</sup> MS Leipzig, Univ. Theol. 53 (F. p. 68 nr. 17), f. 201-203v (s. xii) and Theol. 58 (F. p. 68 nr. 18), f. 133-134 (s. xiii). R. Helssig, *Kat. der lat. und deutschen Handschriften der Univ. zu Leipzig*, (Leipzig, 1926-1935), 53 and 59.

<sup>28</sup> *A Critical Hist.* 37. The text from what is now MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 12020 (s. xii), found in Montfaucon's edition of the works of Athanasius (1698), is reprinted in PG 28. 1595-1604. Cf. L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, 28 (1867), 346.

<sup>29</sup> *A Critical Hist.* 37.

<sup>30</sup> PL 178, 629B-631C. Waterland calls it "very short" and "pretty good." It had been published by A. Duchesne, *Petri Abaelardi... opera*, (Paris, 1616), 381-384.

<sup>31</sup> PL 197, 1065B-1082A: from *Maxima Bibliotheca veterum Patrum*, 23 (Lyons, 1677), 594-600.

<sup>32</sup> D. Waterland (p. 38) notes that Oudin lists four manuscripts. Cf. C. Oudin, *De scriptor. eccl.*, 3 (Leipzig, 1722), 22.

<sup>33</sup> An early notice to this commentary is found in John Bale, *Index Britt. Script.*, (ed.) R. L. Poole (Oxford, 1902), 25:

<sup>34</sup> He refers to the Cologne edition (1536) and the *Max. Bibl.*, 26 (Lyons, 1678), 624G-627D.

<sup>35</sup> D. Waterland, p. 39.

<sup>36</sup> D. Waterland, p. 164: "Catal. No. 675-208." MS Merton Coll. 208 (s. xiii). H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codd. mss. qui in Coll. Aulique Oxon. adseruantur*, 1 (Oxford, 1852) 81: *Symbolum Athanasii cum glossa* (no folios given). It was formerly owned by William Reed, bishop of Cirencester, who bought it from Thomas Trillek, bishop of Cirencester in Gloucestershire.

<sup>37</sup> D. Waterland 163: "N 1874 (G. 42)." No. 31 in Coxe's Catalogue. MS Oxford, St. John Bapt. Coll. 101, f. 127-130 (s. xiii). H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codd.*, 2 (Oxford, 1852), 30: *Hic beatus Athanasius...*

<sup>38</sup> D. Waterland 163: Laud E. 71; SC 994: Laud Lat. 17.

<sup>39</sup> D. Waterland 163: Balliol 210 (B. 9), f. 406v-409v (s. xii). H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codd.*, 1 (Oxford, 1852), 91. R. A. Mynors, *Cat. of the Manuscripts of Balliol Coll. Oxford*, (Oxford, 1963), 22-23.

<sup>40</sup> *A Critical Hist.* 171.

<sup>41</sup> E. S. Ffoulkes, *The Athanasian Creed: by Whom Written and by Whom Published*, (London, 1872), 189 ff.

express doubts concerning the commentary attributed to Fortunatus.<sup>42</sup>

Much more scholarly was a work published two years earlier by C. S. Swainson,<sup>43</sup> who after collating the Fortunatus text edited by Muratori with the Oxford text<sup>44</sup> concluded that the two copies of this exposition "differ materially from each other."<sup>45</sup> Swainson took the matter up again in a work entitled: *The Nicene and Apostles' Creeds*.<sup>46</sup> He analyses the exposition in "Junius 25"<sup>47</sup> and presents a more detailed description of MS Milan, Ambrosiana M. 79 sup., written in 1007, according to a note made when he studied the manuscript. Swainson writes that it contains many "excerpta." The 19th item (f. 26v) reads: "Incipit expositio a fortunato presbytero conscripta." It begins: "Summam totius fidei catholice recententes... et Spiritu sancto glorioso principatu intrans uictor regnat in celo."<sup>48</sup> This *expositio* is followed (f. 28v) by commentaries on two other creeds and by three commentaries on the Our Father (f. 30v). The next item (f. 33) is an "Expositio fidei catholice Quicumque... reddet unicuique secundum opera sua."<sup>49</sup> A third commentary on the *Quicumque* is introduced by "Item expositio fidei catholice Fortunati" (f. 36v).<sup>50</sup> Swainson calls attention to the discovery by Francesco Ambrosio Zaccaria (1714-1795) of a 14th-century (paper) copy in Florence<sup>51</sup> and to an incomplete text preserved in Vienna.<sup>52</sup>

After a transcription<sup>53</sup> of the commentary preserved in MS Oxford,

<sup>42</sup> *The Athan. Creed* 281.

<sup>43</sup> *The Athanasian Creed and its Usage in the English Church*, (London, 1870).

<sup>44</sup> The reference is to Junius 25 of the Bodleian.

<sup>45</sup> *The Athanasian Creed* 68.

<sup>46</sup> London, 1875.

<sup>47</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 423: MS Oxford, Bodl. Junius 25, f. 108-112 (s. ix). F. Madan, *A Summary Cat.*, II, 2 (Oxford, 1937) 970: Fides dicitur credulitas. An edition of the text is found on pp. 436-442 of the *Nicene and Ap. Creeds*.

<sup>48</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 424. However, this is not a commentary on the *Quicumque* but on the *Credo in unum deum*; ed. by Ch. Brower (Mainz, 1603 and 1617); M. A. Luchi, (Rome, 1786) = PL 88. 354-351; F. Leo, in: MGH Auct. ant. 4, 1 (1881), 253-258. Cf. F. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl. medii aevi*, 5 (Madrid, 1955), 413, Nr. 8283.

<sup>49</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 424.

<sup>50</sup> A critical edition is found in A. E. Burn, *The Athanasian Creed*, 28-39.

<sup>51</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 426: F. A. Zaccaria, *Excursus litterarii per Italiam ab anno 1742 ad annum 1752* (Venice, 1754), 307: "Codex chartaceus saec. xiv. In eo inuenio Expositionem fidei catholice nulli certo auctori tributam quam sub Fortunati nomine in lucem emisit Muratorius (T. II. anecd. p. 212 seq.). Codex noster erroribus scatet." On pp. 307-309 Zaccaria lists the variants between Muratori and the Florentine copy. The pressmark of the manuscript is still unknown.

<sup>52</sup> MS Vienna, Nationalbibl. 1032, f. 83v-86 (s. ix). *Tabulae codicum manuscr. in Bibl. Pal. Vindobon.*, 1 (Vienna, 1864), 179-180.

<sup>53</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 436-442: Fides dicitur credulitas siue credentia...

Bodl. Junius 25 (f. 108-112), Swainson describes an *Expositio s. Athanasii Alexandrini episcopi de fide catholica* found in MS Vienna, Nat. 701, f. 145-147: "Fides est credulitas illarum rerum que non uidentur."<sup>54</sup> He also notices MS Munich (*clm*) 17181, f. 92-100 (s. xi) from the Abbey of Schäftlarn,<sup>55</sup> and *clm* 12715, written in the years 1229 and 1230, whose opening words read: "Fides est uoluntaria certitudo..."<sup>56</sup>

We then learn that MS St. Gall 27 contains a marginal commentary.<sup>57</sup> Later research proved it to be another, but shortened, copy of the Fortunatus commentary.<sup>58</sup> Referring to his notes, Swainson continues: "I have a memorandum that the collection at Trèves, No. 222, of the thirteenth century, contains Expositions of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds: And no. 531, of the fourteenth century, contains six expositions. They are not distinguished. I have not seen them; and they may possibly be the same as others to which I have referred."<sup>59</sup> Unfortunately, M. Keuffer's catalogue, published in 1894, is not very helpful in stating that MS Trier, Stadtbibl. 222, f. 25v contains an abbreviated creed<sup>60</sup> while MS 531, f. 14-165, contains an "Expositio super symbolum Athanasii et super symbolum Apostolorum." We are then informed that a gloss on the *Quicumque* begins on f. 43v: "Incipit glosa super fidem Athanasii episcopi urbis Alexandrine."<sup>61</sup>

To warn his readers against confusing pressmarks, Swainson clarifies the changes by which MS Oxford, Bodl. 1204 (*Anastasii expositio symboli Apostolorum*), cited by Waterland, later corrected to 1205, is now Laud 493.<sup>62</sup> Without further comment he notes a tract *De tribus symbolis* in MS Cambridge, Univ. KK. IV. 4, f. 56-66 (s. xv) which, as we shall see, A. E.

<sup>54</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 454.

<sup>55</sup> C. Halm (et al.), *Cat. codicum lat. bibl. reg. monacensis*, II, 3 (Munich, 1878), 85; Schäftlarn 181.

<sup>56</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 457. *Cat. IV*, 2 (Munich, 1876), 88.

<sup>57</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 457.

<sup>58</sup> MS St. Gall, Stadtbibl. 27, pp. 269-700. G. Scherer, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften der Stadtb. von St. Gallen*, (Halle, 1875), 14-15.

<sup>59</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 458. A. E. Burn (p. 43) states that both manuscripts: Trier 222 (s. xiii) and 531 (s. xiii) have the *incipit*: Hic beatus Athanasius liberum arbitrium...

<sup>60</sup> M. Keuffer, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der Handschr. der Stadtbibl. zu Trier*, 3 (Trier, 1894), 7-8.

<sup>61</sup> M. Keuffer, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis*, 5 (Trier, 1900), 6-7.

<sup>62</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 458. The manuscript is dated ca. 1300. A. E. Burn (p. 44) lists MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud Lat 493 (s. xiv) as a copy containing the commentary composed by Alexander of Hales (d. 1245). H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codd. manuscr. Bibl. Bodl.*, 1 (Oxford, 1858), 355 describes MS Laud misc. 493, olim 1205 (13), f. 70-78 (s. xiii) as *Expositio symbolorum ss. Patrum et S. Athanasii ex Hugone et Ricardo de s. Victore*: Sicut dicitur in *Sententiis*, dupliciter accipitur fides... et sic terminatur istud symbolum. Explicit expositio symboli Athanasii. The author is John of La Rochelle.

Burn lists as a work of Alexander of Hales.<sup>63</sup> With reference to his own notes, Swainson declares: "I have a memorandum that in the Library at Turin (Pasini's Catalogue, 1749) there is... (No. LXVI) another Psalter of the thirteenth century, containing the Faith, *Declaratio fidei catholicae*, with a gloss and marginal notes. The latter begin: *Hic (Haec) ratio fidei catholicae traditur.*"<sup>64</sup>

This text is closely related to a commentary published in 1746 by Jean Pien<sup>65</sup> which begins with the preface: "*Iniunxisti mihi... Traditur enim quod a beato Athanasio...*"<sup>66</sup> A commentary beginning with this preface is found in MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 231, f. 152-165 (s. ix in.),<sup>67</sup> edited in 1831 by Card. A. Mai.<sup>68</sup> The commentary itself opens with the words: "*Quod dicitur in capite horum uersuum*" (PL 213, 737A). The manuscript came probably from Fleury. Of a later date is the manuscript containing the same commentary without the preface: MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 840 (14), of the tenth century, today known as the Oratorian Commentary, formerly the property of the Collège de l'Oratoire of Troyes.<sup>69</sup> Swainson assures us that both J. Pien (1746) and Card. A. Mai (1831) used the Vatican manuscript.<sup>70</sup>

He finally draws attention to expositions written by Peter Abelard,<sup>71</sup> Hildegard,<sup>72</sup> Simon of Tournai,<sup>73</sup> Alexander Neckham,<sup>74</sup> Alexander of

<sup>63</sup> *The Athanasian Creed* 44. Its beginning is imperfect according to *A Cat. of the Manuscr. of Cambridge University*, 3 (Cambridge, 1858), 638.

<sup>64</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 459. The psalter in question must be MS Turin, Bibl. naz. F. 11. 13 (s. xiii) described in G. Mazzatinti, *Invent. dei manosc. delle Bibl. d'Italia*, 28 (Florence, 1922) 87, no. 854 (10): Athanasius, *Expositio fidei catholicae*. The pressmark LXVI is probably found in J. Pasini, *Codd. manuscr. Bibl. Regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, 2 (Turin, 1749) referred to by Swainson. The manuscript is also listed in G. Ottino, *Codici nella Bibl. naz. di Torino*, (Turin, 1819), Nr. 13. MS Turin, Bibl. naz. D. III. 9 (s. xiii) contains an *Expositio symboli* still to be examined. G. Mazzatinti, *Invent.* 28, p. 50. Pasini, Lat. 155.

<sup>65</sup> Iohannes Pienius (Pinius), *Liturgia antiqua Hispanica*, (Rome, 1746), 507-515, from "Reg. Alexand. Vat. No. 231."

<sup>66</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 459.

<sup>67</sup> A. Wilmart, *Cat. codicum Reg. Lat. 1* (Vatican, 1937), 552.

<sup>68</sup> *Scriptorum veterum nova coll.*, 9 (Rome, 1831), 396-409: PL 213, 735C-748C.

<sup>69</sup> *Catal. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 2 (Paris, 1855), 336: dated s. ix-x. Ancien Fonds de Pithou I, 7. The text has been edited by Ommanney, *Early History of the Ath. Creed*, (London, 1880), 327-355.

<sup>70</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 460. A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed* (p. 11) states that J. Pien (1678-1749) used an unknown manuscript in the Vatican Library. See note 65, above.

<sup>71</sup> PL 178, 629B-632C.

<sup>72</sup> PL 197, 1065B-1082A.

<sup>73</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. lat. 3903. "Other three are scattered."

<sup>74</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 462: "The Bodleian Library is said to contain two copies of another comment, by Alexander Neckham. This too is mentioned by Oudin and after him by Waterland. It commences: *Hec est enim uictoria que uincit...*". The manuscripts referred to are MS Ox-

Hales,<sup>75</sup> Richard Hampole,<sup>76</sup> and Wickliff.<sup>77</sup>

Five years after C. A. Swainson's publication, G. D. W. Ommanney presented his *Early History of the Athanasian Creed*.<sup>78</sup> He announces his discovery (in 1875) of two commentaries on the *Quicumque* in MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 804 (13-14), assigned to the ninth or tenth century by the catalogue.<sup>79</sup> It had previously belonged to the collection of Pierre Pithou (1539-1596), a native of Troyes. Later it joined the library of the Collège de l'Oratoire. Ommanney suggests that the first commentary, today known as the Troyes Commentary, is based on Fortunatus.<sup>80</sup> After this *Expositio fidei catholice*<sup>81</sup> follows *Item alia expositio*, which Ommanney chose to name the Oratorian Commentary,<sup>82</sup> although he knew that a more complete text had been edited by J. Pien<sup>83</sup> and Card. Mai.<sup>84</sup> He used Mai's edition to supply the missing preface,<sup>85</sup> found in the Vatican manuscript.<sup>86</sup>

ford, Bodl. Auct. D. 2, 9, f. 184v-188v (s. xiii, England) and Bodl. 284, f. 297-306 (written about 1300, England), from St. Mary's Abbey at Cirencester of which Neckham was abbot.

<sup>75</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 462: "A further memorandum informs us that Alexander of Hales wrote comments on the same Creed, which are published in his Summa, part 3, under Question 69." Thomas Tanner, *Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica*, (London, 1748), 370 notes MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud C 11: *Expositio trium simbolorum fidei secundum magistrum Alexandrum de Hales in fine sui tertii: Notandum quod cum tria sint simbola...*

<sup>76</sup> Swainson (p. 462) describes it as "an accumulation of notes." It may be noted here that according to Swainson (p. 455) "there are short expositions of the Apostles' and Athanasian Creeds in the works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. I found copies of these in a manuscript 777 at Vienna of the thirteenth century." Swainson continues: "It is interesting because the latter is entitled *Tractatus eiusdem* (= Bernardi) *de fide ex symbolo Athanasii*, an instance of the application of the word *symbolum* to our document about the year 1200. It is very short." The extracts quoted by Swainson prove beyond doubt that it is Abelard's commentary. His suspicions concerning the term *symbolum* are contradicted by Abelard's (d. 1142) frequent use of the word in his theological writings. Whereas Swainson states only that the work is found among those of St. Bernard, A. E. Burn (p. 44) does not hesitate to credit St. Bernard with the commentary.

<sup>77</sup> MS Cambridge, St. John's Coll. 117 (E 14), f. 69v-76 (s. xv).

<sup>78</sup> G. D. W. Ommanney, *Early History of the Athanasian Creed... with an Appendix Containing Four Ancient Commentaries, three of which are now printed for the first time*, (London, 1880), 2.

<sup>79</sup> *Early History* 2. *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 2 (Paris, 1855), 334-336.

<sup>80</sup> *Early History* 3. The text is found on pp. 311-327, reprinted by A. E. Burn, *The Athan. Creed* 21-27: *Fides dicitur credulitas siue credentia... recte catholicus, ut hereticus reputabitur.*

<sup>81</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 2 (Paris, 1855), 335.

<sup>82</sup> *Early History* 6: text on pp. 327-355: *Quod dicitur in capite horum uersuum... et nos gloriemur qui uiuit et regnat per infinita secula seculorum.* PL 213, 757A-748C.

<sup>83</sup> Ioh. Pinius, *Liturgia antiqua Hispanica*, 2 (Rome, 1746), 507-515.

<sup>84</sup> *Scriptorum vet. nova coll.* 9 (Rome, 1837), 396-409.

<sup>85</sup> *Early Hist.* 375-376: PL 213, 735C-737B: *Iniunxistis mihi illud fidei opusculum... in eternum peribit.*

<sup>86</sup> MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 231, f. 152-165. Ommanney (p. 6) notes that F. Arévalo (1749-1824) describes the manuscript in his *Isidoriana* (PL 81, 827B-828B): *Iniunxistis mihi...*

At Troyes Ommanney discovered yet a third commentary, preserved in MSS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1979 (s. x)<sup>87</sup> and 1532 (s. xii).<sup>88</sup> Since the older copy had belonged to the Bouhier family at Dijon, he designated it the Bouhier Commentary. In MS Troyes 1979 the work is attributed to Augustine, in MS Troyes 1532 (s. xii) it is anonymous.<sup>89</sup> Ommanney tells us that in the winter of 1875-1876 another copy of the Bouhier commentary was discovered in MS London, B. M. Add. 24902 (s. x-xi), which "belonged formerly to Baron Warengien" and was probably written in France.<sup>90</sup> According to Ommanney it was drawn from the Oratorian commentary.<sup>91</sup>

He also discovered a commentary in MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1012, f. 59-66 (s. x), formerly the property of Saint-Martial at Limoges. To distinguish it from other commentaries its discoverer called it the Paris Commentary and transcribed the text despite "the frequent barbarisms of its Latinity."<sup>92</sup> Some notes derived from this exposition are found in the margins of a psalter in MS London, B. M. Royal 2. B. V. (s. x).<sup>93</sup>

Considering the internal evidence, Ommanney concluded that the Oratorian commentary (Troyes 1532) was drawn up at the end of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth, the Bouhier commentary (Troyes 1979) in the early part of the eighth, and the Troyes commentary a little earlier (ab. 649-680).<sup>94</sup> The Oratorian commentary, as Ommanney notes,<sup>95</sup> appears to have been extensively known and used in the Middle Ages. He detected "some evidence of this" in a psalter of the beginning of the thirteenth century, extant at the Bodleian Library (Canonici, Bibl. 30), written, "as the Rev. W. D. Macray informs me, by an Italian scribe."<sup>96</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 2 (Paris, 1855), 810.

<sup>88</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 2 (Paris, 1855), 644: MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1532 (11): Incerti expositio fidei catholice s. Athanasii. Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio, Alexandrine ecclesie antistite...

<sup>89</sup> *Early History*, 11-12.

<sup>90</sup> *Early History*, 13.

<sup>91</sup> *Early History*, 14.

<sup>92</sup> *Early History*, 23-24. Text on pp. 376-386: Catholica dicitur uniuersalis. Et quid uniuersalis?...

<sup>93</sup> A. E. Burn, *The Athan. Creed*, p. 1. According to G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Cat. of the... Old Royal and King's Coll.*, 1 (London, 1921), 40-41, MS London, Br. M. Royal 2. B. V (7), f. 182v-184 (s. x) contains Hymnus Athanasii de fide Trinitatis quem tu concelebrans discutienter intellige. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 455.

<sup>94</sup> *Early History*, 33-34.

<sup>95</sup> *Early History*, 38.

<sup>96</sup> *Early History*, 38: MS Oxford, Bodl. Can. bibl. 30, f. 224-228 (s. xiii). See H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codicum manuscr. Bibl. Bodl.*, 3 (Oxford, 1858), 259: Symbolum Athanasii cum glossis: Hec ratio fidei catholice traditur... F. Madan, *A Summary Cat.*, 4 (Oxford, 1897), 324, Nr. 18922.



The same psalter, we learn, has also "some interlinear notes, which, with one exception, are from Bruno's commentary."<sup>97</sup> Ommanney adds later that Hampole's commentary has also drawn its material largely from the Oratorian.<sup>98</sup>

Concerning the three manuscripts mentioned by W. E. Tentzel as being extant at Gotha, Basel and Leipzig, Ommanney expresses the view that they "appear to have been of the same nature as the Canonici Psalter at the Bodleian Library."<sup>99</sup> He was informed "by Feller" that the Creed in the Leipzig commentary was called *Fides Anastasii pape*<sup>1</sup> and that the same notes appeared in the Gotha document.<sup>2</sup> Ommanney agrees with Swainson that the Turin Psalter "seems to contain the same series of notes."<sup>3</sup>

The research done by Ommanney is obvious in the discovery of three more copies of the Fortunatus commentary in MSS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1008, 2826, and 17448. The first copy dates back to the tenth century,<sup>4</sup> the second to the end of the ninth,<sup>5</sup> the third was copied from the previous manuscript (2826) which once belonged to the Collège de Navarre at Paris.<sup>6</sup> Two more copies were discovered in 1875 by W. D. Macray, one of which dates back to the late ninth or early tenth century,<sup>7</sup> the other to the twelfth.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>97</sup> *Early History*, 39.

<sup>98</sup> *Early History*, 40.

<sup>99</sup> *Early History*, 41.

<sup>1</sup> There is no doubt that the manuscript in question is MS Leipzig, Univ. Theol. 53, f. 201-203v (s. xii): a psalter with marginal and interlinear notes (f. 1-190), eight *cantica* with glosses (f. 190-200v), the *fides Anastasii pape* (f. 201-203v) with commentary: *Hec ratio fidei catholice traditur etiam in ueteribus codicibus...* R. Helssig, *Katalog der lat. und deutschen Handschr. der Universitätsbibl. zu Leipzig*, I, 1 (Leipzig, 1926-1935), 53. Provenance: Liber ueteris celle s. Marie (Alt-Zelle, O. Cist.).

<sup>2</sup> *Early History*, 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Early History*, 41. C. A. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 459.

<sup>4</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1008, f. 49-54 (s. x): Colbert 6122, Regius 4462. Ph. Lauer, *Bibl. nationale: Cat. gén.*, 1 (Paris, 1939), 360.

<sup>5</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 2826, f. 142-145v (s. ix ex.) from Saint-Martial, Limoges, pressmark 165. Phil. Lauer, *Catal. gén.*, 3 (Paris, 1952), 122.

<sup>6</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 17448, f. 116-120v (s. x) from Collège de Navarre. L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 31 (1870), 507.

<sup>7</sup> MS Bamberg, Staatl. Bibl. Lit. 131 (A. II. 53), f. 117v-125v (s. x). F. Leitschuh, *Katalog der Handschriften der k. Bibl. zu Bamberg*, I, 1 (Bamberg, 1895), 279. Both Ommanney (p. 49) and A. E. Burn (pp. LVIII and 28) quote the pressmark A. II. 16.

<sup>8</sup> MS Bamberg, Staatl. Bibl. Lit. 140 (Ed. II. 16), f. 24-26 (s. xii), from Bamberg Cathedral. F. Leitschuh, *Katalog*, I, 1, 289. The pressmark given by Ommanney (p. 49) is "Ed. or B. II. 16," by A. E. Burn (pp. LVIII and 28) "B. II. 16."

With a feeling of satisfaction Ommanney declares: "Thus there are eight ancient MS. copies at present known" of the Fortunatus commentary.<sup>9</sup> Previously known, as Ommanney acknowledges,<sup>10</sup> were "Junius 25" at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, from Murbach Abbey (s. ix in.), a copy at the Ambrosiana in Milan (M 79 sup.) of the eleventh century, and the much more recent copy (s. xiv), preserved at Florence and first studied by F. A. Zaccaria.<sup>11</sup>

After noticing "an imperfect copy" in the "Imperial Library at Vienna," ending with the verse "Quia sicut singillatim" (s. ix), Ommanney ventures the statement: "Probably several other copies are in existence."<sup>12</sup> The Vienna manuscript had been examined by Swainson.<sup>13</sup> It breaks off at the 19th clause of the Creed.<sup>14</sup> The reader is then reminded that the exposition written by Richard Rolle (d. 1349) of Hampole (Yorkshire) has been edited<sup>15</sup> and that the manuscript is lost.<sup>16</sup> Hampole's work, as Ommanney asserts,<sup>17</sup> "is drawn, like that in the Canonici Psalter (Bodleian), entirely from Bruno's exposition."

The first commentary on the *Quicumque* to be printed was the commentary written by Bruno, bishop of Würzburg (1034-1045). Ommanney<sup>18</sup> writes that the first edition, made from Bruno's alleged autograph, appeared in 1480 at Würzburg.<sup>19</sup> J. Cochlaeus (1479-1552) edited it again in 1531.<sup>20</sup> A reprint of a later edition by H. Denzinger (1819-1883) is found in PL 142, 561-568. The work is attributed to Bruno in MS Würzburg, Univ., Mp. th. F. 91 where it is found on f. 244-249.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Early History*, 49.

<sup>10</sup> *Early History*, 49-50.

<sup>11</sup> *Excursus litterarii per Italiam*, (Venice, 1754), 307.

<sup>12</sup> *Early History*, 50.

<sup>13</sup> *The Athan. Creed*, 323-324.

<sup>14</sup> MS Vienna, Nationalbibl. 1032, f. 83v-86 (s. ix). *Tabulae codicum manuscr. in Bibl. Pal. Vindobonensi*, (Vienna, 1864), 179-180: Fides dicitur credulitas.

<sup>15</sup> *Maxima Bibl. vet. Patrum*, 26 (Lyons, 1577), 624-627. Ommanney (p. 62) describes the text as very faulty.

<sup>16</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Repertorium bibl. mediæ ævi*, 5 (Madrid, 1955), 101, Nr. 7313 (1) lists MS Hereford, Cath. O. VIII. 1, f. 147-149 and MS Oxford, Bodl. 861, f. 166-170 (s. xv). Cf. F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 516-517, written in 1411 in England.

<sup>17</sup> *Early History*, 62.

<sup>18</sup> *Early History*, 67.

<sup>19</sup> H. Hurter, *Nomenclator litt.*, 1 (Innsbruck, 1926), 946. L. Hain, *Repertorium bibliogr.* 1, 558 (Nr. 4011) lists an edition of Bruno's *Psalterium* with the *Fides s. Athanasii* (Typis Reyseri) but provides no date. Nr. 4013 is dated 1497.

<sup>20</sup> A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed* 11.

<sup>21</sup> In addition to this manuscript Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 222, Nr. 1837 lists MS Naples, Bibl. naz. VII. AA. 7, f. 137-140 (anon.) and MS Wolfenbüttel 2516 (Aug. Fol. 42. 14), f. 231-232 (anon.).

Ommanney<sup>22</sup> noticed MS Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson G. 163, f. 227-234, which has "Bruno episcopus" at the top of each page. It may have come from Tegernsee.<sup>23</sup> MS London, Br. M. Add. 18043 contains a commentary described by Ommanney<sup>24</sup> as a work for the most part the same as Bruno's. Since the manuscript came from the Abbey of Saint Remacle at Stavelot, this slightly altered version of Bruno's exposition has become known as the Stavelot Commentary.<sup>25</sup> To this group belong both the commentary preserved in MS Saint-Germain-des-Prés 199, now MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 12020, published by B. de Montfaucon<sup>26</sup> (1655-1741) in 1698, and the text found in the "Eadwine Psalter" (s. xii), formerly the property of Christ Church, Canterbury, now in Trinity College, Cambridge.<sup>27</sup> Ommanney credits D. Waterland with the discovery of another copy at Yorkminster Library.<sup>28</sup> He holds that the text is Bruno's commentary in a form extant before Bruno, who added three passages from Fortunatus and made some minor alterations and additions.<sup>29</sup> To Ommanney's mind Bruno may have enlarged the commentary Archbishop Theodulph of Orleans (800-821) is stated to have composed.<sup>30</sup>

Ommanney<sup>31</sup> also discovered a dialogue "on the Psalm of Blessed Athanasius" in a manuscript written "in England about 1200."<sup>32</sup> Turning to the exposition written by Simon of Tournai (d. 1201), Ommanney draws attention to two copies: MSS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 18068 (s. xiii) from Saint-

<sup>22</sup> *Early History*, 63.

<sup>23</sup> MS Oxford, Bodl. Rawl. G. 163 is briefly described in F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, 3 (Oxford, 1895), 371, Nr. 14887. An exact copy of it is MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud Lat. 96 (s. xi), described in F. Madan, *A Summary Cat.*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 52, Nr. 1324.

<sup>24</sup> *Early History* 67. *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Additions*, (London, 1868) 74: "Psalterium glossatum cum canticis. xth century, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Stavelot."

<sup>25</sup> *Early History*, 76. A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, p. XLVIII. According to Ommanney (p. 76) it is "very closely related to Eadwine Psalter."

<sup>26</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 12020 (s. xii): PG 28, 1595-1604. Ommanney (p. 72) calls it Bruno's commentary.

<sup>27</sup> MS Cambridge, Trinity Coll. 987, f. 284v-285, dated ca. 1150 by M. R. James, *The Western Manuscr. in the Lib. of Trin. Coll. Cambridge*, 2 (Cambridge, 1901), 402-410.

<sup>28</sup> *Early History*, 73. MS York, Cathedral Lib. XVI. I. 4. D. Waterland, *A Critical History of the Ath. Creed*, (Oxford, 1870), 51-52.

<sup>29</sup> *Early History*, 75. According to Ommanney (p. 72) Bruno was not an original writer, but a mere compiler and manipulator of earlier materials.

<sup>30</sup> *Early History*, 77. A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, p. xxviii.

<sup>31</sup> *Early History*, 78.

<sup>32</sup> *Early History* 78: MS London, Br. M. Royal 8. B. XIV (E), f. 145-152 (s. xiii): Incipiunt interrogationes et responsiones de fide catholica super psalmum beati Athanasii Alexandrine urbis episcopi: Quomodo diffinitur fides secundum intellectum? G. F. Warner and G. P. Gilson, *Cat. of Western Manuscr. in the Old Royal and King's Coll.*, 1 (London, 1921), 224-225, from the Theyer Collection.

Martin des Champs, Paris, and 13576 (s. xiii) from Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>33</sup> He adds that Oudin lists "Cod. Reg. 3903, Saint-Victor, Bruges, and Villers" (Brabant).<sup>34</sup> The first copy listed by Oudin is now MS Paris Bibl. nat. Lat. 5102, which contains Simon's *expositio* on f. 141-149v (s. xiii). Its provenance is marked on f. 149v: Liber sancte Marie de Prato.<sup>35</sup> The second copy is now MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 14886.<sup>36</sup> The Bruges "manuscript" may be due to an error. In MS Bruges, Bibl. publ. 74, f. 86-95v (s. xiii-xiv) there is an *Expositio magistri Symonis Tornacensis super symbolum*.<sup>37</sup> But this happens to be Simon's commentary on the Apostles' Creed of which there is another copy in the same Library.<sup>38</sup> The library of the famous Cistercian abbey Villers-en-Brabant, founded by St. Bernard, was dispersed in 1796 when the Cistercians were expelled.

Ommanney then directs our attention to two copies of Alexander Neckham's (1157-1217) exposition kept at the Bodleian Library,<sup>39</sup> and to another at the British Museum.<sup>40</sup> He denies that "Laud 493" contains a commentary on the *Quicumque*.<sup>41</sup> After mentioning the "long exposition" in the works of Dionysius Carthusianus (1402-1471)<sup>42</sup> Ommanney declares: "I am able to enumerate no fewer than twenty-six ancient Latin commentaries on the *Quicumque*."<sup>43</sup> He admits that he has no further information

<sup>33</sup> *Early History*, 80. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 18068 (s. xiii), from Saint-Martin-des-Champs, (Paris). L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 31 (1870), 538. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 13576, f. 129-140v (s. xiii), from Saint-Germain-des-Prés (B.N. 881). L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'École des chartes*, 29 (1868), 234.

<sup>34</sup> *Early History*, 80. C. Oudin, *De scriptoribus eccl.*, 3 (Leipzig, 1722), 22.

<sup>35</sup> *Catalogus codicum manuscr. Bibl. Regiae*, III, 4 (Paris, 1744), 39: olim DD. de Béthune.

<sup>36</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 14886, f. 73-83v (s. xiii), from Saint-Victor, Paris (1194). L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 30 (1869), 56.

<sup>37</sup> A. de Poorter, *Cat. des manuscr. de la Bibl. publ. de la Ville de Bruges*, (Gembloux, 1934), 89.

<sup>38</sup> MS Bruges, Bibl. publ. 147, f. 174v-190v (s. xiii). A. de Poorter, *Catalogue* 187-188. This commentary has been edited by J. Warichez, *Les Disputationes de Simon de Tournai*, in: *Spic. s. Lov.*, 12 (Louvain, 1932), 299-300. The edition is incomplete.

<sup>39</sup> *Early History*, 81. He probably had in mind MS Oxford, Bodl. Auct. D. 2. 9, f. 184v-188 (s. xiii ex.): Madan-Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 373, Nr. 2330 (496), and Bodl. 284, f. 297-308 (ca. 1300): Madan-Craster, *A Summary Catal.*, II, 1, 317, Nr. 2339 (347).

<sup>40</sup> *Early History*, 81. MS London, Br. M. Harl. 3133 (s. xiii). *Catalogue of Harleian Manuscr. in the Br. Museum*, 3 (London, 1808) 5: Alexandri expositio in symbolum Athanasii... Explicit fides catholica Athanasii exposita a magistro Alexandro de sancto Albano.

<sup>41</sup> *Early History*, 81. A. E. Burn (p. 44) lists "Bodl. Laud Lat. 493" (s. xiv) as containing the exposition attributed to Alexander of Hales (d. 1245).

<sup>42</sup> *Early History* 84. Ommanney and A. E. Burn (p. 44) cite the Cologne edition of 1538. A work called *In Psalmos... symbolum etiam fidei Quicumque* was published under his name at Cologne in 1534 and 1558 and at Paris in 1539 and 1547.

<sup>43</sup> *Early History*, 84. Later he briefly returns to the Bouhier Commentary in MS London, B. M. Add. 24902, f. 71-78v (s. xi): *Catal. of Add.*, 2 (London, 1877), 118.8: Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio... laudantes de illius laude uiuamus, de illius laude et nos gloriamur. Amen.

concerning the two manuscripts at Trier (222 and 531), mentioned by C. A. Swainson,<sup>44</sup> but names "Albertus canonicus regularis Dyessensis" as the author of an exposition found in MS Munich (*clm*) 5668, dated 1373.<sup>45</sup>

Of great value are Ommanney's text editions of the Troyes Commentary (pp. 311-327),<sup>46</sup> reprinted by A. E. Burn,<sup>47</sup> the Oratorian Commentary (pp. 327-355),<sup>48</sup> the Bouhier Commentary (pp. 355-374),<sup>49</sup> the preface (pp. 375-376) to the Oratorian Commentary edited by Card. A. Mai,<sup>50</sup> the Paris Commentary (pp. 376-386),<sup>51</sup> followed by a list of variants to the Fortunatus Commentary (pp. 387-393)<sup>52</sup> used by A. E. Burn in another edition of the text.<sup>53</sup> Ommanney then offers a sermon on the Apostles' Creed (pp. 393-396),<sup>54</sup> the text of the so-called *Fides Romanorum* (pp. 398-399),<sup>55</sup> an *Expositio fidei* (pp. 399-400),<sup>56</sup> and of another profession of faith (p. 400).<sup>57</sup> These texts are followed by the Creed of Damasus (pp. 401-402)<sup>58</sup> and by the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed (pp. 402-408)<sup>59</sup> with a separate edition of the same text found in a Colbertine manuscript (pp. 408-409).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, (London, 1875), 458. *Early History*, 86.

<sup>45</sup> MS Munich (*clm*) 5668, f. 1-166 (written in 1373): C. Halm, *Catalogus codicum manuscr. in Bibl. Reg. Monac.*, I, 3 (Munich, 1868), 36: ex bibl. monasterii Diessensis (dioc. of Augsburg).

<sup>46</sup> MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 804 (13): *Fides dicitur credulitas... recte catholicus ut hereticus reputabitur. Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 2 (Paris, 1855), 336: s. ix-x.

<sup>47</sup> *The Athanasian Creed and its Early Commentaries*, (Cambridge, 1896), 21-27.

<sup>48</sup> MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 804 (14): *Quod dicitur in capite horum uersuum... collated with Card. Mai's edition in Scriptorum vet. nova coll.* 9, 396-409: PL 213, 735C-748C.

<sup>49</sup> MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1979 (s. x): *Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio Alexandrine ecclesie antistite... deum laudantes de illius laude uiuamus, de illius laude et nos gloriemur. Amen., collated with MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1532 (s. xii) and MS London, Br. M. Add. 24902, f. 71-78v (s. xi).*

<sup>50</sup> MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 231, f. 152v-165v (s. ix in.): PL 213. 735C-737A: *Iniunxistis mihi illud fidei opusculum... teneat integre fidei ueritatem.*

<sup>51</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1012, f. 59v-66 (s. x), from Saint-Martial (73), Regius 4439: *Catholica dicitur uniuersalis. Et quid uniuersalis? ... Hec est fides catholica i. e. uniuersalis. Nam nisi quis... saluus esse non poterit.*

Ph. Lauer, *Bibl. nat. Cat. gén. des manuscr. latins*, 1 (Paris, 1939), 362 dates it s. viii-ix.

<sup>52</sup> Ommanney collated MSS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1008, f. 49-54 (s. x), 2826, f. 142-145v (s. ix ex.) and 17448, f. 116-120 (s. xi in.) and Oxford, Bodl. Junius 25, f. 108-112 (s. ix in.).

<sup>53</sup> A. E. Burn, *The Athan. Creed*, 28-39.

<sup>54</sup> MSS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 3848 and 2123.

<sup>55</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1451 (s. viii ex.) reprinted by A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, 61-62.

<sup>56</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 3836 (s. viii), reprinted by A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, 61-62.

<sup>57</sup> From the same manuscript, reprinted by A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, 62.

<sup>58</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1684 (s. xi ex.).

<sup>59</sup> Cf. A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, 4-6.

<sup>60</sup> MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 3836 (s. viii): Colbert 784.

At this point it may be worthwhile surveying other commentaries available in print prior to the year 1900. We have seen that Bruno's commentary was edited as early as 1480.<sup>61</sup> The text edited by B. de Montfaucon in 1698 belongs to the same family.<sup>62</sup> At the beginning of the century (1610) Melchior Goldast published the *Fortunatus Commentary* from a St. Gall manuscript now lost.<sup>63</sup> Goldast's transcript, preserved at the University Library at Leyden, was later used by Card. J. B. Pitra (1812-1889).<sup>64</sup> In 1603 Kristoffel Brower edited a text attributed to Fortunatus.<sup>65</sup> M. A. Lucchi included Muratori's text (1698) in his *Fortunatus* edition.<sup>66</sup> Abelard's commentary was first edited as early as 1616.<sup>67</sup>

We have seen that L. A. Muratori (1672-1750) discovered and published in 1698 an exposition attributed to Fortunatus in MS Milan, Ambros. M 79 sup., f. 36v-38v (s. xi).<sup>68</sup> An edition by I. Bianchini of what is known as the *Oratorian Commentary*, preserved in MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 231, f. 152v-165v (s. ix in.), appeared in 1741.<sup>69</sup> In 1746 the Jesuit Jean Pien<sup>70</sup> used the same manuscript.<sup>71</sup> The same text was edited once more by Card. A. Mai.<sup>72</sup> Charles Victor Daremberg, librarian of the Mazarine, included St. Hildegard's (1098-1179) rather cryptic commentary in his edition (1855) of her works.<sup>73</sup> He transcribed it from the 23rd volume of the *Maxima Bibliotheca veterum patrum* (Lyons 1677).<sup>74</sup> In 1893, the French librarian

<sup>61</sup> The edition prepared by H. Jos. Denzinger (1819-1883) is found in PL 142, 561A-568D.

<sup>62</sup> PG 28, 1595C-1604A, from MS Saint-Germain-des-Prés 199, now Bibl. nat. Lat. 12020.

<sup>63</sup> M. Goldast, *Manuale biblicum sive Enchiridion*, (Frankfurt, 1610). In the manuscript the exposition was apparently attributed to one Euphronius Presbyter.

<sup>64</sup> *Analecta sacra et classica*, 5 (Paris-Rome, 1888), 27-31.. A. E. Burn (p. LVIII) calls the transcription "somewhat inaccurate."

<sup>65</sup> Kr. Brouwer, (Ven. Hon. Clem. Fortunatus) *Carminum, epistolarum et expositionum libri xi* (Mainz, 1603). Later editions appeared in 1617 and 1630. Burn's reference (p. 44) to Mainz 266 (s. xv) may imply a manuscript containing this commentary with the *incipit*: *Primo ergo omnium...*

<sup>66</sup> *V. H. C. Fortunati... opera omnia*, 1-2 (Rome, 1786-1787): PL 88, 585A-592B (Muratori).

<sup>67</sup> A. Duchesne and Fr. d'Amboise, *Petri Abaelardi opera*, (Paris, 1616), 381-384: PL 178. 629-634.

<sup>68</sup> *Anecdota*, 2 (Padua, 1698), 212-217: PL 88, 586D-592B, re-edited by Michael Aug. Lucchi, *Fortunati opera*, Rome, 1786). Variants found in a Florence manuscript (s. xiv) are listed by Fr. Ant. Zaccaria (1714-1795), *Excursus litterarii per Italiam*, (Venice, 1754), 307-309.

<sup>69</sup> I. Bianchini, *Opera Ven. Thomasii*, (Rome, 1741), 505-514.

<sup>70</sup> *Liturgia antiqua hispanica*, 2 (Rome, 1746), 507-515.

<sup>71</sup> According to A. E. Burn (p. 11) the manuscript has not been identified.

<sup>72</sup> *Script. vet. nova coll.*, 9 (Rome, 1831), 394-409: PL 213, 735C-748C.

<sup>73</sup> *S. Hildegardis... opera omnia*: PL 197. 1065-1179.

<sup>74</sup> M. de la Bigne, *Maxima Bibl.*, 23 (Lyons, 1677), 594-600. According to the introduction it was already contained in two previous editions, which may mean the 17-volume editions dated Paris 1644 and 1654.

Charles Cuissard added what is now called the Orleans Commentary.<sup>75</sup> F. Scheibelberger, in 1871, edited the *Opusculum de sensu uerborum s. Athanasii in symbolo* written by Gerhoch of Reichersberg in 1167.<sup>76</sup> Less than ten years later two commentaries on the *Quicumque* were published in the *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, one of which is anonymous,<sup>77</sup> the second the work of Simon of Tournai.<sup>78</sup>

After Ommaney's *Early History of the Athanasian Creed* (1880) further research was undertaken by A. E. Burn who presented the results in 1896.<sup>79</sup> Like his predecessors, he failed to provide folio numbers (or even press-marks) to assist later students in identifying or verifying his references or sources. He offers a more critical text of the *Quicumque* from manuscripts (8th and 9th centuries) and commentaries,<sup>80</sup> followed by a transcription of the Orleans Commentary published in 1889 by the librarian Charles Cuissard.<sup>81</sup> Burn's edition of the Stavelot Commentary<sup>82</sup> is a transcription of MS London, Br. M. Add. 18043 (s. x) collated with MS Boulogne-sur-mer 20 (s. x).<sup>83</sup> The omissions and additions that occur in the latter are considerable. Burn's text of the Troyes Commentary<sup>84</sup> is a reprint of Ommaney's edition of MS Troyes 804 (s. x).<sup>85</sup> His edition of the Fortunatus Commentary<sup>86</sup> is the result of considerable team work involving W. D.

<sup>75</sup> *Théodulpe évêque d'Orléans: sa vie et ses œuvres* (Orléans, 1892).

<sup>76</sup> MS Reichersberg, Stiftsbibl. 8, f. 113-115 (s. xii): *Oesterr. Vierteljahresschrift für kath. Theol.*, 10 (1871) 565-567.

<sup>77</sup> *Bibl. Casin. Floril.*, 1 (Monte Cassino, 1873) 230-234, from MS Monte Cassino, Abbazia 30, pp. 333-338 (s. x-xi): *Quicumque dicitur quia non est personarum acceptio... Te adoramus. Codicum Casin. manuscr. Catalogus*, 1 (Monte Cassino, 1915), 44.

<sup>78</sup> *Bibl. Casin. Floril.*, 4 (Monte Cassino, 1880), 322-346, from MS Monte Cassino, Abbazia 210D, pp. 367-372 and 207-212 (s. xiii): *Apud Aristotilem... Catalogus*, 2 (Monte Cassino, 1934), 14-15.

<sup>79</sup> *The Athanasian Creed and its Early Commentaries*, in: *Texts and Studies*, 4 (Cambridge, 1896).

<sup>80</sup> *The Ath. Creed*, 4-6.

<sup>81</sup> *The Ath. Creed*, 7-10, indicating the author's borrowings from Fortunatus, the Troyes, Paris, and Stavelot Commentaries. MS Orleans 116 (94), f. 1-4v (s. ix), from the Abbey of Fleury. Ch. Cuissard, *Cat. gén.*, 12 (Paris, 1889), 45-48: *Liber de Trinitate et theologia. Quicumque uult...*

<sup>82</sup> *The Ath. Creed*, 12-20.

<sup>83</sup> A. E. Burn (p. 11) calls it "Psalter from S. Omer." The description of this *Psalterium glossatum* (s. xi) in *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 4 (Paris, 1872), 584-585 mentions *cantica* but makes no mention of the *Quicumque*. It was previously MS Saint-Bertin 23. Concerning Saint-Omer see *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 3 (Paris, 1861), 20, Nr. 20: Cassiodorus on Psalms (s. xiii). MS Saint-Omer, Bibl. mun. 383 (s. xv) is according to V. Leroquais, *Les psautiers manuscrits latins des bibl. publ. de France*, 2 (Macon, 1940-1941), 207 a "Psautier hymnaire adapté à l'usage de Saint-Bertin." *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 3 (Paris, 1861), 185. MS Saint-Omer 837 (s. xv) is likewise a psalter. *Cat. gén.*, p. 384.

<sup>84</sup> *The Ath. Creed*, 21-27.

<sup>85</sup> *Early History*, 311-327.

<sup>86</sup> *The Ath. Creed*, 28-39.

Macray, G. D. W. Ommanney, Dr Föh (St. Gall), J. A. Robinson, A. E. Brooke, and von Laubmann (Munich). Burn distinguishes two recensions, the later adaptation being represented by MSS St. Gall 27 (s. ix), Munich (*clm*) 3729 (s. x), and 14501 (s. xii).<sup>87</sup> He admits that he retained the title "for convenience" in view of the attribution to Fortunatus in the third commentary on the *Quicumque* in MS Milan, Ambros. M 97 sup. (s. xi-xii): "Item expositio fidei catholice fortunati."<sup>88</sup>

In my own research, which (in view of a future edition) primarily concerned the commentary written by Simon of Tournai (d. 1201), numerous copies of previously known and unknown commentaries have come to light, often with the help of library catalogues. It is quite obvious that much more detailed study is required to show the fusion of commentaries as is the case in the Troyes Commentary which opens with the words of the Fortunatus Commentary: "Fides dicitur credulitas"<sup>89</sup> or in the case of the Orleans Commentary whose author borrowed from Fortunatus, the Troyes, Paris, and Stavelot commentaries.<sup>90</sup>

Other commentaries do not fit into the hitherto known families. Others are linked to well-known theologians. One of these is the commentary attributed to Gilbert of Poitiers,<sup>91</sup> as unknown to A. E. Burn (and his predecessors) as, for instance, those written by Gerhoch of Reichersberg (d. 1167), Alan of Lille (d. 1201), or John of La Rochelle (d. 1245). The great importance of the commentary composed by Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) did not begin to emerge until the Franciscans of Quaracchi began to publish his works.

It may finally be noted that the most ancient author credited with a commentary on the *Quicumque* was not Fortunatus but Boethius (d. 526). Judging by the *incipit*, the dialogue on the *Quicumque* discovered by Ommanney in MS London, Br. M. Royal 8. B. XIV (E), f. 145-152, is attributed to "Boecius" in what the catalogue describes as *Sammelbuch des Johann Voteken aus Dortmund*, now preserved in Berlin.<sup>92</sup> Its title reads: "Boecius

<sup>87</sup> *The Ath. Creed*, p. lx.

<sup>88</sup> *The Ath. Creed*, p. lxiv. Burn notes (p. lix) that a new collation was made for him by J. A. Robinson and A. E. Brooke. Burn (p. 44) lists a commentary in MS Cambrai 152 (s. xiii). According to the *Cat. gén.*, 17 (Paris, 1891), 40 and 41, both MSS Cambrai 152 (148) and 156 (152), of s. xv and xiv respectively, are Cambrai missals. Burn also cites Turin LXVI as Turin XVIII (p. 44).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Burn 21 and 28.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. Burn 7-10.

<sup>91</sup> MS Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl. 815, f. 145-149 (s. xii); ed. N. M. Haring, 'A Commentary on the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed by Gilbert of Poitiers', in: *Med. Studies*, 26 (1965), 23-53.

<sup>92</sup> MS Berlin, Staatsbibl. Elect. 851 (Theol. fol. 54), f. 93v-94v (s. xv, written in 1463-1464). V. Rose, *Verzeichnis der lat. Handschr.*, II, 2 (Berlin, 1903), 987.



super symbalum Anastasii." The *incipit* agrees with that of the English manuscript (s. xiii): Quomodo diffinitur fides secundum intellectum? Fides est credulitas illarum rerum que non uidentur. The *explicit* provided by V. Rose reads: "saluus esse non poterit. Explicit boecius super quicumque. Deo laus et eterna gloria. Amen."

## A TENTATIVE LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS

### (A)

#### *Anonymous Commentaries*

### I

Fides dicitur credulitas siue credentia... et aliter dicit uiuos iustos et mortuos peccatores. Ad cuius aduentum...<sup>1</sup>

#### *(Fortunatus Commentary)*

1. MS Bamberg, Staatl. Bibl. Lit. 131 (A. II. 53), f. 117v-125v (s.x).<sup>2</sup>
2. MS Bamberg, Staatl. Bibl. Lit. 140 (Ed. II. 16), f. 24-27 (s. xii).<sup>3</sup>
3. MS Como, Seminario Maggiore 3.<sup>4</sup>
4. MS Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibl. 27, f. 27v-32v (s. viii-ix).<sup>5</sup>
5. MS Florence (s. xiv).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A critical edition is found in A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, 18-39. Cf. E. Dekker, *Clavis Patrum*, Nr. 1747, in: *Sacris Erudiri*, 3 (1961), 388.

<sup>2</sup> Burn (p. 28) dates it s. ix-x. The manuscript belonged to Bamberg Cathedral. E. Leitschuh, *Kat. der Handschr. der k. Bibl. zu Bamberg*, I, 1 (Bamberg, 1895), 279. Ommanney (p. 49) and Burn (pp. lviii and 28) quote the pressmark A. 11. 16. It was collated for Burn by W. D. Macray.

<sup>3</sup> F. Leitschuh, *Katalog* 289: from Bamberg Cathedral. The pressmark given by Ommanney (p. 49) is "Ed. or B. 11, 16," by Burn (pp. lviii and 28) "B. 11. 16."

<sup>4</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl. medii aevi*, 6 (Madrid, 1958), 224, Nr. 9054. It breaks off with the words: ante luciferum ante omnem creaturam (Burn, p. 18, line 8). The manuscript is from Morimond, no pagination. Cf. J. Leclercq, 'Manuscripts Cist. dans des bibl. d'Italie', in: *Anal. S.O. Cist.*, 7 (1951) 72: Liber iste est monasterii s. Marie de Morimundo, mediol. diocesis. N xxviii.

<sup>5</sup> G. Meier, *Catal. codicum manuscr. Einsidlensis*, (Einsiedeln, 1899), 18. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 6 (Madrid, 1958), 243, Nr. 9133: Quicumque i. e. uoce et intellectu... fidem i. e. uniuersalem quam uniuersa tenere debet ecclesia... saluus esse non potest.

<sup>6</sup> First noticed by F. A. Zaccaria (1714-1795), *Excursus litterarii per Italiam*, (Venice, 1754), 307. Both Swainson (p. 436) and Burn (p. 28) affirm that it was collated "imperfectly" by Zaccaria who provides a list of variants (pp. 307-309) compared to Muratori's edition. The pressmark is still unknown.

6. MS Graz, Univ. 409, f. 270-272 (s. xii).<sup>7</sup>
7. MS Milan, Ambrosiana M 79 sup., f. 36v-38v (s. xi).<sup>8</sup>
8. MS Munich (*clm*) 3729, f. 308-310v (s. x).<sup>9</sup>
9. MS Munich (*clm*) 14508, f. 71-76 (s. x).<sup>10</sup>
10. MS Munich (*clm*) 19417, f. 14-29 (s. ix).<sup>11</sup>
11. MS Naples, Bibl. naz. XVI. A. 17, f. 151-154.<sup>12</sup>
12. MS Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Junius 25, f. 108-112 (s. ix *in*).<sup>13</sup>
13. MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud misc. 234 (2), f. 44-45v (s. xii).<sup>14</sup>
14. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1008, f. 49-54 (s. x *ex*).<sup>15</sup>
15. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 2316, f. 19-22 (s. xii).<sup>16</sup>
16. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 2826, f. 142-145v (s. ix *ex*).<sup>17</sup>
17. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 3696B, f. 20-26 (s. xii).<sup>18</sup>
18. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 3786, f. 223v-225v.<sup>19</sup>
19. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 17448, f. 116-120 (s. xi *in*).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>7</sup> A. Kern, *Die Handschriften der Univ. Bibl. Graz*, 1 (Leipzig, 1942), 239, Nr. 409, formerly 39/10 f<sup>o</sup>. From St. Lambrecht. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 3 (Madrid, 1951), 67, Nr. 3340.

<sup>8</sup> L. A. Muratori, *Anecdota*, 2 (Padua, 1698), 212-217: PL 88, 585D-592D. It was collated for Burn by J. A. Robinson and A. B. Brooke. It is the only manuscript in which the commentary is attributed to Fortunatus. Cf. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 424.

<sup>9</sup> C. Halm, *Catalogus*, I, 2 (Munich, 1871), 109: Expositio fidei catholice s. Athanasii. Provenance: Eccl. cathedralis Augustane 29. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 6 (Madrid, 1958), 428, Nr. 9899 quotes the *explicit*: i. e. humanam naturam que prius sub peccato uenundata et carcerata (Burn, p. 38, line 9).

<sup>10</sup> C. Halm, *Catalogus*, II, 2 (Munich, 1876), 184: St. Emmeram F. 11.

<sup>11</sup> C. Halm, *Catalogus*, II, 2 (Munich, 1876), 244: Tegernsee 1417. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 457, draws attention to MS Munich (*clm*) 12715, f. 1-3 written in the years 1229 and 1230, whose opening reads: Fides est uoluntaria certitudo... Fides est qualitas qua quis credit quod diligit. C. Halm, *Catal.*, II, 2 (Munich, 1876), 88, Randshofen 115.

<sup>12</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 6 (Madrid, 1958), 62, Nr. 3339.

<sup>13</sup> F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscr. in the Bodl. Library at Oxford*, II, 2 (Oxford, 1937), 970, Nr. 5137, from Murbach Abbey. A transcript is found in Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 436-442.

<sup>14</sup> O. H. Coxe, *Catalogus... Bibl. Bodl.*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1858), 198-199, from "S. Maria in Ebirbach." Its introduction reads: Hec est fides catholica quam exposuerunt patres nostri.

<sup>15</sup> Ph. Lauer, *Bibl. nat. Cat. gén.*, 1 (Paris, 1939) 360, from Saint-Denis. Colbert 6122. Regius 4462. Cf. L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet*, 1 (Paris, 1868), 201-204.

<sup>16</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 2 (Paris, 1940), 401, from Saint-Martial de Limoges (113), Regius, 4241.

<sup>17</sup> Ph. Lauer, *Bibl. nat. Cat. gén.*, 3 (Paris, 1952), 121, from Saint-Martial de Limoges (165), Regius, 4344.

<sup>18</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 7 (Madrid, 1961), 79, Nr. 10394.

<sup>19</sup> *Cat. codd. manuscr. Bibl. regiae*, 3 (Paris, 1744), 468-410. A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed* (p. lix) cites this manuscript with reference to D. Morin, *Science Catholique*, (July, 1891).

<sup>20</sup> L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'École des chartes*, 31 (1870), 507 dates it s. x. Provenance: Collège de Navarre. Burn (p. lix) calls it a copy of MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1008, f. 49-54.

20. MS Paris, Sainte Geneviève 1273, f. 176v-178 (s. xiv).<sup>21</sup>
21. MS Paris, Sainte Geneviève 1278, f. 53-57 (s. xv).<sup>22</sup>
22. MS Prague, Univ. 825 (V. B. 8), f. 168-170 (s. xv).<sup>23</sup>
23. MS St. Gall, Stadtbibl. 27, pp. 692-700 (s. ix).<sup>24</sup>
24. MS St. Gall, Stadtbibl. 241, f. 172-178 (s. ix in.).<sup>25</sup>
25. MS Stift Schlägl (Austria), Stiftsbibl. 105 (80), f. 306-307.<sup>26</sup>
26. MS Vat. Lat. 317, f. 255v-258 (dated 1554).<sup>27</sup>
27. MS Vat. Pal. Lat. 212, f. 13v-14v (s. ix or x).<sup>28</sup>
28. MS Vat. Pal. Lat. 220, f. 23v-26 (s. ix).<sup>29</sup>
29. MS Vercelli, Capitolare 62, f. 161-162 (s. x).<sup>30</sup>
30. MS Vésoul, Bibl. mun. 73, f. 75v-63 (s. xi).<sup>31</sup>
31. MS Vienna, Nationalbibl. 1032, f. 83v-86 (s. ix).<sup>32</sup>
32. MS Stift Vorau, Stiftsbibl. 192 (5), f. 148v-150 (s. xiii-xiv).<sup>33</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Ch. Kohler, *Cat. des manusc. de la Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève*, 1 (Paris, 1893), 590: Ex libris de Chezelles (s. xviii).

<sup>22</sup> *Cat.* 1, 593: Book of Hours.

<sup>23</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 3 (Madrid, 1951), 62, Nr. 3340. J. Truhlar, *Cat. codicum manuser. lat. Univ. Pragensis*, 1 (Prague, 1905), 336-337.

<sup>24</sup> G. Scherer, *Verzeichnis der Handschr. der Stadtbibl. von St. Gallen*, (Halle, 1875), 14-15.

<sup>25</sup> G. Scherer, *Verzeichnis der Handschr. der Stadtbibl. von St. Gallen*, (Halle, 1875), 88. A. Bruckner, *Scriptoria mediæ ævi Helvetica*, 2 (Geneva, 1936), 74 quotes the title: *Expositio fidei Athanasii, hoc est Quicumque uult*. Melchior Goldast edited the commentary in his *Manuale biblicum*, (Frankfurt, 1610) from a St. Gall manuscript now lost or unknown. A. E. Burn (p. lviii) notes that Goldast's transcript survived in the Univ. Library at Leyden (Vossianus in 4<sup>o</sup>, no. 30, inter Graecos, f. 144) and that it was used by Card. J. B. Pitra, *Anal. sacra et classica*, 5 (Paris-Rome, 1888), 27-31: Beati Euphronii presbyteri expositio fidei beati Athanasii.

<sup>26</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 3 (Madrid, 1951), 62, Nr. 3340: Fides est credulitas...

<sup>27</sup> M. Vatasso and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vat. Lat.*, 1 (Vatican, 1902), 231.

<sup>28</sup> H. Stevenson and I. B. Rossi, *Codices Pal. Lat.*, 1 (Vatican, 1886), 42.

<sup>29</sup> *Cod. Pal. Lat.* 1, 47. Cf. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. Bibl.*, 7 (Madrid, 1961), 434, Nr. 11560.

<sup>30</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 7 (Madrid, 1961), 445, Nr. 11601. G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario*, 31 (Florence, 1925), 92 dates it s. ix-x.

<sup>31</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 6 (Paris, 1887), 422, from Faverney OSB, dioc. of Besançon, cant. Amance. It was used by A. E. Burn for his edition of a commentary on the Apostles' Creed in *Zeitschr. für Kirchengeschichte*, 21 (1901), 128.

<sup>32</sup> *Tabulae codicum manuser. in Bibl. Pal. Vindeb.*, 1 (Vienna, 1864), 179-180. The commentary is incomplete.

<sup>33</sup> P. Frank, *Catalogus Voraviensis*, (Graz, 1936), 108: *Expositio supra symbolum Quicumque. Tradicio eiusdem fidei katholice. Fides est credulitas...* Earlier pressmark CCCXVI.

## II

Fides dicitur credulitas siue credentia... sub nomine christianitatis recte catholicus ut hereticus reputabitur.<sup>34</sup>

(*Troyes Commentary*)

MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 804 (13), s. xii.<sup>35</sup>

## III

Qualiscumque homo sit qui uult... sub nomine christianitatis recte catholicus ut hereticus reputabitur.<sup>36</sup>

(*Orleans Commentary*)

MS Orleans, Bibl. mun. 116 (94), f. 1-4v (s. ix).<sup>37</sup>

## IV

Hic beatus Athanasius liberum arbitrium ponit.<sup>38</sup>

(*Stavelot Commentary*)

1. MS Amiens, Bibl. mun. 48 (4), f. 206-207 (s. xii).<sup>39</sup>
2. MS Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibl. mun. 20 (s. x).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Edited from MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 804 by G. D. W. Ommanney, *Early History*, 311-327, reprinted by A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, 21-27.

<sup>35</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 2 (Paris, 1855), 336 dates it s. ix-x.

<sup>36</sup> Edited by Ch. Cuissard, *Théodulphe évêque d'Orléans: sa vie et ses œuvres*, (Orléans, 1892), reprinted by Burn 7-10 with indications of borrowings from Fortunatus, Troyes, Paris, and Stavelot commentaries.

<sup>37</sup> Ch. Cuissard, *Cat. gén.*, 12 (Paris, 1889), 45-48, from Fleury. The catalogue cites the title: Liber de Trinitate et theologia. Quicumque uult... recte catholicus ut hereticus reputabitur.

<sup>38</sup> This list includes commentaries beginning with the words: Hic beatus Athanasius. As such it includes the Stavelot Commentary, Bruno and other composite forms of the commentary. Editions of the basic texts are found in PG 28. 1195C-1604A (from MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 12020), PL 148. 561B-568D (Bruno), J. Pienius, *Liturgia antiqua Hisp.*, 2 (Rome, 1746), 507-515, from MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 231.

<sup>39</sup> The text is a marginal gloss, the manuscript from Corbie (202C), defective at the end according to *Cat. gén.* 19, 1 (Paris, 1893), 23. Cf. J. Garnier, *Catalogue... d'Amiens*, (Amiens, 1843), 36-37.

<sup>40</sup> According to *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 4 (Paris, 1872), 584-585 manuscript 20 is a *psalterium glossatum* with *cantica*, from Saint-Bertin where its pressmark was 23. Burn (p. 11) calls it a "Psalter from S. Omer."

3. MS Cambridge, Trin. Coll. 987, f. 284v-285 (s. xii).<sup>41</sup>
4. MS Como, Seminario Maggiore 3 (s. xiii).<sup>42</sup>
5. MS Durham, Chapter Lib. A. IV. 2 (s. xii).<sup>43</sup>
6. MS Erlangen, Univ. 182 (Irm. 229), f. 103-106v (s. xii).<sup>44</sup>
7. MS Leipzig, Univ. Theol. 58 (F. p. 68 nr. 18), f. 133-134 (s. xiii).<sup>45</sup>
8. MS London, Br. M. Add. 18043, f. 181-186 (s. x).<sup>46</sup>
9. MS Munich (*clm*) 2580, f. 67-74 (s. xii *ex.*).<sup>47</sup>
10. MS Munich (*clm*) 14506, f. 66-68 (s. xii).<sup>48</sup>
11. MS Munich (*clm*) 17181, f. 92-100 (s. xi).<sup>49</sup>
12. MS Naples, Bibl. naz. VII. AA. 7, f. 137-140.<sup>50</sup>
13. MS Nîmes, Bibl. mun. 42, 1 (13738), s. xiii.<sup>51</sup>
14. MS Nîmes, Bibl. mun. 42, 2 (13698), s. xv.<sup>52</sup>
15. MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud Lat. 17, f. 210-215 (s. xii).<sup>53</sup>
16. MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud misc. 40 (23), f. 107v-110 (s. xii).<sup>54</sup>

<sup>41</sup> M. R. James, *The Western Manuscr. in the Lib. of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 2 (Cambridge, 1901), 402-410 calls it "notes on the Creed." The book is the Eadwine Psalter from Christ Church, Canterbury, written by Eadwine about 1150. Cf. Ommanney, *Early History*, 73.

<sup>42</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 6 (Madrid, 1958), 224, Nr. 9055: Quicumque. Hic sicut in locis multis liberum demonstrat arbitrium sicut dicit in psalmo: Quis est homo... et eundem ipsum uerum Filium hominis confitemur. Cf. J. Leclercq, 'Manuscrs Cist. dans des bibl. d'Italie', in: *Anal. S. O. Cist.*, 7 (1951), 72.

<sup>43</sup> A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed* 11.

<sup>44</sup> J. C. Fischer, *Katalog der Handschr. der Universitätsbibl. Erlangen*, 1 (Erlangen, 1928), 26. J. C. Irmischer, *Handschriften-Katalog der k. Bibl. zu Erlangen*, (Frankfurt, 1852), 55. Cf. M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der schol. Methode*, 1 (Freiburg i. Br., 1909), 167. W. Jansen, *Der Kommentar des Clarenbaldus* (Breslau, 1926), 26. H. Ostlender, in: *Beiträge* 35 (1939), xi-xii.

<sup>45</sup> R. Helssig, *Kat. der lat. und deutschen Handschr. der Universitätsbibl. zu Leipzig*, I, 1 (Leipzig, 1926-1935) 61: from Alzelle, O. Cist. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 6 (Madrid, 1958), 476, Nr. 10019.

<sup>46</sup> *Catalogue of Additions*, (London, 1868), 74: Psalterium glossatum cum canticis formerly belonging to the Abbey of Stavelot.

<sup>47</sup> C. Halm, *Cat. codicum lat. Bibl. Reg. Monac.*, I, 2 (Munich, 1871), 10, from Aldersbach, dioc. of Passau (O. Cist.). Cf. N. M. Haring, *Commentaries on Boethius by Thierry of Chartres*, in: *Studies and Texts*, 20 (Toronto, 1971), 26.

<sup>48</sup> C. Halm, *Catalogus* II, 2 (Munich, 1876), 183, from St. Emmeram, Regensburg.

<sup>49</sup> C. Halm, *Catalogus* II, 3 (Munich, 1878), 85, from Schäftlarn, Bavaria. Burn (p. 43) lists this copy under the *incipit*: Quicumque dicitur quia non est deus personarum acceptor.

<sup>50</sup> According to Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 222, Nr. 1837, it is a copy of Bruno's commentary, but anonymous. Cf. *Rep. bibl.*, 6 (Madrid, 1958), 476, Nr. 10019.

<sup>51</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 7 (Paris, 1885), 549, from St. Andrew's, Avignon.

<sup>52</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 7 (Paris, 1885), 549.

<sup>53</sup> Listed by A. E. Burn (p. 11), former pressmark E. 71. Madan-Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 41, Nr. 994: Psalterium (Frere 176). The manuscript is from Cirencester Abbey. See H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1858), 73.

<sup>54</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Cat. Bibl. Bodl.*, 1 (Oxford, 1858), 73: de Claustro Roffensi.

17. MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud Lat. 96, f. 231-234 (s. xi).<sup>55</sup>
18. MS Oxford, Bodl. Rawlinson G. 163, f. 227-234 (s. xi).<sup>56</sup>
19. MS Oxford, Balliol Coll. 32, f. 406v-409v (s. xii ex.).<sup>57</sup>
20. MS Oxford, St. John's Coll. 101, f. 127-130 (s. xiii).<sup>58</sup>
21. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 340, f. 45-47v (s. xii).<sup>59</sup>
22. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 2817, f. 81-87v (s. xi).<sup>60</sup>
23. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 12020, f. 139v-140v (s. xii).<sup>61</sup>
24. MS Stockholm, Kongl. Bibl. A. 142, f. 181-191 (s. xii).<sup>62</sup>
25. MS Tours, Bibl. mun. 93, f. 200-211 (s. xii).<sup>63</sup>
26. MS Vat. Lat. 86, f. 192v-195 (s. xii).<sup>64</sup>
27. MS Vat. Lat. 87 (3), f. 356v-360 (s. xii).<sup>65</sup>
28. MS Vat. Pal. Lat. 294, f. 123-128 (s. x-xi).<sup>66</sup>

<sup>55</sup> MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud Lat. 96 (1324), formerly Laud H 61. F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922) 57, Nr. 1324: Psalterium with commentary of Bruno, bishop of Würzburg, stated to have been written at Tegernsee.

<sup>56</sup> F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue*, 3 (Oxford, 1895), 371, Nr. 14887, perhaps from Tegernsee. The text has "Bruno episcopus" at the top of each page. In a letter to the *Guardian* newspaper (May 15, 1872), W. D. Macray (Oxford) expressed his belief that this manuscript once belonged to the library at Würzburg. See Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 456.

<sup>57</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus... Coll. Oxon.* 1 (Oxford, 1852), 91. R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscr. of Balliol Coll., Oxford*, (Oxford, 1963), 22-23, from the Cluniac Priory of St. Andrew, Northampton: a gift of William, bishop of Ely.

<sup>58</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Coll. Oxon.*, 2 (Oxford, 1852), 30: a marginal gloss.

<sup>59</sup> Ph. Lauer, *Bibl. nationale, Cat. gén.*, 1 (Paris, 1939) 119: Commentaire abrégé du symbole d'Athanase. Colbert 3869. Regius 4306.

<sup>60</sup> *Cat. gén.* 3 (Paris, 1951), 108: Colbert 5945. Regius 4342. The *incipit* reads: Ibi doctor liberum arbitrium posuit.

<sup>61</sup> Edited by B. de Montfaucon (PG 28. 1595-1604) from MS Saint-Germain-des-Prés 199, now MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 12020. Cf. B. Hauréau, *Notices et extr.*, 2 (Paris, 1891), 55. L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'école des chartes* 28, (1867), 346: Expositio symboli Athanasii (s. xii). Another copy is found in MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 3696B, f. 20-26 (s. xii).

<sup>62</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 350, Nr. 2531.

<sup>63</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 37, 1 (Paris, 1900), 57-58, from Saint-Gatien. The *explicit* quoted in the catalogue reads: post duos dies suscitabit nos et tertia die resurgemus et in conspectu eius uiuemus. Cf. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 350, Nr. 2531.

<sup>64</sup> M. Vatasso and P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Codices Vat. Lat.*, 1 (Vatican, 1902) 89: Hic beatus Athanasius liberum arbitrium... Hec (ratio) fidei catholice traditur etiam a ueteribus a beato Athanasio Alexandrino conscripta. The text is incomplete (PG 28. 1599C). The volume is a psalter with *cantica*.

<sup>65</sup> *Codices Vat. Lat.* 1, 90: Hic beatus Athanasius... Hec ratio fidei traditur etiam in ueteribus codicibus... sine fastidio et tota sanitas sine morbo (PL 213. 748A). The volume is a psalter with *cantica*.

<sup>66</sup> H. Stevenson and I. B. Rossi, *Codices Pal. Lat.*, 1 (Vatican, 1886) 75. B. Hauréau, *Notices et extr.*, 2 (Paris, 1891), 55.

29. MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 295, f. 72-73 (s. xii *ex.*).<sup>67</sup>
30. MS Venice Marciana. lat. Cl. I. n. 20, f. 212-215. (s. xiii).<sup>68</sup>
31. MS Wolfenbüttel 2516 (Aug. Fol. 42. 14), f. 231-232 (s. xiii).<sup>69</sup>
32. MS Würzburg, Univ. Mp. th. F. 91, f. 247-249 (s. xi).<sup>70</sup>
33. MS York, Chapter Lib. XVI. I. 7 (s. xii).<sup>71</sup>

## V

Quod dicitur in capite horum uersuum... de illius  
laude et nos gloriemur qui uiuit et regnat per infinita  
secula seculorum.<sup>72</sup>

*(Oratorian Commentary)*

1. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 2832, f. 137v (s. ix).<sup>73</sup>
2. MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 804 (14), s. x.<sup>74</sup>
3. MS Turin, Bibl. naz. F. 11. 13 (s. xiii).<sup>75</sup>
4. MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 231, f. 152v-165v (s. ix *in.*).<sup>76</sup>

<sup>67</sup> A. Wilmart, *Codices Reg. Lat.*, 2 (Vatican, 1945), 129: Non dicit uel... non tamen in ea fragilitate in qua ante fuit sed in gloria et maiestate et ideo in ipsa forma: PL 142. 561B-568B. The volume is a psalter with *cantica*. It belonged to the Celestines of Marcoussis (Nr. 824) and Paul Petau (in 1610).

<sup>68</sup> Noticed by Swainson (p. 378) who quotes a page photographed by Sir T. D. Hardy.

<sup>69</sup> O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschr. der herzogl. Bibl. zu Wolfenbüttel*, II, 3 (Wolfenbüttel 1898), 238. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 222, Nr. 1837 calls it Bruno's commentary (anonymous).

<sup>70</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 222, Nr. 1837. The text is attributed to Bruno in the manuscript.

<sup>71</sup> H. Schenkl, *Bibl. Patrum lat. Britannica*, in: "Sitzungsb. Wien" 131, (1894), 53 describes it as *psalterium glossatum* and dates it s. xiii *in.* A. E. Burn (p. 11) cites the pressmark XVI. 7.4.

<sup>72</sup> Ommanney, *Early History*, 327-355 edited the text and called it the Oratorian Commentary because MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 804, in which he discovered it, belonged to the Oratoire of Troyes.

<sup>73</sup> A fragment described in Ph. Lauer, *Bibl. nat. Cat. gén.*, 3 (Paris, 1951), 132: Saint-Oyan, Saint-Claude (Jura). A. Wilmart, *Codices Reg. Lat.*, 1 (Vatican, 1939), 551. *Mél. E. Podechard*, (Lyons, 1945), 83.

<sup>74</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 2 (Paris, 1855), 336. Previous owners were Pithou (I. 7) and the Oratoire.

<sup>75</sup> G. Mazzatinti, *Inv. dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, 28 (Florence, 1922), 87, Nr. 854 (10): Athanasius. *Expositio fidei*. C. A. Swainson, who discovered it (p. 459), cited the pressmark LXVI with reference to J. Passini, *Codices manuscr. Bibl. Regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, 2 (Turin, 1749).

<sup>76</sup> A. Wilmart, *Codices Reg. Lat.*, 1 (Vatican, 1939), 552. Cf. F. Arévalo, *Isidoriana*, in: PL 81, 827-828. Its place of provenance may be the abbey of Fleury. The text has been edited by Gius. Bianchini (1704-1764), *Opera Ven. Thomasi*, 1 (Rome, 1741), 505-514, by Card. A. Mai, *Scriptorum vet. nova coll.*, 9 (Rome, 1837), 396-409, reprinted in PL 213, 735C-748C.

## VI

Traditur quod a beatissimo Athanasio... in deum  
laudantes de illius laude uiuamus, de illius laude et  
nos gloriemur. Amen.<sup>77</sup>

(*Bouhier Commentary*)

1. MS London, Br. M. Add. 24902, f. 71-78v (s. xi).<sup>78</sup>
2. MS Saint-Omer, Bibl. mun. 694, 4 (s. xii).<sup>79</sup>
3. MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1532, 11 (s. xii).
4. MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1979 (s. x).<sup>80</sup>

## VII

Hec ratio fidei traditur etiam in ueteribus codicibus...<sup>81</sup>

1. MS Leipzig, Univ. Theol. 53 (F. p. 68. nr. 17), f. 201-203v (s. xi).<sup>82</sup>
2. MS Oxford, Bodl. Canonici bibl. 30, f. 224-228 (s. xiii).<sup>83</sup>
3. MS Vat. Lat. 85, f. 221-224 (s. xii).<sup>84</sup>

## VIII

Hymnus Athanasii de fide Trinitatis quem tu concele-  
brans discutienter intellige. Saluus coram deo

<sup>77</sup> Edited by Ommanney, *Early History*, 355-374. The commentary has borrowings from the Oratorian Commentary. Ommanney called it the Bouhier Commentary in view of the former owner of MS Troyes, Bibl. mun. 1979.

<sup>78</sup> London, B. M., *Cat. of Additions*, 2 (London, 1877), 118.

<sup>79</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 3 (Paris, 1861), 302-303, from the library of Jacques II Blaise, bishop of Saint-Omer (1600-1618).

<sup>80</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 4, 2 (Paris, 1855), 644 (from the Oratoire) and 811 (from the Bouhier collection).

<sup>81</sup> A. E. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, p. lv.

<sup>82</sup> R. Helssig, *Katalog der lat. und deutschen Handschriften der Universitätsbibl. zu Leipzig*, I, 1 (Leipzig, 1926-1935), 61: Fides Anastasii pape. Hec racio fidei. According to Ommanney, *Early History* 41, the Gotha text referred to by Tentzel belongs to this group.

<sup>83</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codicum Bibl. Bodl.*, 3 (Oxford, 1854), 259. F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue*, 4 (Oxford, 1897), 324, Nr. 18922. A late copy is also found in MS Oxford, Magdalen Coll. 115, f. 170-172 (s. xv). H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codicum Coll. Aulisque Oxon.*, 2 (Oxford, 1852), 60-61: Expositio in symbolum s. Athanasii ex Ioh. de Balbis catholico excerpta: Hec ratio fidei catholice. D. Waterland, *A Critical History*, revised by J. R. King, (Oxford, 1870), 55 claims that it is Richard Ham-pole's commentary.

<sup>84</sup> M. Vatasso and P. Franchi de'Cavalieri, *Codices Vat. Lat.* 1 (Vatican, 1902), 84: *psalterium gallicanum* and *cantica* (marginal gloss). The catalogue states that the text differs slightly from Montfaucon's. It is, however, a redaction of PL 213, 736D-748B.



in iudicio. Opus operationem i. e. necessaria prebet uoluntatem...

MS London, Br. M. Royal 2. B. V (7), f. 182v-184 (s. x).<sup>85</sup>

## IX

Catholica dicitur uniuersalis. Et quid uniuersalis?  
... Hec est fides catholica i. e. uniuersalis quam nisi  
quis... non poterit.<sup>86</sup>

(*Paris Commentary*)

MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 1012, f. 59v-66 (s. x).<sup>87</sup>

## X

Quicumque dicitur quia non est deus personarum  
acceptor. Te adoramus... Filium et Spiritum sanctum.

1. MS Cologne, Dombibl. 45 (Darmstadt 2040), f. 179v-181v s. x.<sup>88</sup>
2. MS Monte Cassino, Abbazia 30, pp. 333-338 (s. x-xi).<sup>89</sup>
3. MS Munich (*clm*) 14617, f. 118v-120v (s. xv).<sup>90</sup>
4. MS Munich (*clm*) 17181, f. 92-100 (s. xi).<sup>91</sup>
5. MS Prague, Chapter Lib. 585 (D. XX.), f. 61-65v (s. xiii).<sup>92</sup>

<sup>85</sup> G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Br. M. Cat. of Western Manusc. of the Old Royal and Kings' Coll.*, 1 (London, 1921), 41.

<sup>86</sup> The text, called the Paris Commentary, is transcribed in Ommanney, *Early History*, 376-386.

<sup>87</sup> Ph. Lauer, *Bibl. nat. Cat. gén.*, 1 (Paris, 1939) dates it s. viii-ix. The manuscript belonged to Saint-Martial (73) at Limoges. Regius 4439. Some notes of this exposition have been discovered in the margins of a psalter, MS London, Br. M. Royal 2. B. V. (s. x). Cf. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds* 455.

<sup>88</sup> A. E. Burn, *The Athan. Creed* 43. See also MS Milan, Ambr. M 79 sup. f. 34v-35v Ph. Jaffé and W. Wattenbach, *Eccl. Metrop. Coloniensis Codices Manuscripti*, (Berlin, 1874), 15.

<sup>89</sup> *Codicum manuscr. catalogus*, 1 (Monte Cassino, 1915), 44. *Bibl. Casin. Floril.* 1 (Monte Cassino, 1873), 230-234.

<sup>90</sup> *Catal.* II, 2 (Munich, 1876), 203 from St. Emmeram (G. 1), written in 1443: *Expositio symboli Athanasii*. Burn, *The Athan. Creed*, 43.

<sup>91</sup> *Catalogus*, IV, 3 (Munich, 1878), 85 from Schäftlarn. C. A. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 456.

<sup>92</sup> Ad. Patera and Ant. Podlaha, *Soupis rukopisu knihovny metropolitni kapitoly prazské*, (Prague, 1910), 335.

## XI

Fides est credulitas illarum rerum que non uidentur...  
ad querendam recte fidei semitam prouocet.<sup>93</sup>

1. MS Milan, Ambrosiana M 79 sup., f. 33-36<sup>v</sup> (s. xi-xii).<sup>94</sup>
2. MS Milan, Ambrosiana T 103 (s. x).<sup>95</sup>
3. MS Oxford, Oxford, Bodl. Laud Lat. 105 f. 44-45<sup>v</sup> (s. xiii).<sup>96</sup>
4. MS Trier, Stadtbibl. 222, f. 56-58 (s. xiii-xiv).<sup>97</sup>
5. MS Trier, Stadtbibl. 531, f. 43 (s. xii).<sup>98</sup>
6. MS Vienna, Nationalbibl. 701, f. 145-147 (s. xii).<sup>99</sup>

## XII

Fides exposita quomodo credatur unus deus Trinitas  
et Trinitas unus deus: Credo, adoro et ueneror...

1. MS London, Br. M. Royal 7. A. III (5), f. 58v-64 (s. xii *ex*).<sup>1</sup>
2. MS London, Br. M. Royal 12. C. I (6), f. 104-113 (s. xii).<sup>2</sup>
3. MS Oxford, Bodl. 363 (11), f. 49-52v (s. xii).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>93</sup> Burn, *The Athan. Creed*, 43. Cf. C. A. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 424.

<sup>94</sup> C. A. Swainson (p. 424): Fides est illarum rerum que non uidentur credulitas. According to Burn (p. 43), items 1-5 of this list comment on the first clause: Hic beatus Athanasius liberum arbitrium.

<sup>95</sup> A. E. Burn, *The Athan. Creed*, 43.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>97</sup> A. E. Burn, *The Athan. Creed*, 43. According to M. Keuffer, *Beschr. Verzeichnis der Handschriften zu Trier*, 3 (Trier, 1894), 7-8 it is an abbreviated creed.

<sup>98</sup> Burn, *The Athan. Creed*, 43. M. Keuffer, *Beschr. Verzeichnis*, 5 (Trier, 1900), 6-7 quotes (f. 43v): Incipit glosa super fidem Athanasii episcopi urbis Alexandrine. At the same time the catalogue states that on f. 14-165 there is an "expositio super symbolum Athanasii et super symbolum Apostolorum."

<sup>99</sup> C. A. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creed*, 424. Burn, *The Ath. Creed*, 43. Swainson cites the *explicit* (p. 424): Versiculum istum per adfirmationem repetit ut non recte credentes terreat et ad querendam recte fidei semitam prouocet. *Tabulae I* (Vienna, 1864), 118.

<sup>1</sup> G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *B. M. Cat. of the Western Manuscripts of the Old Royal and King's Coll.*, 1 (London, 1921), 161-162, from St. Oswald's Abbey, Bardney.

<sup>2</sup> *Catalogue 2* (London, 1921), 22: Liber de Claustro Ruffensi (Rochester).

<sup>3</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Cat. cod. Bibl. Bodl.* II, 1 (Oxford, 1858), 277-274, from Ecclesia s. Albani.

## XIII

Quomodo diffinitur fides secundum intellectum...

1. MS Berlin, Staatsbibl., Elect. 851 (Theol. fol. 54), f. 93v-94v.<sup>4</sup>
2. MS London, Br. M. Royal 8. B. 14, f. 145-152 (s. xii).<sup>5</sup>

## XV

Expositio symboli Athanasii

MS El Escorial R. III. 15, f. 111-112 (s. xiii).<sup>7</sup>

## XVI

Item katholica dicitur a kathos... titulus huius fidei  
est fides catholica... in omni creatura.

MS Stift Vorau, Stifsbibl. 13 (10), f. 89v-93 (s. xv).<sup>8</sup>

## XVII

Expositio symboli: Credo in deum... tria sunt symbola:  
s. Apostolorum, s. Misse, s. Athanasii... que perducant  
ad spem.

MS Stift Vorau, Stifsbibl. 399 (6), f. 100v-102v (s. xiii-xiv).<sup>9</sup>

## XVIII

Fides est uoluntaria certitudo... Fides est qualitas...

MS Munich (*clm*) 12715 (Ranshofen 115), f. 1-3 (s. xv).<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> V. Rose, *Verzeichnis der lat. Handschriften*, II, 2 (Berlin, 1903), 987.

<sup>5</sup> Burn (p. 43) lists the commentary under the *incipit*: Quicumque i. e. unusquisque. G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Cat. of Western Manuscripts*, I (London, 1921) 224-225 describe it as a dialogue: Incipiunt interrogationes et responsiones de fide catholica super psalmum beati Athanasii Alexandrine urbis episcopi: Quomodo diffinitur fides secundum intellectum? The date proposed in the catalogue is s. xiii. Provenance: Theyer Collection.

<sup>7</sup> E. C. Richardson, *A Union World Catalog of Manuscr. Books*, 5 (New York, 1935), 72.

<sup>8</sup> P. Frank, *Catalogus Vorav.*, (Graz, 1936), 8. Date 1472. Earlier pressmark CXCIV.

<sup>9</sup> P. Frank, *Catalogus Vorav.*, (Graz, 1936), 231.

<sup>10</sup> A. C. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 457: "written in the years 1229, 1230." C. Halm, *Cat. codicum lat. Bibl. Monac.*, II, 2 (Munich, 1876), 88: De symbolo s. Athanasii. (ca. 1429).

## XIX

De expositione symboli Athanasii episcopi Alexandrini:  
Corde creditur ad iustitiam, ore autem confessio fit ad  
salutem. Ex isto de fide catholica tractatum breuem ex  
diuersis sanctorum patrum dictis colligere uolentes...  
sine fine hoc est uitam eternam.

MS Vat. Pal. Lat. 385, f. 83-105 (s. xv).<sup>11</sup>

## XX

Notandum quod ad explicationem fidei... de quo sit  
Christus in secula benedictus. Amen.

MS Vienna, Schottenkloster 30, 14, f. 386-401v (s. xv).<sup>12</sup>

## XXI

Expositio symboli Athanasii

MS Münster, Univ. Bibl. Paulina 152 (252), f. 174-177 (s. xv).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> H. Stevenson and I. B. Rossi, *Codices Pal. Lat.*, 1 (Vatican, 1886), 113. The first part of this text is a commentary on the Apostles' Creed also preserved in MS Solothurn, Zentralbibl. S. I. 213 (xv). Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 7 (Madrid, 1961), 293, Nr. 11082.

<sup>12</sup> A. Hübl, *Cat. codicum manuscr. qui in Bibl. Mon. ad Scotos Vindebonae servantur*, (Vienna, 1899), 31.

<sup>13</sup> Jos. Staender, *Chirographorum in Regia Bibl. Paulina Monasteriensis Catalogus*, (Breslau, 1889), 35. Other expositions deserve to be examined, for instance, the *Expositio fidei*: *Profitemur nos credere indiuisibilem s. Trinitatem hoc est Patrem...* found in MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud misc. 438 (8), f. 179-182 (s. xi in.). Moreover, MS Douai, Bibl. mun. 25, f. 133-145 (s. xii): *Symbolum Athanasii cum glossa*, from Marchiennes (G. 348, D. 18). *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 6 (Paris, 1878), 16. There is an *Expositio symboli* in MS Turin, Bibl. naz. 444, 9 (D. III. 9), s. xiii (Pasini, Lat. 155). G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario*, 28 (Florence, 1922), 50. P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 1 (London, 1963), 72 lists an *Expositio fidei* among works of Athanasius in MS Florence, Laur. 193 (Badia, 2540). B. de Montfaucon, *Bibl. bibl. manuscr. nova*, 1 (Paris, 1739), 281A mentions "Expositiones quaedam symboli Athanasii" in Florence, Laur. Plut. XVII. 38, and (420E) "Notulae de tribus symbolis," then preserved at S. Marco (61).

According to G. Biadego, *Cat. descrittivo dei manosc. della Bibl. comunale di Verona*, (Verona, 1892), 345, a fragment of a commentary is preserved in MS Verona, Bibl. com. 719 (1245), dated s. xv. It begins with: "Intende deprecationem meam" and ends with: "Qui licet deus sit et homo non duo tamen." Its provenance: "Libro dei Filippini." A. Kern, *Die Handschriften der Univ. Bibl. Graz*, 1 (Leipzig, 1942), 297, lists a commentary under the pressmark, 508 (formerly 36/29 f<sup>o</sup>) pp. 111-134v whose *incipit* reads: *Symbolum Athanasii quod est*. It ends as follows: *probatum est in principio. Deo gracias. Libro completo saltat scriptor pede leto*. It is dated s. xv in. and belonged

## XXII

Est quedam mensura fidei... de sufficientia articulorum  
in simbolo contentorum.

MS Oxford, Bodl. 453, f. 1-14 (s. xv).<sup>14</sup>

## XXIII

Quicumque. Titulus huius symboli est symbolum  
Athanasii de fide catholica. Nam Athanasius Alexan-  
drinus episcopus ipsum contra heresim Arrianam et  
alias hereses circa mysteria Trinitatis et Incarnationis  
emergentes composuit... modos sibi placitos et aliis  
ueritatem cognoscentibus reuelatos. Explicit Anno  
Domini 1429.

MS Vienna, Nationalbibl. 4537, f. 259-262 (s. xv).<sup>15</sup>

## (B)

*Commentaries by known authors*

## I

BRUNO, bishop of Würzburg (1034-1945): Hic beatus  
Athanasius liberum arbitrium... scismate uel heresi.  
Et si ita non credideris, saluus esse non poteris: PL  
142, 651B-658D.

1. MS Naples, Bibl. naz. VII. AA. 7, f. 137-140 (anon.).
2. MS Wolfenbüttel 2516 (Aug. Fol. 42. 14), f. 231v-232v (anon. s. xiii).
3. MS Würzburg, Univ. Mp. th. F. 91, f. 247-249 (Bruno.)<sup>1</sup>

to the Benedictines of Millstatt, later to the Jesuits of Graz. MS Schlägl, Stiftsb. B 3700. 12. 5 (dated 1456) which contains Richard Rolle's *Glossa in psalterium* (f. 1-96v) may also contain (part of) his commentary on the *Quicumque* (f. 306-307v): Et fides est credulitas. Cf. G. Vielhaber and G. Indra, *Cat. codd. Plagensium manuscr.*, (Linz, 1918), 161. MS Vienna 737, f. 13-15 (s. xiii) contains a *symbolum Ath.* with *Glossa. Tabulae I*, 123.

<sup>14</sup> Madan-Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 351, Nr. 2403 (737).

<sup>15</sup> *Tabulae* 3 (Vienna, 1869), 304. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 7 (Madrid, 1961), Nr. 11701.

<sup>1</sup> All three manuscripts are listed by Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 222, Nr. 1873. O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herz. Bibl. zu Wolfenbüttel*, II, 3 (Wolfenbüttel, 1898), 238.

## II

PETER ABELARD (d. 1142): Voluntate quippe propria, non coactione... instruere que ad ipsos pertinent: PL 178, 629B-632C.

1. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 14511, f. 15-17 (s. xiii).<sup>2</sup>
2. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 361, f. 43v-44v (s. xiii).<sup>3</sup>
3. MS Vienna, Nationalbibl. 777 (Rec. 3077), f. 119v-120v (s. xiii).<sup>4</sup>

## III

GILBERT, bishop of Poitiers (1142-1154): Ad heresim compescendam et fidem catholicam defendendam...

<sup>2</sup> L. Delisle, *Inventaire... Saint-Victor*, in: *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, 30 (1869), 20; Petri Abaelardi... expositio symboli. Migne reprinted V. Cousin's edition (*Opera*, I, 616-7) with corrections based on MS Saint-Victor, 397 (Bibl. nat. Lat. 14511). According to Delisle this manuscript contains Abaelardi expositio dominice orationis, expositio symboli (6), problemata Heloise, and sermo Petri Abaelardi ad uirgines paraclitenses. D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard*, in: *Cambridge Studies in Med. Life and Thought*, 14 (Oxford, 1969), 65, notes that the manuscript contains the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed. The volume actually consists of two sections. The first section was written in the 13th century, shows two old pressmarks 579 and S. Victor 397, and is divided into two columns. On f. 2, second column, we read: Petri Abaelardi Expositio dominice orationis. In diebus rogationum que letanie dicuntur. Presentes rogationum i. e. orationum dies ex ipso quoque nomine suo... (f. 7) ... quod et ipsa innuit coniunctio sed interposita. Amen i. e. fiat (= *Sermo*, 14; PL 178, 489A-495D). In the space left by the scribe we read in a 17th-century hand: Symboli Apostolici expositio. The text begins: Apostolice doctrine sententia tam fidem nobis. It ends (f. 15) with the words: eruditionem hanc quantulumcumque necessariam duximus expositionem (PL 178, 630A). The same scribe has written the title of the next tract: Expositio fidei in simbolo athanasii. Quicumque uult saluus esse. Voluntate quippe propria, non coactione aliena saluamur. Ante omnia... It ends at the foot of the first column of f. 17 (the second column was probably blank and has been cut away) with the words: ita satis uisum est hoc loco de his tantum eos instrui que ad ipsos pertinent (PL 178, 632C). Explicit feliciter. The second section begins on f. 18, written s. xiv-xv: Solutiones problematum Heloise per Petrum Abailardum... Incipiunt problemata heloise paraclitensis dyaconisse. Beatus Ieronimus... D. Van den Eynde wrongly quotes the pressmark 15511 in: *Antonianum*, 37 (1962), 19. Abelard's commentary on the *Quicumque* was also preserved in MS Münster, Univ. Bibl. Paulina 81 (312), f. 91-92 (s. xiv), destroyed in the European War of 1939-1945. H. Weisweiler, *Maître Simon*, in: *Spic. s. Lov.*, 17 (Louvain, 1937), p. xxxv has recorded the *incipit*: Quicumque uult ante omnia, subaudi illi, hoc est necessarium ante omnia hoc est ante spem et caritatem... J. Staender, *Chirographorum... catalogus* (Breslau, 1889), 18.

<sup>3</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 4 (Madrid, 1954), 220, Nr. 6384. Ph. Lauer, *Bibl. nat. Cat. gén.*, 1 (Paris, 1939) 196; Béthune, théol. 201. Regius, 4549.

<sup>4</sup> *Tabulae codicum manuscr. in Bibl. Pal. Vindeb.*, 1 (Vienna, 1864), 130. The manuscript comes from the Cist. Abbey of Baumgarten. Cf. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 455.

et unicum Filium eius quem misit saluare mundum.

MS Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl. 815, f. 145-149 (s. xii).<sup>5</sup>

#### IV

HILDEGARD OF BINGEN (1098-1179): O filiae, que uestigia Christi... transtulit ut omnibus cernentibus aperte apparet: PL 197, 1065B-1082A.<sup>6</sup>

1. MS Vienna 881, f. 49-51 (s. xiii).
2. MS Wiesbaden, Nass. Landesbibl. 2, f. 395-400 (s. xii).

#### V

GERHOCH OF REICHERSBERG (d. 1169): Opusculum de sensu uerborum Athanasii in symbolo: Tractanti mihi de quarta uigilia... Datum Laterani sexta calendas Februarii.

MS Reichersberg, Stiftsbibl. 8, f. 113-115 (s. xii).<sup>7</sup>

#### VI

ALAN OF LILLE (d. 1202): Symbolum est Athanasii patriarche et dicitur symbolum Athanasii ad differentiam... domini tui. Quod a nobis etc.

1. MS Breslau, Univ. 294, f. 141-146.<sup>8</sup>
2. MS Danzig, Marienbibl. F. 277, f. 191-194.<sup>9</sup>
3. MS Halberstadt, Domgymnasium 34.<sup>10</sup>
4. MS Prague, Univ. 1461 (VIII. B. 25), f. 166-184 (s. xv).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Edited by N. M. Haring, in: *Med. Studies*, 27 (1965), 30-53. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 345, Nr. 2511.

<sup>6</sup> The Migne text is taken from the *Maxima Bibl. vet. Patrum*, 23 (Lyons, 1677), 594-600. J. A. Fabricius, *Bibl. lat. mediae et inf. aetatis*, 2 (Hamburg, 1735), 777 notes that it is already found in the Cologne edition of 1566 and in the *Bibl. Patrum Colon.* of 1622.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. Scheibelberger, 'Zwei bisher noch ungedruckte Schriften Gerhohs von Reichersberg', in: *Oesterr. Vierteljahresschrift für kath. Theologie*, 10 (1871), 565-568.

<sup>8</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 27, Nr. 947.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>11</sup> It was written in 1425: *Expositio symboli s. Athanasii Quicumque uult. Dominus noster et*

5. MS Prague, Chapter 68 (A. XLIII), f. 177v-179v (s. xv).<sup>12</sup>
6. MS Sevilla, Colombina 5-3-33, f. 292-300 (s. xiii).<sup>13</sup>
7. MS Wolfenbüttel 392 (Helmst. 357), f. 196-213.<sup>14</sup>
8. MS Würzburg, Univ. M. ch. q. 158, f. 94-97 (s. xv).<sup>15</sup>

## VII

SIMON OF TOURNAI (d. 1201): Apud Aristotilem argumentum est ratio... nulla mortis necessitate negans eam saluus esse non poterit: *Bibl. Cas. Floril.* 4 (Monte Cassino 1880), 322-346.

1. MS Arras, Bibl. mun. 952 (721), f. 22-32 (s. xiii).<sup>16</sup>
2. MS Basel, Univ. B. IX. 16, f. 1-15 (s. xiii).<sup>17</sup>
3. MS Berlin, Staatsbibl. Philipps 74 (1997), f. 99-113v (s. xiii).<sup>18</sup>
4. MS Monte Cassino, Abbazia 210D (130), pp. 367-372 and 207-212 (s. xiii).<sup>19</sup>
5. MS Oxford, Corpus Chr. College 250, f. 24v-28v (s. xiii).<sup>20</sup>

Saluator docuit cognitionem fidei... ex statuto decantatur. J. Truhlar, *Cat. codicum manuscr. lat. Univ. Pragensis*, (Prague, 1905), 540. M.-T. d'Alverny, *Alain de Lille. Textes inédits*, in: *Études de philos. médiévale*, 52 (Paris, 1965), 77.

<sup>12</sup> Incipit glossatura magistri Alani super Cantica beate Virginis... editum est hoc symbolum Athanasii et ideo in Prima post depulsas tenebras ex statuto ecclesie decantatur. Et sic finis huius de quo sit deus gloriosus una cum matre eius et cum omnibus sanctis benedictus in secula seculorum. Summe deus, grates tibi reddo humiliter altas. A. Patera and A. Podlaha, *Soupis Rukopisii knihovny Metropolitni Kapitoly Pražské*, 1 (Prague, 1910), 39-40, Nr. 68.

<sup>13</sup> M.-T. d'Alverny, *Alain 77: Dominus noster et Saluator docuit cognitionem fidei circa duo consistere...*

<sup>14</sup> O. von Heinemann, *Die Handschr. der herzogl. Bibl. Wolfenbüttel*, I, 1 (Wolfenbüttel, 1884), 289. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 27, Nr. 947.

<sup>15</sup> Written in 1478 by Ioh. Fautt. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 27, Nrs. 946 and 947 reveals that Alan wrote short glosses on both the Old and New Testament canticles preserved in the Würzburg manuscript.

<sup>16</sup> The lists provided by Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 5 (Madrid, 1955), 227, Nr. 7691 and A. Landgraf, *Introducción a la historia de la literatura teológica de la escolástica incipiente*, (Barcelona, 1956), 142-143 are incomplete.

<sup>17</sup> G. Meyer and M. Burckhardt, *Die mittelalt. Handschriften der Univ. Basel*, 2 (Basel, 1966), 270-273. Provenance: Dominicans in Basel.

<sup>18</sup> V. Rose, *Verzeichnis der lat. Handschr. der königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1 (Berlin, 1893), 138-139. J. Warichez, *Les Disputationes de Simon de Tournai*, in: *Spic. s. Lov.*, 12 (Louvain, 1932), p. xxxiii. His list is incomplete.

<sup>19</sup> *Codicum manuscr. lat. catalogus*, 2 (Monte Cassino, 1934), 14-15. *Bibl. Casin. Floril.*, 4 (Monte Cassino, 1880), 322-346. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 6 (Madrid, 1958), 411, Nr. 9850.

<sup>20</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codicum Oxon.*, 2 (Oxford, 1852), 103-104. The commentary is anonymous.



6. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 5102, f. 141-149v (s. xiii).<sup>21</sup>
7. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 13576, f. 129-140 (s. xiii).<sup>22</sup>
8. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 14886, f. 73-83v (s. xiii).<sup>23</sup>
9. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 18068, f. 75-85 (s. xiii).<sup>24</sup>
10. MS Rouen, Bibl. mun. 664 (I. 62), f. 1-32 (s. xii *ex.*).<sup>25</sup>
11. MS Zürich, Zentralbibl. C. 58 (275), f. 128-139v (s. xii).<sup>26</sup>

## VIII

ALEXANDER NECKHAM (1157-1217): Caput aquile  
uisum ab Ezechiele... Hec est enim uictoria que uincit  
mundum.

1. MS Cambrai, Bibl. mun. 977 (875), f. 172-185 (s. xii-xiii).<sup>27</sup>
2. MS London, Br. M. Harl. 3133 (s. xiii).<sup>28</sup>
3. MS Oxford, Bodl. Auct. D. 2. 9, f. 184v-188 (s. xiii *ex.*).<sup>29</sup>
4. MS Oxford, Bodl. 284, f. 297-308 (*ca.* 1300).<sup>30</sup>
5. MS Oxford, Bodl. Rawl. C. 67, f. 86-83 (s. xiii).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Catal. codicum*, III, 4 (Paris, 1744), 39: Liber s. Marie de Prato. B. Hauréau, *Notices et extr.*, 2 (Paris, 1891), 251.

<sup>22</sup> L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, 29 (1868), 234: Liber s. Germani a Pratis (881): anonymous. Ph. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers*, (Notre-Dame, Indiana, 1936), 34.

<sup>23</sup> L. Delisle, *Inventaire... Saint-Victor*, in: *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, 50 (1869), 56: Saint-Victor, Paris. B. Hauréau, *Notices et extr.*, 3 (Paris, 1891), 258. The *explicit* reads: Explicit tractatus magistri Simonis Tornacensis super Quicumque.

<sup>24</sup> L. Delisle, *Inventaire*, in: *Bibl. de l'école des chartes*, 31 (1870), 538, from Saint-Martin-des-Champs, Paris.

<sup>25</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 1 (Paris, 1886), 172. B. Hauréau, *Notices et extr.*, 2 (Paris, 1891), 251.

<sup>26</sup> L. C. Mohlberg, *Mittelalterliche Handschriften*, (Zürich, 1951), 31-33.

<sup>27</sup> *Cat. gén.*, 17 (Paris, 1891), 408: Tractatus magistri Alexandri Nequam super Quicumque uult. Caput Aquile uisum. Provenance: Cambrai Cathedral (86).

<sup>28</sup> R. Nares, *Catal. of Harleian Manuscr. in the Br. Museum*, 3 (London, 1808), 5: Alexandri expositio in symbolum Athanasii... Explicit fides catholica Athanasii a magistro Alexandro de s. Albano. G. D. Ommanney, *Early History*, 81.

<sup>29</sup> Madan-Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 313, Nr. 2330 (H 96). Thomas Tanner, *Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica*, (London, 1748), 540 lists Boston Bur. 82. 166. 115. 63 and Bodl. (NE) E. 6. 11 and E. 7. 8. Cf. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 76, Nr. 1170.

<sup>30</sup> Madan-Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 317, Nr. 2339 (347). The text was written about 1300 in England, later owned by Henry VIII (1491-1547), from St. Mary's Abbey of Austin Canons of Cirencester of which Neckham was abbot (1213). A. E. Burn (p. 44) notes that it is incomplete.

<sup>31</sup> William D. Macray, *Cat. codicum manuscr. Bibl. Bodl. R. Rawlinson*, 5 (Oxford, 1878), 20, from Hereford Cathedral: Expositio symboli Athanasii episcopi secundum Alexandrum Nequam. Dicit Apostolus fides est fundamentum...

## IX

ALEXANDER OF HALES (d. 1245): *Determinato de duabus distinctionibus restat expositio symboli Athanasii. Diuiditur autem in tres partes: in proemium, tractatum et epilogum... fortis est ut mors dilectio. Et sic terminatur istud symbolum.*<sup>32</sup>

1. MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud misc. 12, f. 106v-124v (s. xv).<sup>33</sup>
2. MS Solothurn, Zentralbibl. S. I. 213 (s. xv).<sup>34</sup>
3. MS Subiaco, Abbazia 227 (230), f. 219-220 (s. xv).<sup>35</sup>
4. MS Vat. Lat. 896, f. 157v-159v (s. xiv).<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Summa fratris Alexandri III*, 698-1144; ed. Quaracchi IV, 2 (1948), 1101-1144. Alexander's exposition of the three creeds was occasionally separated from the *Summa*. V. Doucet, *Prolegomena*, pp. xv-xxx lists the manuscripts of the *Summa* most of which contain the commentary on the *Quicumque*. Our list does not include those manuscripts.

<sup>33</sup> It contains *Summa III*, 704-707; ed. Quaracchi IV, 2, pp. 1122-1144. V. Doucet, *Proleg. in Lib. III*, (Quaracchi, 1948), p. xxviii.

<sup>34</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 7 (Madrid, 1961), 293, Nr. 11082.

<sup>35</sup> G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario*, 1 (Forlì, 1890), 204, listed by Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 7 (Madrid, 1961), 298, Nr. 11105 (anonymous): *Istud symbolum diuiditur in tres partes: in prohemium, tractatum et epilogum. Prohemium continet tria: utilitatem, materiam, necessitatem... Item Pater est principium Filii. Ergo Filius est creatus.*

<sup>36</sup> A. Pelzer, *Codices Vat. Lat.*, II, 1 (Vatican, 1931), 247-248. V. Doucet, *Prolegomena*, p. xxx. M. Bernard, 'Zur Ueberlieferung mittelalterlicher theol. Handschriften', in: *Rech. de théol. anc. et médiévale*, 19 (1952), 331. A. E. Burn (p. 44), lists (1) Bodl. Laud Lat. 493 (s. xiv), (2) Munich 56668 (s. xiv), (3) Cambr. U. Lib. KK. W. 4 (s. xv), (4) Printed *Summa III*. 69. However, Ommanney (p. 81) states that Laud 493 has no comment on the *Quicumque*. The Munich pressmark must be an error. The Cambridge pressmark is wrong, and the reference to the "printed *Summa*" makes no mention of place or date. Swainson (p. 459) draws attention to MS Cambridge Univ. Lib. KK. IV. 4, f. 56-60 (s. xv) described in *A Catal. of Manuscripts*, 3 (Cambridge, 1858). 639: "De tribus symbolis begins (imperfect)... fica et que de deo... fides intentio (= in trino) simbolo scripta est per Christum Ihesum in secula seculorum." Judging by the *explicit* it is the *Summa de articulis fidei* by John of La Rochelle. Cf. P. Mingès, 'De scriptis quibusdam fr. Iohannis de Rupella', in: *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, 6 (1913), 614. Thomas Tanner, *Bibl. Britannico-Hibernica*, (London, 1748), 370, mentions a manuscript in Oriel College containing the third part of Alexander's *Summa* including: *Expositio trium simbolorum fidei catholice secundum magistrum Alexandrum de Hales*. The *incipit* reads: *Notandum quod cum tria sint simbola (= Summa fr. Alexandri III)*; ed. Quaracchi IV, 2 (1948), 1122-1144). Tanner also lists Bodl. Laud C 11 (= Laud misc. 12). Doucet, *Proleg.* p. xxxiii lists two more Bodleian manuscripts, both containing the third part of the *Summa*. MS Oxford, Oriel College 30 (s. xiv) today contains the third part of the *Summa* without our commentary (Doucet, *Proleg.* pp. xxxiii-xxxiv). However, a note in the manuscript states that some folios were missing and that the Dominicans had the complete text. Cf. J. O. Coxe, *Cat. codicum manuscr. Oxon.*, 1 (Oxford, 1852), 10. It may be added that P. Glorieux *Rep. des manusc.*, 2 (Paris, 1933), 24 doubts the authenticity of the commentary attributed to Alexander.

## X

JOHN OF LA ROCHELLE (d. 1245): Summa de articulis fidei. De articulis fidei tractaturi secundum formam Apostoli prosequamur qui ait Rom. 10: Corde creditur... De diuisione fidei et morum Cap. I: Summa theologie discipline in duobus consistit scilicet in fide et moribus. Fide illuminatur uis cognitiua... et hec sola meretur coronam quam nobis prestare dignetur trinus et unus deus. Amen.<sup>37</sup>

1. MS Assisi, Bibl. convent. 415, f. 48-65 (s. xiv).<sup>38</sup>
2. MS Naples, Bibl. naz. VIII. F. 20, f. 66v-78v (s. xiii-xiv).<sup>39</sup>

*(Another redaction)*

Summa theologie discipline in duobus consistit (sicut dicitur in prologo super psalterium).<sup>40</sup> Fides autem dupliciter accipitur (sicut dicitur in *Sententiis*).<sup>41</sup> Est enim fides qua creditur... De articulis uero fidei secundum formam Apostoli prosequendum est. Dicit enim ad Rom. 10: Corde creditur... Et sic terminatur istud symbolum.<sup>42</sup>

1. MS Brussels, Bibl. royale 1470 (21-865), f. 30v-33 (s. xv).<sup>43</sup>
2. MS Copenhagen, Kongl. Bibl. Thott Coll. 103, f. 1-15.<sup>44</sup>
3. MS El Escorial C. IV. 2 (E. 97. c. 2), f. 1-18 (s. xiv).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>37</sup> V. Doucet, 'Commentaires sur les Sentences', in: *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, 47 (1954), 142, Nr. 493, separate edition (Quaracchi, 1954), p. 56. John's commentary often agrees literally with the commentary of Alexander of Hales.

<sup>38</sup> G. Mazzatinti, *Inventario*, 4 (Forlì, 1894), 90. V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493.

<sup>39</sup> V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493. Provenance: S. Giovanni a Carbonara. M.-T. d'Alverny, 'Avicenna Latinus', in: *Arch. d'hist. doctr. et litt. du moyen âge*, 37 (1970), 350-353, lists the entire contents of the manuscript. The *explicit* of our commentary reads: Explicit expositio super symbolum Athanasii.

<sup>40</sup> An addition found in MS El Escorial, as noted by V. Doucet, *Proleg.* p. ccxii.

<sup>41</sup> The insertion is found in MS Milan, Brera AD. IX. 7, f. 75.

<sup>42</sup> V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493. P. Glorieux, *Répertoire*, 2, 26.

<sup>43</sup> J. van den Gheyn, *Cat. des manuscrits de la Bibl. royale de Belgique*, 2 (Brussels, 1902), 371, first described by Fidelis a Fanna, OFM (d. 1881), then by P. Mingès, 'De scriptis', 597-622. Doucet notes that the copy is incomplete. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. commentariorum*, 1 (Würzburg, 1947), 241, Nr. 493. P. Glorieux, *Répertoire*, 2, 26.

<sup>44</sup> V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493.

<sup>45</sup> First noticed by P. Mingès (p. 614), listed by V. Doucet, *Prolegomena*, p. ccxiii. P. Glorieux,

4. MS Florence, Laur. Conv. soppr. 145, f. 147-152.<sup>46</sup>
5. MS London, Br. M. Add. 22041, f. 397-406v (s. xiv).<sup>47</sup>
6. MS Milan, Univ. Coll. Brera A. D. IX. 7, f. 75-94 (s. xiv).<sup>48</sup>
7. MS Munich (*clm*) 14620, f. 130-134v (s. xiii).<sup>49</sup>
8. MS Oxford, Bodl. Laud misc. 493, f. 70-78.<sup>50</sup>
9. MS Paris, Bibl. nat. Lat. 5565B, f. 67-73 (s. xiv).<sup>51</sup>
10. MS Rome, Casanatense 1473 (A. V. 43), f. 67-77.<sup>52</sup>
11. MS Vat. Lat. 4350 f. 20-24 (s. xiv).<sup>53</sup>
12. MS Vat. Lat. 6318, f. 62-66v.<sup>54</sup>
13. MS Vat. Pal. Lat. 221, f. 62-70 (s. xiii-xiv).<sup>55</sup>
14. MS Stift Vorau, Stiftsb. 11, 9 (LXI), f. 130v-147v.<sup>56</sup>
15. MS Stift Vorau, Stiftsb. 220. 2 (CCCVIII), f. 20-39v.<sup>57</sup>

*Rép.* 2, 26. G. Antolin, *Catalogo de los codices latinos de la real bibl. del Escorial*, I (Madrid, 1910), 295-9.

<sup>46</sup> V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. comment.* 1, 381, Nr. 806.

<sup>47</sup> Discovered by P. Minges (p. 614) who notes that it is incomplete at the end. P. Glorieux, *Rép.* 2, 26. *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Additions*, (London, 1875), 575-576.

<sup>48</sup> First described by Fidelis a Fanna, later by P. Minges (p. 614) and V. Doucet, *Prol.*, p. ccxiii. Glorieux, *Rép.* 2, 26.

<sup>49</sup> Discovered by P. Minges (p. 614). P. Glorieux, *Rép.* 2, 26. *Cat. codicum manuscr. Bibl. regiae*, 4 (Paris, 1744), 132.

<sup>50</sup> V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493. Madan-Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 52.

<sup>51</sup> V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493.

<sup>52</sup> Discovered by Fidelis a Fanna, and listed by P. Minges (p. 614). Earlier pressmark: AB. IV. 68. P. Glorieux, *Rép.* 2, 26.

<sup>53</sup> Listed by V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493. MS Vat. Lat. 4298, listed by both Fr. Stegmüller (*Rep. comm.* 1, 241, Nr. 493) and M. Bernard ('Zur Ueberlieferung', 331), is rejected by Doucet. A copy preserved in MS Turin, Univ. I. VI. 13 (783) perished in the fire of 1904. A description is found in J. Pasino, *Codices manuscr. Bibl. Regii Taurin. Athenaei* 2 (Turin, 1749), 257. P. Minges (p. 614) writes that Cholet made a transcript and Fidelis a Fanna gave a new description of the manuscript.

<sup>54</sup> V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493.

<sup>55</sup> H. Stevenson and I. B. Rossi, *Codices Pal. Lat.*, I (Vatican, 1886), 48. V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493. M. Bernard, 'Zur Ueberlieferung', 331. The volume belonged to Coluccio Salutati while he was chancellor of the Signoria in Florence (1375-1406): *Liber Colucii puerite Stignano cancellarii florentini*.

<sup>56</sup> P. Frank, *Catal. Vorav.* (Graz, 1936), 6. V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493.

<sup>57</sup> P. Frank, *Catalogus*, p. 127. V. Doucet, 'Commentaires', 56, Nr. 493. Doucet points out that MSS Arundel 275, *Catalogue*, 1 (London, 1844), 81, and Vienna, Nationalb. 3940 (s. xv), *Tabulae* 3 (Vienna, 1869), 123, listed by Stegmüller do not contain the commentary, and that MSS Darmstadt 412, likewise listed by Stegmüller, Vat. Lat. 869 and 4298 (*Proleg.* pp. xxi and xxx) are part of the *Summa* composed by Alexander of Hales.

## XI

RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE, Yorkshire (d. 1349): *Hic beatus Athanasius liberum arbitrium... Hec ratio fidei traditur etiam in ueteribus codicibus... nullo scismate uel heresi. Et si ista non credideris saluus esse non poteris.*<sup>58</sup>

1. MS Hereford, Cath. Lib. O. 8. 1, f. 147-149 (s. xiv-xv).<sup>59</sup>
2. MS Oxford, Bodl. 861, f. 166-170 (date 1411).<sup>60</sup>

## XII

JOHN WYCLIFF (d. 1384): *Quicumque uult... catholicam fidem. It is seid comounli that ther ben thre credes... an teche it to men undir hem. Amen.*<sup>61</sup>

1. MS Cambridge, St. John's Coll. 117 (E 14), f. 69v-76 (s. xiv).<sup>62</sup>
2. MS Oxford, Bodl. Douce 258, f. 38-46 (s. xv).<sup>63</sup>
3. MS Oxford, Bodl. 288 (s. xiv).<sup>64</sup>
4. MS Oxford, Bodl. 938 (13), f. 270v-283 (s. xv).<sup>65</sup>
5. MS Oxford, Laud misc. 174 (3), f. 31-38 (s. xv).<sup>66</sup>
6. MS Oxford, Magd. Coll. 62, f. 274-280 (s. xv).<sup>67</sup>
7. MS Oxford, New Coll. 95, f. 144-148 (s. xv).<sup>68</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Ommanney, *Early History*, 62, describes the text as very faulty and drawn entirely from Bruno's exposition. He classifies it with the Canonici Psalter at the Bodleian and considers the manuscript lost or unknown. Editions: Cologne (1536), 151-153 and *Magna Bibl. vet. Patrum*, (Cologne, 1622), and *Max. Bibl.* 26 (Lyons, 1677), 624-627.

<sup>59</sup> A. T. Bannister, *A Descriptive Cat. of the man. in the Hereford Cath. Lib.*, (Hereford, 1927), 82. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 5 (Madrid, 1955), 101, Nr. 7313, 1.

<sup>60</sup> Madan-Craster, *A Summary Catalogue*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 516-517, Nr. 2728. The catalogue also lists Bodl. 288 (s. xiv) and Laud 448 as Hampole's (SC 2438 and 1413).

<sup>61</sup> Thomas Arnold, *Select English Works of John Wycliff*, 3 (Oxford, 1867), 71-81. Wycliff quotes the clauses in Latin and explains them in English.

<sup>62</sup> M. R. James, *A Descriptive Cat. of the Manusc. in the Lib. of St. John's College, Cambridge*, (Cambridge, 1913), 150, noticed by D. Waterland, *A Critical History*, 39 and C. A. Swainson, *The Nicene and Ap. Creeds*, 463.

<sup>63</sup> F. Madan, *A Summary Catalogue*, 4 (Oxford, 1897), 570, Nr. 21832.

<sup>64</sup> Madan-Craster, *A Summary Cat.*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 364, Nr. 2438, attributed to Hampole.

<sup>65</sup> *A Summary Cat.*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922) 578-579, Nr. 3054 (484).

<sup>66</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codicum manuscr. Bibl. Bodl.*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1858), 158, attributed to Richard Rolle. *A Summary Cat.*, II, 1 (Oxford, 1922), 29.

<sup>67</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Cat. codicum manuscr. qui in Coll. Aulique Oxon.*, 2 (Oxford, 1852), 30. Thomas Arnold considers it a copy of Bodl. 288.

<sup>68</sup> H. O. Coxe, *Catal. codicum*, 1 (Oxford, 1852), 34-35.

## XIII

ALBERT TEUTO, Canon Regular of Diessen (s. xiv):  
Commentary on the Quicumque.

MS Munich (*clm*) 5668 (Diessen 168), f. 208-211 (date 1373).<sup>69</sup>

## XIV

PETER MARTINEZ OF OSMA (d. 1480): Antequam ueniamus ad ea que seriose... diuiditur iste psalmus in tres partes. In prima ponitur prohemium... ad honorem dei et utilitatem sancte matris ecclesie.<sup>70</sup>

MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 210, f. 202-219 (s. xv).<sup>71</sup>

## XV

DENIS THE CARTHUSIAN (1402-1471): Quicumque i. e. superessentiali felicitate potiri superuoluptuosissimo... cum omnibus dei electis perpetuo perficiamus. Ad laudem etc.<sup>72</sup>

MS ?

## XVI

OSWALD PELBART OF TEMESVÁR, O. Min. (d. 1504): Titulus huius cantici est symbolum fidei catholice uel psalmus fidei aut symbolum Athanasii... et Christi Iesu facili uisione quam nobis prestat etc.<sup>73</sup>

MS ?

<sup>69</sup> C. Halm, *Catalogus*, I, 3 (Munich, 1873), 36: Albertus canonicus regularis Dyessensis. Albert wrote many historical works and a treatise called *Speculum clericorum*, which includes the commentary.

<sup>70</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 4 (Madrid, 1954), 340, Nr. 6672, 2: *Commentaria in symbolum Quicumque*, (Paris, 1478). Hain, *Rep. bibliogr.* 12120.

<sup>71</sup> A. Wilmart, *Codices Reg. Lat.*, 1 (Vatican, 1937), 498. On 9 August 1479 Sixtus IV (1471-1484) condemned certain errors attributed to Peter of Osma. Cf. H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, *Enchir.*, (Freiburg i. B., 1963), 300, Nrs. 1411-1418.

<sup>72</sup> *In psalmos... symbolum etiam fidei Quicumque*, (Cologne, 1534, 1538; Paris, 1539, 1547). *Opera omnia*, 42 (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1913), 551-577. Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 2 (Madrid, 1950), 280, Nr. 2155.

<sup>73</sup> Fr. Stegmüller, *Rep. bibl.*, 4 (Madrid, 1954), 214, Nr. 6371. First edition (Strasbourg, 1487).

*Lost manuscripts*

There is evidence of manuscripts that have disappeared. Before 1381 the library of Stift Heiligenkreuz (Austria) owned an *Expositio symboli Anastasii*, which is no longer extant.<sup>1</sup> In the first half of the 15th century a *Tractatus super Quicumque uult* was kept in the library of Aggsbach, Austria.<sup>2</sup> In 1513, the Dominicans of Vienna were able to list: *Athanasii symboli expositio brevis*, incipit: Si quis querit, quis composuerit.<sup>3</sup> In addition they owned "a longer exposition" which, no doubt, dated back to Simon of Tournai.<sup>4</sup>

Another copy of Simon's commentary existed at the Cistercian abbey Ter Duinen (Les Dunes) in Flanders.<sup>5</sup> At the Chartreuse Salvatorberg (Erfurt) the same commentary is recorded at the end of the 15th century: *Expositio magistri Symonis Tornacensis super symbolum Athanasii*.<sup>6</sup> The monastery of Weingarten, near Ravensberg (Germany), owned a manuscript which, among other items, contained *Symboli Athanasii expositio*.<sup>7</sup> According to a booklist drawn up in 1219 by Abbot Ludger, Lisborn (Westphalia) likewise had an *Expositio symboli Athanasii*.<sup>8</sup> A similar work, entitled *Expositio super symbolum Athanasii*, is known to have existed at Pembroke College, Cambridge.<sup>9</sup>

It seems that the *Quicumque uult glosatum* kept at St. Emmeram (Regensburg) in the 12th century has survived.<sup>10</sup> The Premonstratensians of Arnsberg (Westphalia) and, earlier, the Dominicans of Soest near Arnsberg had at some date in the Middle Ages a late 14th-century copy containing Abelard's sermon *De dedicatione*, his commentaries on the Lord's Prayer,

<sup>1</sup> Th. Gottlieb, *Mittelalterl. Bibliothekskataloge Oesterreichs*, 1 (Vienna, 1915), 41 (2).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, 537 (34).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, 300 (28).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, 300 (30): Eiusdem prolixior expositio fo. 133, incipit: Quicumque uult etc. Aput Gregorium argumentum est ratio. Finit: neques (= negans) eam saluus esse non poterit. Simon's incipit reads: Apud Aristotilem argumentum est ratio.

<sup>5</sup> A. Sanderus, *Bibl. belgica manuscripta*, 1 (Lille, 1641), 174: M. Simon Tornacensis: Expositio in symbolum s. Athanasii. The abbey was plundered by the Gueux in 1566, destroyed by the Calvinists in 1578/9. In 1620 the community settled in Bruges.

<sup>6</sup> P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterl. Bibliothekskataloge*, 2 (Munich, 1938), 459.

<sup>7</sup> MS Weingarten D. 22 fol. K. Löffler, 'Die Handschriften des Klosters Weingarten', in: *Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 41 (Leipzig, 1912), 75.

<sup>8</sup> V. Rose, *Verzeichnis der lat. Handschriften*, II, 3 (Berlin, 1905), 1444.

<sup>9</sup> M. Rh. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscr. in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge*, (Cambridge, 1905), p. xxii.

<sup>10</sup> G. Becker, *Cat. Bibl. antiqui*, (Bonn, 1885), 222, Nr. 14: Quicumque uult glosatum. It is thought to have survived in MS Munich (*clm*) 14508, f. 71-76 (s. x): Expositio symboli Athanasiani, from St. Emmeram. *Catalogus*, II, 2 (Munich, 1876), 184.

the Apostolic and Pseudo-Athanasian Creeds. The codex was destroyed in the European War of 1939-1945.<sup>11</sup>

*Theologians and the Quicumque*

For many centuries the authority of the *Quicumque* ranked among the Apostles' Creed and the Creed of the Mass. Carolingian theologians testify to this high position of doctrinal authority.<sup>1</sup> Later generations of theologians added to its influence. Writing against Roscelin St. Anselm of Canterbury (d. 1109) calls the three creeds "hec tria christiane confessionis principia."<sup>2</sup> He attests to the daily singing of the *Quicumque*<sup>3</sup> and makes use of it in his *De Processione Spiritus sancti* to show that the three Persons in God are perfectly equal.<sup>4</sup> In his letter to Abelard Roscelin quotes the *Quicumque* to the same effect.<sup>5</sup>

At the Synod of Soissons (1121) "Terricus quidam scholaris magister" smilingly reminded the assembly of a text from Athanasius: "... illud Athanasii: Et tamen non tres omnipotentes."<sup>6</sup> When Abelard arose to profess and explain his faith using his own words he was told not to bother. Nothing would be required but the recital of the *symbolum Athanasii* — which he read as best he could amid his "sighs, sobs, and tears."<sup>7</sup>

In his *Sic et Non* Abelard uses the *symbolum fidei* of Athanasius to show that the three Persons are not three gods,<sup>8</sup> that they are coeternal<sup>9</sup> and distinct,<sup>10</sup> that the Son is born of the Father yet coequal,<sup>11</sup> that the Hypo-

<sup>11</sup> MS Munster, Univ. Bibl. Paulina 81 (312), f. 91-92 (s. xiv). J. Staender, *Chirographorum in Reg. Bibl. Paulina Monast. Cat.*, (Breslau, 1889), 18 calls the tracts *varia commenta theologica*. They were identified by H. Weisweiler, *Maître Simon et son groupe*, in: *Spic. s. Lov.*, 17 (Louvain, 1937), pp. xxxiv-xxxv. Cf. D. E. Luscombe, *The School of Peter Abelard*, (Cambridge, 1969), 83-84.

<sup>1</sup> See the testimonies collected by A. E. Burn (p. 41) and B. de Montfaucon, PG 28, 1570-1571.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 136 to Fulco, bishop of Beauvais; ed. F. S. Schmitt, *Opera omnia*, 3 (Edinburgh, 1946), 280.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. de Incarnatione Verbi prior recensio*; ed. F. S. Schmitt, *Opera omnia*, 1 (Seckau, 1936), 283: sicut cotidie dicimus cum canimus *Quicumque* uult...

<sup>4</sup> *De Proc. Spiritus sancti*, 16; ed. F. S. Schmitt, *Opera omnia*, 2 (Rome, 1940), 212: Pater non est prior aut posterior Filio aut maior aut minor...

<sup>5</sup> *Ep.* 15; PL 178. 366B: Dic ergo, beate Athanasi, diuine contra Arianos defensor substantie... See also PL 178. 367B.

<sup>6</sup> *Historia calamitatum*; ed. J. T. Muckle, in: *Med. Studies*, 12 (1950), 196.

<sup>7</sup> *Hist. cal.* 196.

<sup>8</sup> *Sic et Non* 5; PL 178. 1358C: Athanasius in symbolo fidei: Et tamen non tres dii... The same text is quoted in *Sic et Non* 7 (1359C).

<sup>9</sup> *Sic et Non*, 7; PL 178. 1359C: Item: Sed tote tres persone coeternae sibi sunt et coequales.

<sup>10</sup> *Sic et Non* 11; PL 178. 1367C: Athanasius in symbolo fidei: Alia est persona Patris...

<sup>11</sup> *Sic et Non* 15; PL 178. 1374C: Athanasius in symbolo fidei: Filius a Patre solo... Item: Sed in hac Trinitate nihil prius...



static Union is similar to the union of body of soul,<sup>12</sup> and that all men will rise from the dead with their bodies.<sup>13</sup> In his *Theologia scolarium* the *Quicumque* serves him to prove the necessity and universality of faith,<sup>14</sup> the procession of the Holy Spirit from both Father and Son,<sup>15</sup> the personal unity in Christ,<sup>16</sup> and the distinction of the divine Persons.<sup>17</sup> For similar purposes Abelard makes use of the *symbolum fidei* in his *Theologia Summi Boni*.<sup>18</sup> It appears that in his *Theologia christiana* he employs it more sparingly.<sup>19</sup> Abelard's list of Greek Fathers in favour of the *Filioque*, later adopted by Peter Lombard, remained the unquestioned standard evidence against Greek denials for many centuries. We have noted earlier that Abelard wrote a short exposition of the Pseudo-Athanasian Creed.<sup>20</sup>

Abelard's collection of texts teaching the *Filioque* played a role in the *Dialogues* with the Greeks held in Constantinople by Anselm of Havelberg (d. 1158) in 1136, written down, at the pope's request, in 1149-1150. He eulogizes the author of the *Quicumque* in glowing terms: "Athanasius, ille famosissimus Alexandrinorum archiepiscopus, contra Arrianam here-sim disputator acerrimus, in fide catholica perfectus et doctissimus, nulli sapientium Grecorum alienus, ita dicit in *Symbolo fidei*: Spiritus sanctus a Patre et Filio..."<sup>21</sup>

Anselm's contemporary, Gilbert of Poitiers (d. 1154), is the author of a commentary.<sup>22</sup> Commenting on Boethius he quotes the Athanasian teaching that despite the two natures there is but "one Christ."<sup>23</sup> Gilbert's high esteem for the *Quicumque* is reflected in his terminology: *teste sacra scriptura* with which he introduces the comparison: "Sicut anima ratio-

<sup>12</sup> *Sic et Non* 66; PL 178. 1434A: Athanasius: Nam sicut anima rationalis... unitate persone.

<sup>13</sup> *Sic et Non* 87; PL 178. 1473A: Athanasius in *symbolo fidei*: Ad cuius aduentum... cum corporibus suis.

<sup>14</sup> *Theol. Scholarium* I, 4; PL 178. 986D. Cf. *Theol. Schol.*, III, 6; PL 178. 1108AB.

<sup>15</sup> *Theol. Schol.* II, 14; PL 178. 1077A: Athanasius in *symbolo fidei*: Spiritus, inquit, sanctus... procedens. *Theol. christ.* IV; PL 178. 1302C.

<sup>16</sup> *Theol. Schol.* III, 6; PL 178. 1107GD: Qui licet deus sit...

<sup>17</sup> *Theol. Schol.* III, 6; PL 178. 1108AB: Alia est enim...

<sup>18</sup> *Theol. Summi Boni* III, 1, 3; ed. H. Ostlender, in: *Beiträge*, 35 (1939), 74: Qualis Pater talis Filius... III, 1, 9; p. 81: Omnipotens Pater... Cf. III, 1, 11 (p. 2) and III, 3 (p. 103).

<sup>19</sup> *Theol. christ.* IV; PL 178. 1266A (Qualis Pater), 1274D (Omnipotens Pater), 1302C (A Patre et Filio).

<sup>20</sup> *Expositio fidei in symbolum Athanasii*; PL 178. 629-635.

<sup>21</sup> *Dial.* II, 27; PL 188. 1202D. Anselm then cites Didymus, Cyril of Alexandria, and Chrysostom. Cf. Abelard, *Theol. Schol.* II, 14 and *Theol. christ.* IV; PL 178. 1077A and 1302D. At a similar debate with Greeks in 1172, recorded by Arnold, *Chron. Slavorum*, III, 5 (MGH. SS. 21, 120), the same "authorities" were used.

<sup>22</sup> *Med. Studies*, 28 (1965), 23-53.

<sup>23</sup> *Contra Eutychen*, 6, 14; ed. N. M. Haring, in: *Studies and Texts*, 13 (1966), 329.

nalis..."<sup>24</sup> In referring to the three creeds one of Gilbert's admirors, the author of the *Liber de uera philosophia*, places Athanasius in the first place.<sup>25</sup>

Gerhoch of Reichersberg (d. 1167), however, had some misgivings in view of the clause: "Minor Patre secundum humanitatem," quoted against his exaggerated theory concerning Christ's human nature. In a letter to Archbishop Eberhardt of Salzburg (1147-1164) Bishop Eberhardt of Bamberg (1146-1170) complains: "He condemns us for distinguishing two natures despite the *symbolum Athanasii*."<sup>26</sup> Indeed, Gerhoch was convinced that his adversaries were "clinging too closely to the words of Athanasius: "Minor Patre secundum humanitatem."<sup>27</sup> He found more comfort in the comparison: "Nam sicut anima rationalis..." made to illustrate the *unitas persone*.<sup>28</sup>

Gerhoch's critic, Peter of Vienna (d. 1181) expresses his astonishment at Gerhoch's contentions and declares: "In sententia illa fui qua simpliciter a simplicibus illud Athanasii dictum intelligitur: Equalis Patri secundum diuinitatem, minor Patre secundum humanitatem."<sup>29</sup> Master Peter also cites the comparison: "Nam sicut anima rationalis..."<sup>30</sup> But Gerhoch's respect for the *fides Athanasii*<sup>31</sup> did not suffer as a result of the disagreements voiced by contemporary theologians: "cum in fide Athanasii cantemus de Filio iam glorificato: Equalis Patri..."<sup>32</sup> In his commentary on Psalms he praises it as a bulwark "against the errors and falsehood of the heretics": Athanasio docente cepi frequentare canticum nouum: Quicumque uult.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Contra Eutychen* 7, 1; p. 345. The clause is also discussed in *Note super Iohannem secundum magistrum Gil(bertum)*; ed. E. Rathbone, in: *Rech. théol. anc. et médiévale*, 18 (1951), 209. The reputation Athanasius enjoyed is also visible in the title *Expositio simboli Athanasii pape*, in MS Arras, Bibl. mun. 721 (2), s. xiii. *Cat. gén.*, 4<sup>o</sup>, 4 (Paris, 1872), 287, owned by Saint-Vaast (1626. A. 150), the Célestins of Amiens, and Master Engerranus de s. Fusciano (= Saint-Fuscien-aux-Bois). See also MS Vienna, Nationalbibl. 2221, 6, f. 197-199. *Tabulae* 2, 36.

<sup>25</sup> *Liber de uera philosophia* 208; MS Grenoble, Bibl. publ. 290 (1085), f. 15v: Athanasius quoque in simbolo sic docuit dicens: Quicumque... et Apostoli sic in ceperunt: Credo in deum... et Nicena synodus...

<sup>26</sup> (Gerhoch's letters) *Ep.* 9; PL 193. 517C and 521BC.

<sup>27</sup> *Ep. ad Eberh. Bambergensem*; ed. H. Weisweiler, in: *Scholastik*, 13 (1938), 41 and 45.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, 43. He cites it also in his *Ep. ad mag. Petrum*, *ibid.*, 48.

<sup>29</sup> Peter of Vienna to Otto of Freising, in: *Scholastik*, 13 (1938), 231: Cum adhuc tenebre mihi essent ad monumentum eo quod nondum ascenderat Christus mihi ad Patrem, in sententia illa fui...

<sup>30</sup> *Ibidem*, 233. Cf. 235: Hoc autem scriptum Athanasii de Christo sana fides accipit et intelligit de ipso secundum tempus illius minorationem qua dicitur: Minuisti...

<sup>31</sup> *Liber de gloria*, 2, 1; PL 194. 1081A.

<sup>32</sup> *Ep. ad Eberhardum*; PL 194. 1066B.

<sup>33</sup> *In Psalm.* 39; PL 193. 1134A. See also *In Ps.* 20 (PL 193, 978D) and *In Ps.* 41; PL 193, 1495C. Eberhardt, *Ep.* 8; PL 193. 501A.

In the year of his death (1167) Gerhoch marshalled his ebbing energies in an attempt to justify his interpretation of the *symbolum*.<sup>34</sup>

The Abelardian *Epitome Hermanni* cites Athanasius on three occasions.<sup>35</sup> Hugh of Saint-Victor (d. 1141) quotes him in his christology.<sup>36</sup> Lombard who, as John of Cornwall relates, had Abelard's *Theologia* frequently at hand,<sup>37</sup> calls on Athanasius to support the *Filioque*<sup>38</sup> and to point out that the word faith may also signify that which is believed.<sup>39</sup> Robert Pulleyn (d. 1146) seems to have been quite fond of the *Quicumque*.<sup>40</sup> Writing in 1150, his successor at the papal chancery, Roland Bandinelli, later Pope Alexander III (1159-1181), cites Athanasius twice in favour of the *Filioque*,<sup>41</sup> and twice in his christology.<sup>42</sup> There is little doubt that he had Athanasius in mind when he denounced Peter Lombard in 1170 and 1177.<sup>43</sup>

The author of the *Sententie diuinitatis* declares that Nestorius was "deceived" by the Athanasian comparison: "Sicut anima rationalis et caro..."<sup>44</sup> Walter of Saint-Victor repeats this text.<sup>45</sup> We have seen that Clarembald of Arras attests to the daily singing of the "Psalm of Blessed Athanasius."<sup>46</sup> Robert of Melun,<sup>47</sup> Gandulph of Bologna,<sup>48</sup> and Peter of Poitiers<sup>49</sup> may also be mentioned. Alan of Lille (d. 1201), as has been shown, authored a short gloss on the *Quicumque*.<sup>50</sup> His contemporary, Simon of Tournai (d. 1201),

<sup>34</sup> *Opusculum de uerbis Athanasii in symbolo*: MS Reichersberg, Stiftsb. 8, f. 113-115; ed. F. Scheibelberger, 'Zwei bisher ungedruckte Schriften Gerhohs von Reichersberg', in: *Oesterr. Vierteljahresschrift für kath. Theol.*, 10 (1871), 565-568.

<sup>35</sup> *Epitome*, chapters 2, 17 and 24; PL 178. 1697C, 1719B, and 1732B.

<sup>36</sup> *De Sacramentis* II, 1, 11; PL 176. 405AB; Sicut anima et caro...

<sup>37</sup> *Eulogium ad Alexandrum papam tertium* 3; ed. N. M. Haring, in: *MedStudies* 13 (1951), 265; librum illum frequenter pre manibus habebat...

<sup>38</sup> *Sent.* I, 11, 2; ed. (Quaracchi, 1916), 80; Abelard, *Theol. Schol.*, II; PL 178. 1077A.

<sup>39</sup> *Sent.* III, 23, 3; p. 656; *Theol. Schol.* I, 4; PL 178. 986C.

<sup>40</sup> *Sent.* I, 3; PL 186. 678C, 679A, 682C. *Sent.* III, 17; PL 186. 785AB, 786A.

<sup>41</sup> A. M. Gietl, *Die Sent. Rolands*, (Freiburg i. B., 1891), 32 and 36.

<sup>42</sup> *Die Sent.* 173 and 178.

<sup>43</sup> H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer, *Ench. Symb.* (Barcelona, 1963), 239, Nrs. 749 and 750.

<sup>44</sup> *Sent. diuinitatis* 4, 5; ed. B. Geyer, in: *Beiträge*, 7 (1909), 67\* and 70\*.

<sup>45</sup> *Contra quatuor lab. Francie* IV, 21; ed. P. Glorieux, in: *Arch. d'hist. doctr. et lit. du moyen âge*, 19 (1952), 248.

<sup>46</sup> *De Trin.* 1, 3; ed. N. M. Haring, in: *Texts and Studies*, 10 (Toronto, 1965), 86. Cf. *De Trin.* 1, 4; p. 87.

<sup>47</sup> *Questiones de Epp. Pauli*; ed. R. M. Martin, in: *Spic. s. Lov.*, 18 (Louvain, 1938), 12.

<sup>48</sup> *Sent.* I, 1; ed. J. de Walter (Vienna, 1924), 1: Hec est fides catholica...

<sup>49</sup> *Sent.* I, 5; PL 211, 802C: Dicitur enim ab Athanasio: Non tres omnipotentes... *Sent.*, I, 31; PL 211, 915C.

<sup>50</sup> *Distinctiones*; PL 210, 749D: Unde Athanasius: Neque confundentes personas ut Sabellius... (790D): Unde Athanasius: Quicumque... *Summa Quoniam homines* I, 2, 58; ed. P. Glorieux, in: *Arch. d'Hist. doctr. et litt. du moyen âge*, 20 (1953), 204: Contra hoc obuiat Anastasius in simbolo

composed a much more extensive commentary of which the *Catalogus uirorum illustrium*, written about 1270-1272, states: "Exposuit etiam symbolum, quod dicitur Athanasii, subtiliter."<sup>51</sup> When Simon's opening sentence was quoted by William of Auxerre (d. 1231 or 1237) in the prologue to the *Summa aurea*<sup>52</sup> it gave rise to new arguments concerning the relation between faith and reason. The popularity of the commentaries written by Alexander of Hales (d. 1245) and John of La Rochelle (d. 1245) reveals the lasting interest in the *Quicumque* which continued to rank as "one of the three creeds." Although Denis the Carthusian (d. 1471) and the Franciscan Oswald Pelbart (d. 1504) may, in fact, be the last Mediaeval theologians to write commentaries on the *Quicumque*, we have seen sufficient evidence to suppose that down to the end of the Middle Ages many commentaries were written whose authors chose to remain anonymous. A great deal of research remains to be done to study the known manuscripts more closely, find new copies, and trace the profound influence of the *Quicumque* on Western theology with greater accuracy.<sup>53</sup>

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quo ait: Non tres omnipotentes... See also *Contra hereticos*, I, 49 (PL 210. 363B) and *Distinctiones* (PL 210, 966B).

<sup>51</sup> *Catalogus uirorum illustrium* 24; ed. N. M. Haring, in: *Revue Bén.*, 80 (1970), 83. Other interesting examples of the use of the *Quicumque* have been collected by D. Waterland, *Hist. of the Athanasian Creed*, revised by J. R. King (London, 1870), 35-41.

<sup>52</sup> *Summa aurea*; ed. Paris, (Regnault, 1500), f. 1: Propter hoc bene dictum est a quodam quum apud Aristelem argumentum est ratio... Cf. M. Grabmann, *Geschichte der schol. Methode*, 2 (Frei-i. B., 1911), 552.

<sup>53</sup> On this occasion I wish to thank Prof. B. Stock and Fr. A. G. Judy, O.P., both of whom were kind enough to examine some manuscripts for me. Fr. Judy identified the MS preserved in Venice (Marciana), but the copy in Florence used by Zaccaria could not be found. He assures me that no commentary is found in Florence, Laur. Plut. XVII, 38. I have meantime examined microfilms of MSS Trier 222 and 531. Both should be listed as Stavelot commentaries found in MS Trier, Stadtb. 222, f. 56v-58 (written about 1200) from St. Matthias in Trier, and MS Trier, Stadtb. 531, f. 43-43v (s. xiii): Incipit glosa super fidem Athanasii episcopi Alexandrinorum. Provenance: St. Eucharius, Trier.

BARTHOLOMEW OF PISA, FRANCIS EXALTED:  
*DE CONFORMITATE*

*Carolly Erickson*

FRANCISCAN scholars for centuries have turned to Bartholomew of Pisa's *De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Iesu nostri Redemptoris*<sup>1</sup> as an indispensable handbook to the first hundred and fifty years of the order's history. Awarded official approval at the General Chapter of 1390<sup>2</sup>, it provides the oldest evidence for many traditions associated with the life of Francis. The presence or absence in the *de Conformitate* of quotations from earlier works provides valuable evidence in establishing their authenticity. It contains systematic catalogues of all the important members of the order known to Bartholomew, listed by geographical and administrative districts and by hierarchical rank. It cites the current position of the Conventuals on most subjects of contemporary controversy within the order. The *de Conformitate* is, in brief, an encyclopedic work of the greatest importance to historians.

But Bartholomew gives it another dimension, which was doubtless more important to him than the statistical richness of his treatise. The *De*

<sup>1</sup> Bartholomew de Rinonico of Pisa, *De Conformitate vitae Beati Francisci ad vitam Domini nostri Iesu Christi*, ed. Fathers of the College of Saint Bonaventurc, in *Analecta Franciscana (AF)*, Vols. 4 and 5, Quaracchi, 1906-1912.

<sup>2</sup> A laudatory letter announcing this approval appears at the end of the 1510 edition of the *De Conformitate*. See N. Paulus, "Zu Luthers Schrift über die Monchsgelübde", *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 27 (1906), 494. The 1590 edition reproduces both Bartholomew's letter to the General Minister and the General Chapter asking for their approbation and the reply to the General Chapter: *Liber Aureus, inscriptus Liber Conformitatum vitae beati, ac Seraphici patris Francisci ad vitam Iesu Christi Domini Nostri* (Bologna, Ieremia Bucchio, 1590), folio 3v. Paulus rightly questions the validity of this approbation, under the circumstances: "Wie wenig aber die Approbation des Generalkapitels zu bedeuten hat, ergibt sich aus dem Umstande, dass Bartholomäus sein Werk am 1 August 1399 dem Generalkapitel zur Zensur vorlegte, und die Antwort darauf, schon am 2 August erfolgt ist. Wer hätte wohl in der kurzen Zwischenzeit den ziemlich starken Folianten aufmerksam lesen können?"

*Conformitate* has an intricate ideological superstructure which exalts Francis, by means of biographical comparisons with Jesus, to a level of suprahuman similarity to him.

The author of this amazing work, Bartholomew de Rinonico, was a theologian and popular preacher born probably not later than 1338.<sup>3</sup> His career spanned a period of crisis in the order's history — a period of internal division between the Conventuals and the nascent Observants, conflicting loyalties among provinces occasioned by the papal schism, frequent lowering of standards for novices, and a pervasive disregard for Minorite tradition. Bartholomew shared the concern of some of his contemporaries for a return to the strictness of an earlier age, as his denunciations in the second chapter of his work reveal, but his efforts to remedy these faults seem to have been carried out within the limits of his academic and administrative positions.

The verifiable statements that may be made about Bartholomew's life are few. By his own testimony he studied at Bologna and was Franciscan lector at Padua. He may have held this position at other universities also; it was only the "disruptions of war" that prevented him from fulfilling the year's term as lector at Cambridge to which he was appointed at the General Chapter of Toulouse in 1373.<sup>4</sup> He held the important office of Franciscan proctor at the papal curia,<sup>5</sup> and died most probably within the first decade of the fifteenth century. The traditional date of his death is 1401. Besides the *De Conformitate*, his extant works include *De Vita Beatae Mariae Virginis* and two collections of Lenten sermons, a *Quadragesimale de contemptu mundi* and another *Quadragesimale de casibus conscientiae*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This suggested birth date is a surmise made on the basis of Bartholomew's having returned a book to the convent library at Pisa on October 15, 1352; it is unlikely that he entered the order before the age of fourteen.

<sup>4</sup> *AF* 5, xiii; on Bartholomew and other continental Franciscan lectors at Cambridge, see J. R. H. Moorman, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1952), 99-102.

<sup>5</sup> Decima L. Douie, *The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli*, Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series (Manchester, 1932), LXI, 38, n. 3, 262. On the growth and importance of the office of proctor in the order, see Heribert Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), 180-182.

<sup>6</sup> The most accurate study of Bartholomew's biography and list of his works is in the Introductions to Vols. 4 and 5 of the *Analecta Franciscana* (*AF* 4, vii-xiii and 5, x-xxiv). The above summary essentially reproduces the conclusions of the Quaracchi Fathers. In addition to the manuscripts and editions they cite, however, there is a manuscript of the *De Conformitate* in the Communal Archives of Montepandone (*I codici della libreria raccolta da S. Giacomo della marca nel Convento di S. Maria delle Grazie presso Montepandone* (Livorno, 1889), 11, 66-67). Another was in the personal library of the Franciscan scholar Walter Seton, which he described in "2 MSS of Bartholomew of Pisa's 'De Conformitate'", (*Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 16 (1923), 191-199). A third, Cod. 1015 (S. Bonav. 3), Bibl. Nat. Centr. Vittorio Emanuele II, Fondi minori S. Bonaventurae, is

The *De Conformitate* had been known and valued by historians of the Franciscan order since the early fifteenth century, largely because, in addition to systematic lists of the provinces, *loci*, *custodiae* and vicariates of the order, it contains the first comprehensive inventory of Franciscan writers.<sup>7</sup> Less flattering use was made of his treatise by Lutheran satirists, inspired by the first printed editions of the *De Conformitate* which appeared at Milan in 1510 and 1513.<sup>8</sup> A series of extracts from it and a satirical

cited in O. Schäfer, OFM, "Descriptio codicum franciscaliū in bibliotheca centrali nationali Romae asservatorum", *Antonianum*, 23 (1948), 347-380.

In addition to the English edition of 1550 cited in *AF* 5, xcvi, there is another edition of the English *Alcoran* (a satirical translation of the *De Conformitate*), *The Alcoran of the Franciscans, or A sink of lyes and blasphemies* (London, 1679), in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles, California. Bartholomew's place in Franciscan Mariological doctrine is discussed in Cherubinus Sericoli, "De regalitate B. M. Virginis iuxta auctorum franciscaliū doctrinam", *Antonianum*, 30 (1955), 105-118, 221-244; his teachings on Saint Joseph are summarized in detail by Ephrem Longpré in "Saint Joseph et l'école franciscaine du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Le patronage de S. Joseph. Actes du Congrès d'études tenu à l'Oratoire Saint-Joseph* (Montreal-Paris, 1956), 217-254.

Bartholomew was for a long time confused with two other friars called "Bartholomew of Pisa". One, the Franciscan Bartholomew domini Albisi (Italian "Albizzi"), was renowned at Pisa for his holiness and died around the middle of the fourteenth century. Details of his life are summarized in *AF* 4, vii-x, and 5, x-xii, and in Filippo Rotolo, OFM Conv., "La leggenda del B. Gerardo Cagnoli, O. Min. (1267-1342) di Fra Bartolomeo Albizi O. Min. († 1351)", *Miscellanea Francescana*, 57 (1957), 367-446. The other, the Dominican Bartholomew of San Concordio, was the author of the famous "Summa Pisanella" (*Summa de casibus conscientiae*, also called "Summa Pisana", "Bartholomea", and "Magistrucchia") and died in 1347. For his life see Mandonnet's article in *DTC*, 2 (Paris, 1905), 435-436; *AF* 4, vii-x, and 5, x-xxiv, M. Faloci-Pulignani, "Il 'Liber Conformitatum' del P. Bartolomeo da Pisa", *Miscellanea Francescana* 8 (1901) 137-148 and Girolamo Golubovich, "Studi bio-bibliografici francescani. Fr. Bartholomaei de Pisis Ord. Min., Opus de conformitate vitae b. F. ad vitam DJCR n: editum anno Dñi 1385 (sic), Mediolani 1510, 1513 et Bononiae 1590", *Luce e Amore*, 2 (1905) 403-407. Many early histories of the Franciscan order and of Franciscan writings give erroneous information about Bartholomew (*AF* 4, vii and 5, xv-xxiv). Reliable encyclopedia articles on Bartholomew de Rinonico include that of Paschal Robinson in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, 2 (New York, 1907), 316, the anonymous article in the *Dictionary of Catholic Biography* (Garden City, 1961), pp. 991-992 (where Bartholomew's name appears as "Riconico"), the article "Barthélemy Rinonico de Pise", *DTC*, 2, 435-436, and Jean de Dieu, "Barthélemy de Pise" *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, 1 (Paris, 1937), 1268-1269.

<sup>7</sup> Theodor Franz Bonmann, *Die Literaturkundlichen Quellen des Franziskanerordens im Mittelalter* (Munich, 1937), 26-29. Bonmann notes that, in contrast to the earlier chroniclers who only occasionally mentioned single works or specific Franciscan authors, Bartholomew presented the first systematic catalogue of medieval Franciscan literature, citing more than sixty writers. The usefulness of Bartholomew's treatise in authenticating Franciscan legends is evident in Giuseppe Abate, "Storia e leggende intorno alla nascita di S. Francesco d'Assisi", *Miscellanea Francescana*, 48 (1948) 520-527.

<sup>8</sup> Bartholomew of Pisa, *Liber Conformitatum* (Milan, Gotardus de Ponte, 1510), and Bartholomew of Pisa, *Opus auree et inexplicabilis bonitatis et continentie, Conformitatum scilicet vite beati Francisci ad vitam Domini nostri Iesu Christi* (Milan, Joannes Mapellus, 1513).

commentary published by Luther's student Erasmus Alber in 1542 at Frankfurt was quickly translated into Latin, French, Flemish and English. A steady stream of Protestant "editions" continued to appear until the middle of the seventeenth century: a French translation by Conrad Badius was reprinted continually, until the last edition appeared in 1734 at Amsterdam.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, defenders of Bartholomew's treatise had arisen, and it had been drawn into the midst of more general controversies between Catholics and Protestants.<sup>10</sup>

The *De Conformitate* was known to biographers of Francis and to bibliophiles of later centuries as a literary curiosity, an aberration produced by the order's excessive exaltation of Francis.<sup>11</sup> As such it was lauded, reviled or noted with amusement, according to the prejudices of the commentator. Pierre Bayle in his article "François" in the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* built his irreverent account of the fortunes of the Franciscan order around Bartholomew's treatise and its history.<sup>12</sup> Nineteenth-century Protestant church historians often spoke of the *De Conformitate* with as much scorn and vituperation as their co-religionists of the Reformation era. John Laurence von Mosheim's *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History Ancient and Modern* is especially harsh. The Franciscans, he wrote,

suffered to go abroad without censure and even approved and commended, an impious piece stuffed with monstrous and absurd tales, entitled, *The book of the conformities of St. Francis with Jesus Christ*; which was published in 1385 (sic), by Bartholomew Albizi (sic) a Franciscan of Pisa, with the applause of his order. This infamous book, in which the Son of God himself is put upon a level with a vile and miserable man, is an eternal monument of the impious arrogance and religious stupidity of the Franciscan order, and of the consummate indiscretion of the pontiffs for extolling and recommending those friars.<sup>13</sup>

Two of the most important biographers of Francis in the last century, Karl Hase<sup>14</sup> and Paul Sabatier, included studies of the *De Conformitate* in their commentaries on the sources for the life of Francis. Sabatier called

<sup>9</sup> A list of these editions is in *AF* 5, xc-ci.

<sup>10</sup> See in particular Pierre Bayle, "François", *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Paris, 1820), 6, 548-558.

<sup>11</sup> Johan Schelhorn, *Amoenitates literarie quibus variae observationes Scripta item quaedam anecdoia et rariora Opuscula exhibentur* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1730), 549-552.

<sup>12</sup> Bayle, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> Trans. James Murdock and Henry Soames, ed. William Stubbs (London, 1863), 2, 275. See also Martin Ruter, *A Concise History of the Christian Church* (New York, 1854), 273, for similar comments. Catholic historians of the medieval church, where they are not simply perfunctory, tend to be somewhat apologetic about Bartholomew's treatise. Thus Servais Dirks, *Histoire littéraire et bibliographique des frères mineurs en Belgique* (Antwerp, 1886), 134-135, n. 1.

<sup>14</sup> Franz von Assisi. *Ein Heiligenbild* (Leipzig, 1856), and his *Kirchengeschichte* (Leipzig, 1895), Part II, 379.



attention to the fact that the work "seems to have been read only cursorily by most of the authors who have discussed it". Having read it himself, his sympathies were largely with them, but he felt compelled to urge its importance.

It is only fair to add in their defense that it would be hard to find a work more difficult to get through; the same events recur ten and fifteen times and end by fraying the least delicate nerves.

Doubtless the widespread neglect of the treatise is to be attributed to this fact. Nevertheless I don't hesitate to see in it the most important work that has been done on the life of St. Francis... This is not the place to discuss the foolish attacks of certain protestant authors against this book. That is a theologians' quarrel which has nothing to do with history. Bartholomew of Pisa nowhere makes St. Francis equal to Jesus, and he even forestalled criticism on that point.<sup>15</sup>

No scholar of this century seems to have gone farther than Sabatier in his interest in the *De Conformitate*.<sup>16</sup> Only brief mentions of the treatise occur in more recent literature, accompanied by footnotes referring to the older works. Hilarin Felder, for example, in his *Die Ideale des heiligen Franziskus von Assisi*,<sup>17</sup> rather romantically explained the relationship between Francis and Jesus as one of knight and lord — like a knight, Francis devoted himself to the service, imitation and love of his lord, Jesus. He went on to elaborate this explanation from chivalry (for which he was admittedly indebted to Joseph Goerres),<sup>18</sup> pointing out that Francis "attempted to mould himself in the Savior's likeness in large things and small, in the directing of his inner as well as his outer life".<sup>19</sup> He then upheld the thesis of Bartholomew's biography: "The vast design Bartholomew of Pisa weaves in his book *On Conformity* is here and there a little naive and exaggerated, but generally quite congruent to the truth..."<sup>20</sup>

The Franciscans of the College of St. Bonaventure at Quaracchi, who early in this century produced the only modern edition of the *De Conformitate*, did not offer any analytical commentary on the work, and their attitude toward it was ambiguous.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Vie de S. François d'Assise*, 34th ed. (Paris, n.d.), pp. cxiv-cxv. Sabatier was impressed above all with Bartholomew's care in copying and acknowledging his sources.

<sup>16</sup> Georges Goyau, "Les étranges destinées du livre des Conformités", in *Saint François. Son œuvre, son influence*, ed. Alexandre Masseron and Henri Lemaître (Paris, 1927), 68-98, surveys briefly the fortunes of the treatise in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries only.

<sup>17</sup> 3rd ed. (Paderborn, 1927).

<sup>18</sup> *Der heiligen Franz von Assisi, ein Troubadour* (Strassburg, 1826).

<sup>19</sup> Felder, *op. cit.*, 30.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> The initial sentences of the Preface to *AF* 4 show this ambiguity: *Ut votis pluries et a pluribus*

The idea that Francis was strikingly like Christ is both older and more recent than Bartholomew's treatise, yet his expression of it caused a flood of vituperation. An examination of the genre and structure of the *De Conformitate* may explain why.

Bartholomew's work does not fit into any of the long established categories of hagiography or of Franciscan writings. It is not a "saint's life", that is, it is not a formal document setting forth the life and miracles of a candidate for canonisation, or commemorating the holiness of one already canonized. Thomas of Celano's *Vita Prima*<sup>22</sup> had been the official life of Francis until 1244; his *Vita Secunda* had taken its place until 1263; from then on the official life had been the *Legenda Major* of Bonaventure.<sup>23</sup> Nor is the *De Conformitate* one of the collections of intimate anecdotes about Francis and his earliest companions of which the fourteenth-century *Fioretti* are the best known. Bartholomew is too far removed chronologically to have known any of the original band of friars, and is remote enough in sentiment not to be intrigued by quaint legends about Francis.

Bartholomew's treatise is not primarily a biography, it is a systematic defense of a thesis that Francis "conformed" himself to Jesus in every aspect of his life.

A second peculiarity of the *De Conformitate* is that, as Bartholomew presents it, it is as much a life of Jesus as of Francis. Superficially, it seems to be built around forty significant events in his life, with their "parallels" in Francis' life added. A closer analysis, however, shows that both series of events have been altered in order to bring them into closer harmony.

Finally, the *De Conformitate* is deliberately encyclopedic in its scope. Unlike any earlier work on Francis, or on the history of the order, it includes discussions of basic tenets of belief such as the nature of Christ,<sup>24</sup> transubstantiation,<sup>25</sup> and redemption.<sup>26</sup> It also includes lengthy discussions of problems confronting the order in the second half of the fourteenth century; the ninth chapter contains a commentary on the Rule<sup>27</sup> so complete

nobis oblati obsequeremur, editionem novam Operis huius a multis iure laudati, ab aliis non absque ratione vituperati suscepimus. Continet opus multa et pretiosa documenta, quae historiae franciscanae maximo semper fuerunt emolumento; continet et multas fabulas, quas facile recognitas prudens lector negliget.

<sup>22</sup> *Vita I et II S. Francisci*, ed. Fathers of the College of Saint Bonaventure, *AF* 10 (Quaracchi, 1926), i and ii.

<sup>23</sup> Bonaventure, *Legenda Major Sancti Francisci*, ed. A. C. Peltier, *Opera omnia* (Paris, 1864-1871), 14, 293-363.

<sup>24</sup> *De Conformitate* 3, 1 (*AF* 4, 83-84).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 29, 1 (*AF* 5, 340-345).

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 2, 1 and 2 (*AF* 4, 60-73).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 9, 1 and 2 (*AF* 4, 364-457).

in itself that it was circulated as a separate work, and was often listed as such by bibliographers of Bartholomew's writings.<sup>28</sup> The commentary sheds light on Bartholomew's politics within the order, for in it he obediently follows the complex system of interpretation that bound the Minorites to obey only those "counsels of the gospels" which appeared in the Rule "preceptorily" or "in an inhibiting manner".<sup>29</sup> The wishes of Francis are arranged in a hierarchy of authority by successive popes and Franciscan theologians until few of them remained that could not be legally circumvented. Bartholomew's strict adherence to this interpretation of the Rule, the interpretation of the Conventuals, not the Spirituals, and his upholding the ruling of Gregory IX<sup>30</sup> and Gregory's successors that Francis' *Testament* was not binding on the brethren, shows that he was firmly on the side of "orthodoxy" in the order.<sup>31</sup> To the Spirituals, abandonment of strictly literal interpretation of the Rule and the *Testament* constituted betrayal of the ideals of Francis.

Controversial issues not covered by the commentary on the Rule are included by Bartholomew in relevant sections of the lives of Francis and Christ. One of the most restricting of Francis' wishes for his order was his goal of absolute poverty.<sup>32</sup> The Minorites were to possess nothing, either in their own persons or in common, nor could they handle or receive money. This ideal was mitigated continually after Francis' death, and it remained the chief center of dispute between the Spirituals and the community, as well as between the Franciscans as a whole and their various adversaries.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* Editors' Introduction (AF 5, lxxi-lxxv).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* 9, 2 (AF 4, 383). This was originally laid down by Nicholas III's decretal *Exiit qui seminat* of August 14, 1279. *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. J. H. Sbaralea and G. Eubel (Rome, 1906) 3, 404. See also François de Sessevalle, *Histoire générale de l'Ordre de saint François*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1935), I, 130-131 and *La Règle des Frères Mineurs*, ed. L. Hardick et al. (Paris, 1961), *passim*.

<sup>30</sup> In the bull *Quo elongati a saeculo* of September 28, 1230. *Bull. Franc.* 1, 68 ff. and critical edition by Herbert Grundmann, *AFH* 54 (1961), 20-25.

<sup>31</sup> I use the term "Conventuals" to apply to that broad section of the order which believed that certain modifications in the Rule were necessary. The Spirituals opposed any modification whatever. On the Spirituals, see David Saville Muzzey, *The Spiritual Franciscans* (Washington, 1914), Decima Douie, *Nature and Effect*, and the articles "Frères Mineurs" by P. Edouard d'Alençon and "Fratricelles" by F. Vernet in *DTG*, 6 (Paris, 1920), 809-863, 770-784.

<sup>32</sup> Chapter Eight of the Rule of 1221 says: *Unde nullus fratrum, ubicumque sit et quocumque vadat, aliquo modo tollat nec recipiat nec recipi faciat pecuniam aut denarios.*

<sup>33</sup> On the problem of the ideal of poverty within the Franciscan order see M. D. Lambert, *Franciscan Poverty* (London, 1961) and the bibliography given there, including especially Decima Douie, *The Conflict between the Seculars and the Mendicants at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1954), P. Anastase Van den Wyngaert, "Querelles du Clergé Séculier et des Ordres Mendiants à l'Université de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *La France Franciscaine* (1922), 257-281, 369-396, and Jacqueline de Lagarde-Sclafer, "La participation de François de Meyronnes théolo-

Bartholomew devotes two chapters of his treatise to the question of absolute poverty. In chapter six he praises poverty as an ideal, showing how Jesus himself espoused it during the three days he spent alone in Jerusalem at the age of twelve.<sup>34</sup> The thought of the boy Jesus begging for alms moves the usually prosaic Bartholomew to add an unusually emotional passage:

When he had remained behind in Jerusalem, penniless, yet refulgent with great wisdom and virtue, no one offered him hospitality, and no inn received him. Dwelling among the poor whom he loved, out of love for them he begged for his food. What great self-abnegation and self-contempt was shown in this, that the God-man, a tender and mild boy, should have sought his bread from door to door! Human pride is put to shame by so great a humbling of God on high. This event is the principal concern of the first part of this *fructus* and conformity (i.e., the sixth chapter of the work), *Jesus perceived abject* (*Jesus abiectus cernitur*). Doesn't Jesus seem to you abject, forsaken by everyone and taken in by no one, seeking alms through the streets — and perhaps, while seeking them, thrown out by many people — not being given the food he asked for, nor at the time he needed it, nor perhaps in as great an amount as he needed?<sup>35</sup>

In chapter sixteen,<sup>36</sup> Bartholomew outlines with care Francis' wishes concerning poverty, yet in chapter nine he obediently recites the current teaching of the order condoning the use of money and the possession of goods and property.<sup>37</sup> In his desire to be all-inclusive, Bartholomew abandons all attempts at consistency of viewpoint throughout his treatise.<sup>38</sup> It

gien Franciscain à la querelle de la pauvreté", *Études franciscaines*, New Series, 11 (1960), 53-73, which contains a reliable brief outline of the poverty quarrel.

<sup>34</sup> Here Bartholomew based his account on *Tractatus de Iesu puero duodenni*, a treatise included by Migne among the works of Bernard (*PL* 184, 849-870), but clearly marked as "Aelredi Abbatis Rievallis Tractatus de Iesu Puero Duodenni".

<sup>35</sup> *De Conformitate* 6, 1 (*AF* 4, 127-128). Cum enim remanserit in Ierusalem sine pecunia, et tanta de sua sapientia ostensa virtute, non fuit invitatus ab aliquo, nec hospitio receptus, sed inter pauperes commorando, quos amabat, amore eorum mendicando victum quaesivit. O quanta abnegatio sui et contemptus, ut Deus homo, puer delicatus et verecundus, panem ostiatim expectando accepit! Confunditur humana superbia tanta et ad talia inclinatione summi Dei. Hic est actus, per quem praesens fructus et conformitas principaliter ponitur, quoad primam sui partem dicens: *Jesus abiectus cernitur*. Nonne tibi abiectus videtur Jesus derelictus ab omnibus, a nullo receptus et invitatus, stipem quaeritando per domos, et forte sic quaerendo expulsus a pluribus, nec ei victus datus ut petebat, nec hora, qua indigebat, nec forte in tanta quantitate, ut ei opus erat?

<sup>36</sup> *De Conformitate* 16, 2 (*AF* 5, 100-123).

<sup>37</sup> *De Conformitate* 9, 2 (*AF* 4, 400-406).

<sup>38</sup> Another striking example of this is Bartholomew's commenting on Francis' strict insistence that the friars not accept ecclesiastical offices, then his proud listing of all the popes, cardinals, archbishops and bishops that the order had produced! *De Conformitate* 8, 2 (*AF* 4, 342-347) and 17, 2 (*AF* 5, 136-138). The fact that he included many of the stories from the *Actus beati Francisci et Sociorum Ejus* and other "Spiritual" sources while condemning the Spirituals themselves, heightens this inconsistency.

is clear, however, that he favors the moderate position of the community on significant issues.

The *De Conformitate*, because of its schematic arrangement, its two parallel biographies, and its encyclopedic contents, occupies a unique place in the history of Franciscan literature. Unlike a saint's life, it includes much more information about the order than about Francis; unlike a chronicle, its orientation is not in any sense historical; unlike a theological *summa* (which it does resemble in the procedure of its argument and in its phraseology) it is built around essentially biographical data.

In his Second Prologue, Bartholomew says that he intends to set forth the conformities that are apparent in the lives of Francis and Christ. He then explains how these conformities would be arranged:

And since these conformities (*conformitates*) are arranged after the fashion of fruits on a tree, by creating twenty branches on the tree — ten on the right-hand side and ten on the left — and by adding four fruits or conformities to each branch, two concerning Christ and two concerning Saint Francis, the number of fruits or conformities comes to eighty, of which forty have to do with Christ and forty with Saint Francis.<sup>39</sup>

A list of conformities or similitudes (*similitudines*), or *fructus* — he uses these terms interchangeably — follows, including twenty pairs of comparisons. At the top of the tree was this prayer:

Francis, type of Jesus, leader and model of the Minorites,  
Thy acts and gifts are marvelous, through Thee, O Christ.  
Unique father, steer our souls away from evil,  
Grant us places perpetual in the supernal kingdom.<sup>40</sup>

This "tree of conformities" was drawn to fit Bartholomew's specifications and was included in the 1510, 1513 and 1590 editions.<sup>41</sup> In the letter sent to Bartholomew from the General Chapter in 1399 special mention was made of the tree "which you presented to us in person" along with the

<sup>39</sup> *De Conformitate* Second Prologue (AF 4, 16). Et quia per modum cuiusdam arboris hae ordinantur conformitates et ut quidam fructus, in hac arbore viginti ponendo ramos, quorum decem sint ad dexteram et decem ad sinistram, et cuilibet ramo quatuor fructus seu conformitates, duas de Christo et duas de beato Francisco, inserendo, ad fructus octoginta sive conformitates ascendunt, quarum quadraginta sunt de Christo et quadraginta de beato Francisco.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* (AF 4, 18).

Francisce, Iesu typice dux formaque Minorum,  
Per te, Christe, mirifice sunt gesta et donorum.  
Mala, pater egregie, propelle animorum,  
Sedes nobis perpetue da regni supernorum.

<sup>41</sup> The "trees" of the 1510 and 1513 editions are reproduced in the Introduction to AF 4, facing pages LXXX and LXVII. The "tree" of the 1590 edition is on folio 6r of that edition.

treatise.<sup>42</sup> The tree has twenty branches, with two chapters or *fructus* on each branch. Each chapter has two parts, the first devoted to Jesus and the second to Francis; each of them is supposed to illustrate one element of congruency in the two lives. There is very little connection between the two *fructus* in each of the twenty pairs. In fact, the tree image in itself has no essential relevance to Bartholomew's main theme, the conformity of Francis to Jesus.

The only explanation of the choice and order of the chapters that Bartholomew offers occurs near the end of the *De Conformitate* in *fructus* thirty-one.<sup>43</sup> This chapter is of major importance since it describes Christ's passion and Francis' stigmatization. The second part, *Franciscus consignatur*, contains a summary of the preceding thirty chapters (which constitute nine-tenths of the entire work), and a discussion of their meaning in the schema of conformity of Francis to Jesus.

According to Bartholomew, it is possible for a man to be similar to Jesus by imitating him in the three distinct categories of his acts and works (*actus et opera*). He could imitate Jesus' personal acts (*personalia*), such as his incarnation, his being adored as an infant, and so on. He could imitate Jesus' perfectional acts (*perfectionales*), which include both his deeds and his words and counsels. And he could imitate the acts of Jesus' passion (*passionales*), such as his being sold, his betrayal, his capture, and so on. The first thirty chapters, Bartholomew says, relate to Jesus' personal acts; his perfectional acts are dealt with in chapter twenty-five,<sup>44</sup> and one assumes (although it is not explicitly stated) that the acts relating to his passion were to constitute the rest of Book III.<sup>45</sup> However, the first thirty chapters are not as cohesive as this scheme suggests.

In chapter twenty-five,<sup>46</sup> Bartholomew outlines a different pattern of organization. There he implies that Book I deals with the personal, Book II with the perfectional, and Book III with the passion acts of Jesus. If the contents of the chapters are considered, this pattern seems somewhat more accurate. The first eight chapters of Book I are chronological in their

<sup>42</sup> 1590 edition, folio 3v and AF 5, 503-504: cum arbore, quam nobis personaliter praesentasti.

<sup>43</sup> The following discussion is based on *De Conformitate* 31, 2 (AF 5, 374-379).

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.* 25, 1 and 2 (AF 5, 287-290).

<sup>45</sup> Only in a very general sense, however, for in *De Conformitate* 31, 2 (AF 5, 377-379) Bartholomew lists the specific "passional" acts and shows, rather fancifully, how Francis' life contained similarities to them. Like Jesus, Francis underwent being sold (*venditio*) because Francis totally abnegated himself, and one who is sold counts himself as nothing. Francis underwent betrayal (*proditio*) according to Bartholomew, in that he chose to die for Jesus' sake, that is, he was willing to seek death by traveling to the east as a missionary.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* 25, 2 (AF 5, 288-291).

arrangement — they trace the prefiguration, mission, birth, presentation, persecution, youth and poverty, temptation and choosing of disciples of Jesus and Francis. Taken together, they form a unit, which might be labelled “events up to the beginning of public ministry”. The term *personalia* would thus distinguish them from the “public acts” to come.

The next eighteen chapters, nine to twenty-seven, are not chronological in their arrangement, and are for the most part organized around qualities or virtues rather than specific acts. They deal with such matters as law-giving, teaching, sending out of disciples, “informing”, miracle-working, pastoral work, height of contemplation, poverty, humility, prophecy, and physical discomforts. They might be labelled “events from the beginning of public ministry to passion and stigmatization”.

A third book returns to a roughly chronological arrangement, and most of its twelve chapters are built around specific events. They include the last supper, final teachings, crucifixion and stigmatization, death, descent into hell, entombment, resurrection, ascension, glory after death, sending out of apostles, and a final pair of chapters of a general nature on raising men from the dead and on the benefits received through invoking the names of Francis and Jesus.

It is a bewildering process to attempt to see any kind of consistent scheme of organization in the chapters. The one outlined by Bartholomew in chapter thirty-one does not really fit the first thirty chapters and entirely omits the last ten. The one I have elaborated above ignores Bartholomew's division between Books I and II and inserts an artificial division after chapter eight; it also fails to account for several puzzling chapters.<sup>47</sup>

One might expect that Bartholomew, as a conscientious biographer, would have organized his treatise around significant events in the lives of Francis and Jesus. If the contents of the chapters are examined, however, it becomes apparent that certain important events in Jesus' life are omitted entirely or mentioned only in passing. The story of John the Baptist — his preaching, his announcement of Jesus' coming, his baptism of Jesus and his martyrdom — is entirely omitted.<sup>48</sup> Bartholomew's

<sup>47</sup> Contrary to the suggested scheme, chapters 15, 20, 22, 24, 27 and 28 (*AF* 5, 57-89, 199-211, 226-232, 262-281, 303-319 and 319-332) are basically built around one specific act of Christ's life, even though in some cases Bartholomew could find no parallel from Francis' life. The events are the transfiguration, preaching from a boat, changing water to wine, feeding large crowds from a small amount of food, the triumphal entry into Jerusalem before the crucifixion, and expelling the money-changers from the temple. Also the final four chapters in Book III have no direct connection with the passion and its immediate results.

<sup>48</sup> His preaching: Matt. 3, 1-4; Mark 1, 1-8; Luke 3, 1-6; John 1, 6-15. Jesus' baptism by John,

chapter seven,<sup>49</sup> which ostensibly is devoted to Jesus' forty-day fast and temptation in the wilderness, dwells instead on three quite different subjects: what form the devil commonly takes, why Jesus wanted to be tempted and how temptation may be avoided by the Christian (here he adds a convenient list of the common human vices). In this chapter, as in many others, Bartholomew's subject and tone are unmistakably homiletic. He seeks to edify and increase the piety of the reader (always by appeals to his intellect, almost never by appeals to his emotions) rather than to remain faithful to the details of the biographical narrative.

Surprisingly, the two most dramatic series of events in Jesus' life are described only briefly or not at all by Bartholomew. The first is his betrayal. Chapter twenty-nine describes the last supper, but deals almost entirely with Jesus' coming crucifixion as the termination and fulfillment of all Old Testament sacrifice and with theological problems concerning transubstantiation.<sup>50</sup> The only mention of Judas is in the section of chapter twenty-nine devoted to Francis, where Elias is called "alter Judas".<sup>51</sup> Secondly, Bartholomew fails to exploit the wide range of biographical potential offered by Jesus' passion. He dutifully devotes separate chapters to his acceptance of the cross, his death, descent into hell, entombment and resurrection, but nowhere emphasizes Jesus' *personal* agony, either physical or psychological.

To some extent, of course, Bartholomew de-emphasizes events in Jesus' life which had only weak parallels, or none at all, in the life of Francis. And similarly, Francis' life is treated more as a compendium of Christ-like virtues and occurrences than as the continuous experience of a living man. The circumstances of Francis' conversion, which form a major portion of many modern biographies of him, are not mentioned anywhere in Bartholomew's treatise.<sup>52</sup> The two years between Francis' conversion

which is the official beginning of his public ministry: Matt. 3, 13-17; Mark 1, 9-11; Luke 3, 21-22. John's death: Matt. 14, 1; Mark 6, 14; Luke 9, 7.

<sup>49</sup> *De Conformitate* 7, 1 (AF 4, 149-156).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* 29, 1 (AF 5, 333-354).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.* 29, 2 (AF 5, 355). This is the only place in the *De Conformitate* where Elias was vilified. In chapter 8, 2 (AF 4, 178) Bartholomew likens the followers of Francis to Jesus' disciples, and notes that just as Jesus had a false disciple, Judas, so Francis had one, John de Capella. Having left the order, John contracted leprosy and hung himself "ob impatientiam". References to John as the follower of Francis who "betrayed" him occur elsewhere in the treatise as well. The interpretation which a Franciscan writer gives to the enigmatic career of Elias is one of the surest indications of his "political" sympathies within the order; although no disciple of Francis could approve of his apostasy, denunciations of him by Spirituals were more common and more mercilessly vindictive than from the community.

<sup>52</sup> It is only fair to note in Bartholomew's defense that Jesus' life offered no model for conversion,



and the foundation of his order are neglected by Bartholomew also, even though they must have been a period of mental unrest and personal difficulty for Francis.<sup>53</sup>

Bartholomew's treatise does not mention or imply anywhere that Francis became saddened and disillusioned about his order during the last years of his life. Francis' renunciation of the office of Minister General in 1221, his increasing leniency in the making of the successive Rules of the order, and the pitiful pleading for a restoration of lost ideals in the *Testament* are unnoticed or suppressed in the *De Conformitate*. Finally, a great many events in Francis' life have to take second place, in Bartholomew's consideration, to larger parallels in the history of the order.<sup>54</sup>

The structure of Bartholomew's treatise cannot be determined fully from any explanation offered by the author himself. The logic of the work becomes clear only when his thesis of conformity is examined in detail.<sup>55</sup>

Through Bonaventure, perhaps the most widely respected of Franciscan theologians, Bartholomew was acquainted with the Augustinian idea that all created things bear in themselves the image of their creator. They are endowed with it from the moment of their creation, as indelibly (and as passively) as a seal is pressed into wax.<sup>56</sup> Bonaventure had posited three

and that more recent biographers of Francis are understandably fascinated by Francis' glamorous and rowdy life before his conversion. Chapter 4, 2 of the *De Conformitate* speaks of his "two births" — one natural, the other spiritual — but gives no narrative account of the "spiritual" birth (*AF* 4, 108).

<sup>53</sup> Chapter 8, 2 (*AF* 4, 176-177) briefly summarizes Francis' external mode of life during those years but the entire account is related from the standpoint of Jesus' *wanting* Francis to live alone for a while before founding an order.

<sup>54</sup> This is notable in chapter 8, 2 (*AF* 4, 175-364), where Francis' choosing his followers is overshadowed by a wealth of statistical detail concerning the size and glory of the order; in chapter nine, where Francis' making of three successive Rules is subordinated to a complete exposition of the one official Rule; and chapter eleven, where Francis' sending out disciples is secondary to lists of the *custodiae* and *loci* in each Franciscan province and lists of noble and royal members of the order.

<sup>55</sup> *De Conformitate* Second Prologue (*AF* IV, 3-22).

<sup>56</sup> Bonaventure, *In I Lib. Sent.*, Dist. 35, art. 1, quaest. 1, Conclusio, ed. A. C. Peltier, in *Sancti Bonaventurae... Opera omnia* (Paris, 1864-71) 2, 10: ... si a forma sigilli eadem fiat expressio figurae in cera, possunt esse ab eadem forma et una multae et variae impressiones, secundum quod sigillum magis et minus imprimitur. Sic in Deo intelligunt: quoniam multitudo in rebus venit secundum gradus, et approximationem ad ipsum Esse divinum. Bartholomew's repetition of this image occurs first in the Second Prologue, *AF* 4, 9: Pro quorum evidentia est sciendum, quod similitudo prima divisione dividitur, quia quaedam est naturalis, quaedam est perfectionalis... quaedam est naturalis impressa, sicut impressa dicitur forma sigilli in cera, et hoc modo anima est ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei, quia Deus *inspiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae* et impressit in hominem suam imaginem et figuram, de qua habetur Gen. 2, 7. Bonaventure based his doctrine on Augustine, who in *De Trinitate*, XI, ch. V, 8 spoke of the similitude between created beings and their creator:

modes of this likeness, or similitude: when two things share a common quality (as a swan and snow share whiteness); when one thing is made in the likeness of another (as, in Bonaventure's example, a statue may be assimilated or conformed to the image of Jove); and when an object partakes of another object's likeness (as a mirror or an eye is assimilated or conformed to the object's corporeal appearance). No creature can be conformed to God by the first mode. By the second, any creature may be conformed to him through grace, and in so doing he achieves *similitudo Dei*. If he is conformed through glory, he attains *deiformitas*. By the third mode a soul which has received both grace and glory is assimilated and conformed to God.<sup>57</sup> To these modes Bonaventure (relying on Bernard of Clairvaux and others) added a fourth level of likeness which surpassed mere conformity — transformation. Transformation can be brought about solely by the force of love,<sup>58</sup> and it ushers in a state resembling the mystic's union with God.

In quantum ergo bonum est quicquid est, in tantum scilicet, quamvis longe distantem, habet tamen nonnullam similitudinem summi boni; et si naturalem, utique rectam et ordinatam; si autem vitiosam, utique turpem atque perversam. Nam et animae in ipsis peccatis suis non nisi quamdam similitudinem Dei, superba et praepostera, et, ut ita dicam, servili libertate sectantur. Ita nec primis parentibus nostris persuaderi peccatum posset, nisi diceretur, *Eritis sicut dii* (Gen. III, 5), Non sane omne quod in creaturis aliquo modo simile est Deo, etiam ejus imago dicenda est: sed illa sola qua superior ipse solus est... Ernst Benz, *Ecclesia Spiritualis* (Stuttgart, 1934) 107-119 examines the relationship of Bartholomew's work to Bonaventure's and to Franciscan mysticism.

<sup>57</sup> Bonaventure, *In I Lib. Sent.*, Dist. 48, art. 1, quaest. 1, Conclusio, ed. Peltier, II, 224. Quantum ad similitudinem contingit tripliciter: aut quando aliqua duo participant tertium in quo assimilantur, ut cygnus et nix in albedine; aut cum aliqua duo sic se habent, quod unum est similitudo alterius, ut species colori, sive idolum assimilatur sive conformatur Jovi; aut quando aliquid participat similitudinem, ut speculum vel oculus assimilatur, vel conformatur, corpori objecto. Primo modo non est possibile aliquam creaturam Deo conformari. Secundo modo aliqua creatura Deo conformatur, ut puta gratia, quae dicitur similitudo Dei, vel gloria quae est deiformitas. Tertio modo assimilatur, et conformatur anima quae habet gratiam et gloriam; de hac conformitate nihil ad praesens...

<sup>58</sup> Bonaventure, *In II Lib. Sent.*, Dist. 39, dub. 1, ed. Peltier, I, 529. Dicendum quod a malitia existente in objecto magis depravatur actus volendi, quam actus intelligendi. Et ratio hujus dupliciter sumitur: tum ex parte virtutis, quia tanta est vis amoris, ut transformet amantem in amatum, unde qui diligit justitiam, justus fit, et qui diligit iniquitatem, iniquus fit, et propterea dicitur de malis, quod *facti sunt abominabiles, sicut ea quae dilexerunt*. Non sic est de actu intelligendi: nam etsi aliquo modo conformet, non tamen transformat: hoc autem contingit propter majorem vim unionis, quae consistit in ipso amore. Sicut enim dicit Dionysius, "Amorem dicimus vim unitivam": propterea dicitur: "*Qui adhaeret Deo, unus spiritus fit...*". Bernard, *Serm. in Cant.*, 83, n. 2-3, ed. Migne, PL 183, 1182, speaks of the soul's being reformed and conformed to the Word through love: Jam vero animae reductus, conversio ejus ad Verbum, reformandae per ipsum, conformandae ipsi. In quo? In charitate. Ait enim: *Estote imitatores Dei, sicut filii charissimi; et ambulate in dilectione, sicut et Christus dilexit vos* (Ephes. V, 1, 2).

Talis conformitas maritat animam Verbo, cum cui videlicet similis est per naturam, similem

It seemed to Bartholomew that Francis had attained this transformation more completely than any other saint, because he had been granted the external sign of it — the stigmata. This is made clear in Bartholomew's doctrine of similitude in the Second Prologue. All men, he says, have natural similitude (which corresponds to Bonaventure's second mode). Only saints have a higher kind, *perfectional* similitude, which is conferred on them by God's grace. Within perfectional similitude, a still higher level may be achieved, transformative similitude, which, when attained in both soul and body, changes a man to a type of Christ (*Christus typicus*) and makes him Godlike (*deiformis*).<sup>59</sup>

nihilominus ipsi se exhibet per voluntatem, diligens sicut dilecta est. Ergo, si perfecte diligit, nupsit. Quid hac conformitate jucundius? quid optabilius charitate, qua fit ut humano magisterio non contenta, per temet, o anima, fiducialiter accedas ad Verbum, Verbo constanter inhaereas, Verbum familiariter percuncteris, consultesque de omni re, quantum intellectu capax, tantum audax desiderio? Vere spiritualis, sanctique connubii contractus est iste. Parum dixi, contractus: complexus est. Complexus plane, ubi idem velle, et nolle idem, unum facit spiritum de duobus.

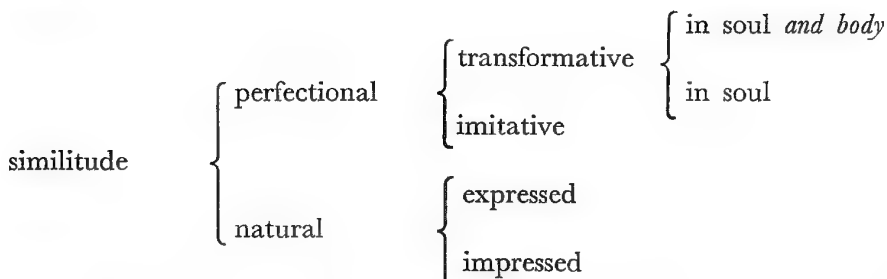
Hugh of Saint Victor, *Soliloquium de arrha animae*, ed. Hans Lietzmann, in *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen* (Bonn, 1913), 123, p. 6 supports this unitive notion of love: Ea vis amoris est, ut talem te esse necesse sit, quale illud est quod amas, et cui per affectum coniungeris, in ipsius similitudinem ipsa quodammodo dilectionis societate transformaris, as did William of Saint Thierry, *De Contemplando Deo Liber*, ed. PL 184, 365-380, esp. 374-375.

<sup>59</sup> *De Conformitate*, Second Prologue (AF 4, 9-10). Pro quorum evidentia est sciendum, quod similitudo prima divisione dividitur, quia quaedam est naturalis, quaedam est perfectionalis. Naturalis est duplex, scilicet expressa, et haec in nulla creatura, sed solum in Filio Dei, qui est *imago Dei invisibilis* et expressa, reperitur, ut dicit apostolus, Col. 1, 15; quaedam est naturalis impressa, sicut impressa dicitur forma sigilli in cera, et hoc modo anima est ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei, quia Deus *inspiravit in faciem eius spiraculum vitae* et impressit in hominem suam imaginem et figuram, de qua habetur Gen. 2, 7. Similitudo perfectionalis est duplex, quaedam simpliciter imitativa, de qua dicit thema et Salvator, Matth. 6, 48: *Estote perfecti, sicut et Pater vester caelestis perfectus est*; et primi Mach. 3, 4 de Iuda, qui *factus est similis leoni in operibus suis*; alia est imitativa et cum hoc transformativa; et haec duplex reperitur: et quoad animam solum et quoad corpus et animam simul. De prima, scilicet transformatione animae, loquitur Hugo *De arrha sponsae* dicens: "Scio, anima mea, ut dum alium diligis, in eius similitudinem transformaris". Et de perfecta transformatione in patris animae in Deum loquitur apostolus Ioannes in prima canonica sua 3, 2 dicens, *quod similes ei erimus; quoniam videbimus eum, sicuti est*. De transformatione animae et corporis nullibi expresse habetur, sed solum habetur testimonio summorum pontificum in bullis suis ordini concessis, quod facta est in beato Francisco...

Similitudo secunda, scilicet perfectionalis, non solum habentem dignificat, quia, si sequi est imitari vestigia Aristotelis et philosophorum ad honorem sic facientium est hominum, multo fortius ipsum Deum hominem subsequi et ipsi conformari; insuper et sanctificat. Talis enim similitudo imitativa sanctos facit et reddit, et ipsa obtinetur, et non prima, regnum caelorum, ...

Tertia similitudo, videlicet transformativa, etsi quoad animam eam nobilitet, quia ipsa, praeter similitudinem naturalem et imitativam, facit eam deiformem, ut dicit Hugo et Boethius, et Deo modo singulari iungi et uniri, ut *unus spiritus efficiatur cum ipso*, ut ait divus apostolus Paulus, I Cor. 6, 17: quantum etiam ad corpus haec transformatio dignificat, ut videlicet, ea homo sic transformatus sic Christo similis reperiat, et Christus typicus nuncupetur...

At this point in the explanation Bartholomew introduces his most significant addition to Bonaventure's concept of the degrees of likeness — his insistence on the twofold nature of transformative similitude. It may be attained, he says, in the soul alone (as the mystics traditionally claimed), or in soul and body both (as was effected in Francis when he received the stigmata).



To make this distinction within the category of transformative similitude is, of course, not merely to exalt Francis, but to exclude every other saint from the highest category, since Bartholomew insists that the stigmata had been conferred on no saint but Francis.

Next, Bartholomew turns to explaining how the physical transformation could be brought about, and says it was accomplished by the force of Francis' love for God, shown forth *in works* — in the observance of divine laws and in the perfect imitation of Jesus.<sup>60</sup> Bartholomew, then, conceives conformity in two stages. First, Francis became worthy of full assimilation to Jesus by obedience and imitation, which are signs of love. Then, he was granted the external sign of the divine recognition of that love. Both stages were requisite for his complete conformity.<sup>61</sup> The forty chapters of the

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12. Sed qua vi et quomodo habeat fieri haec transformatio, patet ex dictis, quod vi amoris, ut dictum est per beatum Hugonem et Augustinum. Et ideo dicit beatus Augustinus, VIII *De civitate Dei* c. ultimo: 'Quid est amor, nisi quaedam vita duo aliqua copulans vel copulare appetens, amantem scilicet et amatum?' Sed nota, quod non quilibet amor, utpote remissus, habet talem vim, sed iuxta modum loquendi Bernardi debet esse praeceptum et vehemens per modum iuventutis, ut vincat omnia, dicendo cum apostolo, Rom 8, 35: *Quis nos separabit a caritate Christi?* etc.

Sed ulterius posset quaeri, quomodo hic amor arguitur, ostenditur et monstratur. Respondeo, quod operum exhibitione, ut dicit Gregorius: "Probatio dilectionis exhibitio est operis"; sed quorum operum dicit Salvator, Ioan. 14, 23: *Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit*; sic ergo praeceptorum divinorum observantia et Iesu imitatione perfecta. De primo ipse Salvator dicit, Ioan. 15, 10: *Ego praecepta Patris mei servavi et maneo in eius dilectione*. De ipsius imitatione dicit: *Hic me diligit*. Praefatorum operum exhibitione amor ostenditur et declaretur.

<sup>61</sup> The idea of conformity in works is also taken from Bonaventure, who distinguished between conformity *ad similitudinem* and *ad habitudinem*. In *In I Lib. Sent.*, Dist. 48, art. 1, quaest. 1, Conclusio, ed. Peltier, II, 224 he says of this second type of conformity: *Alio modo contingit conformari*

*De Conformitate* are intended to illustrate the first stage in the process (the second stage, the granting of the stigmata, is dealt with in one relatively brief chapter, *fructus* thirty-one).

Perhaps because he was convinced that his understanding of conformity was clear in the Second Prologue, Bartholomew apparently feels it unnecessary to repeat it in the body of the work. Consequently, it is never made clear, in the course of his biographical parallels, whether or not Francis conformed his life to Jesus' by an act of *unaided will*. To Bartholomew's critics, the structure of the treatise seems to assert implicitly that Francis had an adequately Herculean sanctity to accomplish the conformity unaided. Actually, both in the Second Prologue and in chapter thirty-one Bartholomew asserts that Francis was made worthy by Jesus — that in fact his life was *predestined* to be an imitation of the life of Christ to the extent that Francis' every act flowed from his "controlled" will.<sup>62</sup> But one

aliquid alicui secundum similem habitudinem, sive comparisonem, quae potest dici proportio, cum est rerum ejusdem generis; et proportionabilitas, cum est rerum diversorum generum, sive non communicantium, ut fiat vis in verbo. Large tamen loquendo utraque potest dici proportio: et haec nihil ponit commune, quia est per comparisonem duorum ad duo, et potest esse inter summe distantia. Et secundum hanc potest voluntas nostra conformari divinae, videlicet per similem habitudinem ad actum, ut sicut Deus quod vult, vult liberaliter et charitative, ita et homo; et per similem comparisonem ad objectum, ut quod vult Deus, velit homo, et eodem fine quo vult Deus, velit homo, hoc totum possibile est esse, et totum possibile est non esse: et ideo possibile est voluntatem nostram divinae conformari, et difformari...

Albert the Great *In I Lib. Sent.*, Dist. 48 had discussed the problem of the conformity of human and divine will extensively. He determined that man's will can be conformed to God's by imitation — by following God's will in the object desired, in form of desiring, and in goal or end: Dicendum, quod est conformitas assimilationis perfectae, vel proportionis determinatae: et in hac non possumus conformari. Est etiam conformitas in aliquo, quae est conformitas imitans perfectionem suae voluntatis in volito et forma volendi et fine, et in hac possumus ei conformari...". *In I Lib. Sent.*, Dist. 48, art. 1, ed. Jammy, in *Opera Omnia* (Paris, 1651) 14, 683.

He went on to pose a problem which Bartholomew never mentions: to which of God's "wills" is man able to conform? To God's will of good pleasure, secret and inscrutable though it is, or to his signified will (made known by signs — commands, precepts, and so on)? Albert determined that man is capable of obeying the signified will, and is therefore required to obey it alone. Albert, like Bartholomew later, distinguishes two kinds of conformity and subdivisions within each kind, but his schema does not resemble Bartholomew's in either terminology or content (*In I Lib. Sent.*, Dist. 48, art. 2, ed. Jammy, 14, 684).

Aquinas, following Albert, held that man must conform to God's signified will, and that full conformity between human and divine will requires that man: 1) will the same thing that God wills (material cause); 2) will what God desires him to will (efficient cause); 3) will something *because* God wills it (final cause); and 4) will something in the manner in which God desires him to will (formal cause). *Compendium Theologiae Veritatis*, Lib. I ch. 32, ed. Peltier, wrongly attributed to Bonaventure in *Sancti Bonaventurae... Opera Omnia*, 8 (Paris, 1866), 85-86.

<sup>62</sup> *De Conformitate*, Second Prologue (AF 4, 15). Dico ergo primo, quod in dictis verbis ostenditur conformitas singularis beati Francisci ad Christum. Sed in quo? Certe in vita virtuosa, quia dicitur,

wonders how strongly he kept this in mind as, at each point in his narrative, he lauds Francis' unique imitation of Jesus. For Bartholomew grafts on to Bonaventure's theoretical scheme the Joachimite idea of the "spiritual man", the Christian of the third age who would fulfill Jesus' prophecy that "He that believeth in me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater works than these shall he do".<sup>63</sup> So he implies in several places that Francis, in imitating Jesus, went *beyond* him in perfection.

In *fructus* one, when Bartholomew compiles two lists of the specific acts of the lives of Francis and Jesus, the list for Francis has sixty-four items, while the list for Jesus has only sixty-three.<sup>64</sup> Bartholomew is far too obsessed with numerical symmetry at every point in the *De Conformitate* not to have done this deliberately. In chapter thirteen, the number of men fed miraculously by Jesus is left undetermined — "... many thousands of men were fed from a few loaves",<sup>65</sup> whereas the two New Testament accounts give the numbers as four thousand and five thousand,<sup>66</sup> a fact well known to Bartholomew's readers. Francis, he says in the same chapter, fed six thou-

quod Christus cum *fecit*, scilicet *sibi similem*, videlicet primo in vita, et demum in ultimo, videlicet similitudine suae sacratissimae passionis prae aliis sanctis.

Pro cuius evidētia est notandum, quod, sicut experientia claret, philosophi asserunt, et ars omnis cum natura testatur et affirmat, forma nulla in subiectum seu materiam ullo modo introducitur et ponitur, nisi prius materia praevis alterationibus sit disposita, ordinata et formae introducendae conformata et assimilata. Quare et in spiritualibus et in nostro proposito, si in aliquem sanctorum forma et similitudo Christi omnimoda transformativa debet induci, decet, talem sanctum Christo conformari, convenire et similari. Et quamvis materia in principio alterationis formae introducendae dissimilis inveniatur, in ultimo tamen, facta alteratione, similis reperitur; sic et homo, etsi Christo sit dissimilis ex se dissimilitudine non naturali, sed perfectionali et imitativa, utpote, quia *natura filius irae*, Eph. 2, 3 ut in Christum mente transformetur et corpore, debet ei iungi et similari imitative et perfectionaliter. Ratio, etsi iam sit dicta, specialis est tamen, quia contraria iungi simul nequeunt. Cum ergo in tali similitudine transformativa anima uniatur Christo et cum ipso Deo unus fiat spiritus, exigitur ergo assimilatio et quod omnis absit contrarietas et oppositio. Christus ergo, sua misericordia et gratia sola, volens in ecclesia tam militanti quam triumphanti, cum sit sanctos condens et Rex regum, unum signiferum, vexilliferum, thesaurarium et cancellarium habere, ut sua victorialia signa ferret, et post quem omnes ire deberent et possent, beatum Franciscum suae passionis stigmatibus et signis consignavit in ultimo; prius eum tamen tam ante ortum beati Francisci quam post ortum reddendo conformem vitae actibus, disponendo et assimilando, prout est possibile, mortalem hominem sequi Dominum eiusque prosequi vestigia et imitari.

<sup>63</sup> Matt. 14, 12.

<sup>64</sup> *De Conformitate* 1, 1 and 2 (AF 4, 24-32, 34-40). A similar instance occurs in chapter four, when Bartholomew lists the comparative virtues of Jesus and Mary as "rays" of the star of Bethlehem. Mary is accorded sixteen, Jesus only fourteen. *Ibid.* 4, 1 (AF 4, 103-105).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.* 13, 1 (AF 5, 8). ... de paucis panibus saturatio multorum millium hominum.

<sup>66</sup> The feeding of the five thousand is narrated in Matt. 14, 13, Mark 6, 30, Luke 9, 12, and John 6, 1. The feeding of the four thousand is in Matt. 15, 32 and Mark 8, 1.

sans brethren.<sup>67</sup> In another place, Bartholomew carefully explains that Jesus' miracles differed from those of all others in one essential respect, that they were brought about by command.<sup>68</sup> Then he deliberately has Francis work a miracle in a dead friar with the words "I command thee..."<sup>69</sup>

From time to time Bartholomew states casually that, of course, no saint could really be compared to Jesus. In chapter twenty-five, for example, he says that "no saint, no matter how great in virtues, is worthy to be compared to him... nor ought anyone to be compared to him".<sup>70</sup> To substantiate this claim he compares Jesus to the fathers, patriarchs and prophets. Two pages later, however, he makes a parallel comparison of them to Francis. In chapter fifteen, Bartholomew says that, of course, he is not attempting to claim that Francis was transfigured as Jesus was.<sup>71</sup> But he goes on to make the comparison anyway, claiming that, for instance, being rapt in contemplation is a form of transfiguration, and Francis was often rapt;<sup>72</sup> further, one night Francis appeared to some of his companions riding in a fiery chariot in the air from Assisi to the Portiuncula.<sup>73</sup>

It would be easy to misinterpret these seemingly blasphemous assertions, particularly in a passage in which Francis is made to seem the rival of Jesus:

It was an amazing thing to create heaven and earth out of nothing; but it was greater to make an exceedingly holy man, for man is more noble than heaven and the rest of insensate creation. The sanctity of Saint Francis is especially declared in his stigmatization... It was a great and amazing thing to preserve Noah from the flood; but it was greater to preserve Saint Francis from mortal and venial sin by the stigmata... It was an amazing thing for Christ to have given such efficacy to his cross; but it was greater to have given himself totally to Saint Francis in the stigmatization.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>67</sup> *De Conformitate* Second Prologue (AF 4, 18).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* 13, 1 (AF 5, 3).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* 14, 1 (AF 5, 20).

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* 25, 1 (AF 5, 287). Quare nullus sanctus, quantumcumque magnus virtutibus, valet comparari eidem... nec aliquis eidem comparandus.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.* 15, 2 (AF 5, 75). Aestimandum enim non est, quod conformitas haec beati Francisci ad Christum velit dicere ipsum transfiguratum et beatum apparuisse fratribus suis in beatifica videlicet forma, sicut Christus Apostolis, quia hoc dicere esset omnino incongruum et non verum; sed haec conformitas vult dicere, quod sicut Christus (sicut dicit sanctus evangelista Lucas), Luke 8, 29, orando, *facta est eius species*, scilicet forma, non quantitative sed qualitative *altera* et in tali visus est a discipulis, sic beatus Franciscus (ut dicitur) orando, virtute orationis et divina, *facta est eius species altera*, ad instar Christi sublevatus a terra. Et sicut Christus lucida nube circumdatus, sic et beatus Franciscus a fratribus est visus sublevatus in aera, in modum crucis brachiis extensis, nebula lucida quadam totus circumamictus et vallatus.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.* 15, 2 (AF 5, 81).

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.* 15, 2 (AF 5, 77).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* 31, 2 (AF 5, 395-397). Mirabile fuit magnum caelum et terram de nihilo creare; sed

Yet a closer analysis makes it evident that in the last sentence of this passage, Jesus is really rivalling not Francis but himself. His gracious "entering into" Francis at the stigmatization was greater than his unique self-sacrifice on the cross. Francis was only the passive beneficiary of this rivalry.

Although it is possible to interpret everything Bartholomew says in an orthodox sense, even the Joachimite element (after all, Joachim's works were never condemned — the Lateran Council of 1215 had branded as heretical only his teachings on the trinity), still he is inclined to be overzealous in defense of his thesis of conformity, and what indulgent readers might condone in his work as ambiguity, less sympathetic readers would find scandalous. The *De Conformitate* was vulnerable to attack not only because of Bartholomew's thesis, but because of the methods by which he chose to support it.

The thesis is first of all uneven in its presentation. Some chapters are devoted to specific acts which occurred at the same period in the lives of Francis and Jesus: the presentation of both as infants to visitors in chapter four, the transfiguration of Jesus in chapter fifteen, the calming of the sea in chapter twenty, and the changing of water to wine in chapter twenty-two. More often, however, each chapter is devoted to a more general subject as exemplified in both lives, such as prayer, miracle working, or simply "virtue". In the numerous instances in which Bartholomew feels he could not find parallels for certain of Jesus' acts in Francis' life, he frequently changes the basis of comparison entirely. Chapter five, which is devoted to Jesus' persecution as a child, is "paralleled" in Francis' life by his lifelong illnesses, the ridicule of the citizens of Assisi, his father's driving him out of the house, and other events which occurred long *after* Francis had reached adulthood and which were brought on him as a result of his own actions. Furthermore, to minimize the chronological disparity between his two sets of "proofs", Bartholomew makes the theme of the chapter the *patience* of both men in the midst of adversities. Finding no direct parallel to Jesus' visit to the temple in Jerusalem at the age of twelve in Francis' life, Bartholomew chooses to speak in chapter six about both men's devotion to poverty. In so doing he suppresses entirely the wisdom of the young Jesus and his disputation with the doctors in the temple, which was the chief emphasis of the biblical narrative.<sup>75</sup>

maius fuit hominem sanctissimum facere, cum homo sit caelo et ceteris insensatis nobilior: sanctitas beati Francisci praecipue ex stigmatizatione declaratur. ... Magnum et mirabile fuit Noe a diluvio praeservare; sed maius fuit beatum Franciscum stigmatizatione a peccato praeservare mortali et frequentia venalium... Mirabile fuit Christum suae cruci tantum efficaciam dedisse; sed maius fuit beato Francisco stigmatizatione se totaliter dedisse.

<sup>75</sup> Luke 1 and 2.



In some instances, Bartholomew's comparisons rely on an allegorical interpretation of events, or on logical tricks. The first chapter deals with the prefiguring of Jesus in the Old Testament. The second section of it then takes as its basis a theme used in the first: *Deus non faciet verbum, nisi revelaverit secretum suum ad servos suos prophetas*,<sup>76</sup> and "proves" that Francis was also prefigured by the same Old Testament figures because he shared with them certain virtues. Thus he was "similar to the patriarchs in his numerous saintly progeny, to the prophets in his knowledge of the future", and so on.<sup>77</sup> Francis was not only prefigured by men, but by other animals and even by inanimate objects. The sun prefigures him, for instance, because like it he was exemplar of all: the dove prefigured his humility, the angels prefigured him for he was given a place in the seraphic rank in heaven, and thus contained within himself all lower angelic forms.<sup>78</sup> In chapter four the joyful presentation of the infant Jesus to various people and their embracing him is paralleled in Francis' life through a symbolic interpretation of "birth". At Francis' birth *in religion* he was shown to many by whom he was spiritually embraced.<sup>79</sup> Even at his physical birth, however, he was shown to an angel who came to see him disguised as a pilgrim.<sup>80</sup>

The gravest weakness of Bartholomew's method of supporting his comparisons between Francis and Jesus is that too often the "parallels" from Francis' life are hollow or fanciful imitations of Jesus' deeds. The story of the angel visiting Francis at birth, is ludicrous when compared to the biblical descriptions of the hosts of angels which attended Jesus' birth. Bartholomew's attempt to give Francis a "dual birth" and even a "dual nature" like Jesus, and his inclusion of Joachimite prophecies concerning Francis' birth are, in his presentation at least, too prosaic to be convincing. Furthermore, the parallels are, understandably, least successful when they deal with the passion of Jesus. Bartholomew could not document any incident in Francis' life which equalled the triumph of Jesus' final entry into Jerusalem. Francis never attacked ecclesiastical corruption overtly as Jesus did when driving the money changers from the temple. No legend states that Francis "descended into hell" as Jesus was traditionally said to have done. Despite five "appearances" to various people after his death, Francis was not resurrected in the flesh, and even Bartholomew does not make that explicit claim for him. Nor was Francis seen to ascend into heaven (not

<sup>76</sup> Amos 3, 7.

<sup>77</sup> *De Conformitate* 1, 2 (AF 4, 33-34).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* 1, 2 (AF 4, 34).

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.* 4, 2 (AF 4, 109).

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.* 4, 2 (AF 4, 108-109).

definitively, at any rate). Finally, despite Francis' reception of the stigmata, which few of Bartholomew's readers would have doubted, he was not actually crucified or martyred. Nothing could contrast more sharply with the agony of Jesus' passion than Francis' serene and joyous death.

Bartholomew's parallels are, to modern readers, often unconvincing. But contemporaries found them ingenious and illuminating, and their author both pious and erudite. For by far the most astonishing fact about Bartholomew's work is that its conclusions provoked no controversy. To be sure, his own standing in the Order may have influenced the interpretation contemporaries placed on his treatise. Still, although Bartholomew turned again to themes which, in the works of Spiritual writers, had aroused only fear and persecution in the early part of the fourteenth century, his reviving of them seems not to have made his orthodoxy suspect.

The *De Conformitate* itself is evidence that ideas dear to the Spirituals — exaltation of Francis' unique likeness to Jesus, veneration of the stigmata as the sign of that likeness, and, above all, the Joachimite concept of historical progress through parallel developmental stages in the church's history — had by late in the century become acceptable to the Conventuals. Its continued immunity to attack throughout the late Middle Ages suggests that these ideas were to become congenial to large numbers of friars. It remained for Protestant satirists to first expose the exaggerations and eccentricities in Bartholomew's portrayal of Francis.

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## ST. THOMAS ON THE SACRED NAME 'TETRAGRAMMATON'

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FROM the beginning of his career St. Thomas was concerned with the problem of identifying the most appropriate name of God. His first theological work, the *Scriptum* on the *Sentences*, discusses the subject at some length and concludes without qualification that among all the divine names the most suitable is 'He who is': '*qui est*' est maxime proprium nomen Dei inter alia nomina.<sup>1</sup> There was nothing original in this choice of the most fitting divine name; St. Thomas was simply following a long tradition in the Church, based on the revelation of this name in *Exodus* 3:14, and formulated by the Latin and Greek Fathers. Peter Lombard in his *Sentences*, and St. Thomas' master St. Albert in his commentary on the Lombard, passed on this tradition to the young St. Thomas.<sup>2</sup> He found in their writings the scriptural and patristic citations he used to show the appropriateness of this name. He also found in St. Albert's commentary the appeal to Jewish tradition, in the person of Moses Maimonides, that 'being' or 'I am who am' is the proper name of God.<sup>3</sup>

Throughout the discussion of the most suitable name of God in his *Scriptum* on the *Sentences* St. Thomas, like St. Albert, gives no indication that there may be a more fitting divine name than 'He who is'. He adds argument to argument to prove the suitability of this name in comparison with all others. One of these arguments is based on St. Jerome's description of the perfection of the divine being. As St. Jerome says, the being of God

<sup>1</sup> St. Thomas, *In I Sent.* d. 8, q. 1, a. 1; ed. P. Mandonnet (Paris, 1929), 1, pp. 194-195. This is also the primary name of God; see *ibid.* a. 3, pp. 199-210.

<sup>2</sup> See Peter Lombard, *Libri IV Sententiarum*, I, d. 8, c. 1 (Quaracchi, 1916) p. 57; St. Albert, *In I Sent.*, d. 2 D, a. 14 (Paris, 1893), 25, pp. 70-71.

<sup>3</sup> See St. Albert, *ibid.*, p. 71; St. Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 194. See Maimonides, *Dux seu Director Dubitantium aut Perplexorum* I, 62 (Paris, 1520: Minerva, 1964), fol. 25v.

has no past or future but is totally possessed in the present. Hence it is perfect, for what is perfect has nothing outside of itself. Our being, on the contrary, is imperfect: we lack in the present the part of ourselves that has gone into the past and the part that will come in the future. So the name 'He who is' is more suitable to God than to his creatures.<sup>4</sup> The indetermination of the name is another reason for its fittingness. When we name God 'He who is' we do not presume to say what God is; we only express being in an indeterminate fashion. As Damascene says, we do not in fact know the essence of God except negatively. Consequently we name God most properly as 'He who is'.<sup>5</sup> Another argument, drawn from Dionysius, urges that being is the primal perfection given to creatures by God. Hence the divine name expressing being is most appropriate to him.<sup>6</sup> Lastly, St. Thomas finds in the metaphysics of Avicenna a reason for the suitability of this divine name. We name things from their essences, as we call a person a man from his essence, which is humanity. Now creatures are not properly named from being, because their essence is not being; in them being differs from essence. But in God being is identical with his essence. So 'He who is' properly names him.<sup>7</sup>

Suitable as this name is, St. Thomas is well aware of its shortcoming in expressing the mystery of God. It cannot perfectly signify God, he explains, because it involves the synthesis or putting together of terms, which befits a composite or 'concreted' being but hardly the absolutely simple being of God. As the being of creatures imperfectly represents the divine being, so the name 'He who is' imperfectly expresses it. But it is more appropriate than other names of God, for these involve, besides the composition expressed by the name 'He who is', further additions. Thus, if we say 'God is wise', not only is there the imperfection implied by the composition of the subject 'God' and the verb 'is', but there is the added notion of wisdom. So there is a greater imperfection in the other names of God than in the name 'He who is'. In the final analysis all our knowledge and names of God fall short of their object. As we approach God we must remove from our knowledge of him all positive perfections, and then we are left in the darkness of ignorance. But God dwells precisely in this obscurity, and it is there that we are most united to him while pilgrims on earth. At this supreme moment of our ascent to God we are

<sup>4</sup> St. Thomas, *ibid.*, p. 195. See St. Jerome, *Epistola 15, Ad Damasum*; PL 22, 358.

<sup>5</sup> St. Thomas, *ibid.* See St. John Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, I, 9 (St. Bonaventure, New York, 1955), pp. 48-49; also I, 4, p. 19.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* See Dionysius, *De Divinis Nominibus*, I, 5; PG 3, 839 BC.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* See Avicenna, *Metaphysica*, I, 6 (Venice, 1508), fol. 72va.

joined to him through our very ignorance, and we stand before him as before the absolutely ineffable.<sup>8</sup>

The *Summa contra Gentiles* does not treat explicitly of the appropriate name of God, but at the end of the chapter in which St. Thomas proves the identity of essence and being in God (I, 22), he exclaims that this is the sublime truth taught to Moses by God when he declared 'I am who am'. This shows, St. Thomas says, that 'He who is' is God's appropriate name. He does not say that this is the most appropriate divine name, but no other name is suggested as more suitable.<sup>9</sup>

When commenting on the *Divine Names* of Dionysius, St. Thomas points out that, in giving the name of being to God, Dionysius does not intend to express the ineffable essence of God as it is in itself, but to manifest the procession of being from God to creatures.<sup>10</sup> Because creatures participate in being as the primary gift of God, he is named and praised suitably and principally by the name of being before all other names (*prae omnibus aliis nominibus*). He is praised primarily as existing, for existence is the most valuable gift he makes to his creatures. This is clear from *Exodus* 3:14, where it is said, "He who is sent me to you."<sup>11</sup> But this name does not express the ineffable mystery of God in himself, any more than the other divine names do. It praises God insofar as creatures are related to him by participating his gifts. Our most perfect knowledge of God is by negation, when we know him through realizing our own ignorance about him, and by that ignorance being united to him above our mind. Leaving behind all creatures — even the mind itself — the mind is then joined to the super-brilliant rays of the divinity in the realization that God transcends everything it can comprehend.<sup>12</sup>

The same sensitivity to the mystery of God is found in St. Thomas' *Disputed Questions on the Power of God*. There he explains that names such as 'wise', 'good', and 'being' signify the divine substance, but not perfectly or comprehensively, as it is in itself. They express it only insofar as it is known to us. The name 'He who is' is for this reason most suitable to God because it signifies being in an indeterminate way, without limiting God to any one particular form. Nevertheless the divine substance remains unknown to us. Our mind does not measure up to it, and hence it transcends our knowledge. So we know God best in this life by knowing that

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, ad 3m, p. 196.

<sup>9</sup> *Summa contra Gentiles*, I, 22, # 10.

<sup>10</sup> *In Divinis Nominibus*, V, 1, n. 618 (Rome, 1950), p. 233.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 635, p. 236.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, VII, 4, n. 732, p. 275.

we do not know him, aware that his nature transcends everything we can know about him.<sup>13</sup>

In all these writings St. Thomas is concerned to show that we can know something truly about God from creatures and name him suitably from the names we give to them. They are in agreement that the most appropriate name we can give to him is 'He who is', a name derived from the being imparted to creatures by God as their primal participation in him. At the same time St. Thomas never loses sight of the fact that God's nature in itself remains unknown to us and consequently that as such it is ineffable. So inscrutable and mysterious is God that his essence is wholly unknown to us.<sup>14</sup> But no name is suggested whereby we can express this unknown essence and mystery of God.

The *Summa Theologiae* is the only work of St. Thomas, to my knowledge, that recognizes a divine name that is in a sense more suitable than 'He who is' because it expresses the ineffable and incommunicable divine substance. This is 'Tetragrammaton', the sacred name revealed by God to Moses in *Exodus*.<sup>15</sup> The *Summa* does not deny anything said in the earlier writings about the appropriateness of the name 'He who is', but it adds a significant item to the doctrine of the divine names, while developing this doctrine in a remarkable way.

St. Thomas in the *Summa* distinguishes between two ways in which names may be suitable to things: from the perspective of that from which the name is derived, and from the perspective of that which the name is designed to signify.<sup>16</sup> This grammatical distinction goes back at least as far as Varro's *De Lingua Latina* and it was well known in the middle ages.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *De Potentia Dei*, 7, 5. "... illud est ultimum cognitionis humanae de Deo quod sciat se Deum nescire, in quantum cognoscit illud quod Deus est, omne ipsum quod de eo intelligimus excedere." ad 14m.

<sup>14</sup> *Summa contra Gentiles*, III, 49, #9. See A. C. Pegis, "Penitus manet ignotum," *Mediaeval Studies* 27 (1965), 212-226.

<sup>15</sup> *Summa Theologiae*, I, 13, 11, ad 1m. See Exodus 3: 15. On the sacred name of Tetragrammaton, see W. F. Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1957), pp. 257-272. G. Lambert, "Que signifie le nom divin de YHWH?" *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, 74 (1952), 897-915. M. M. Bourke, "Yahweh, the Divine Name," *The Bridge*, 3 (1958), 271-287. A. M. Dubarle, "La signification du nom de Yahweh," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, 35 (1951), 5-21.

<sup>16</sup> "Dicendum quod non est semper idem id a quo imponitur nomen ad significandum, et id ad quod significandum nomen imponitur." *Summa Theol.*, I, 13, 8.

<sup>17</sup> "Cum uniuscuiusque verbi naturae sint duae, a qua re et in qua re vocabulum sit impositum... priorem illam partem, ubi cur et unde sint verba scrutantur, Graeci vocant *ἐτυμολογίαν*; illam alteram *περὶ σημαινόμενων*." Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, V, 2 (London, Cambridge, Mass. 1951), pp. 2-4. St. Albert uses this distinction, *In I Sent.* d. 2 D, a. 11 (Paris, 1893) 25, p. 66.

Following Varro, St. Thomas connects this distinction with the difference between the etymology of a word and its meaning. The etymology of a word has to do with that from which the word is derived for the purpose of signification, while its meaning regards that which the word is designed to signify. These are sometimes different. For instance, the etymology of the word *lapis* is said to be *laedere pedem* (to hurt the foot), though the word does not signify this. If it did, iron would be a stone, for iron hurts the foot. So too, the word *superstitio* is derived from *superstes* (surviving), though the word signifies a vice opposed to religion.<sup>18</sup>

Applying this distinction to the names of God, St. Thomas explains that from the viewpoint of the origin of the name 'He who is' is most appropriate to him. For this name is derived from being [*esse*], which is, according to St. Thomas, the most perfect of all actualities. Clearly, in our effort to name God, being will serve as the best source of the name. The very generality of 'He who is', which at first sight may seem to militate against its suitability as a divine name, is in its favour. If, as Damascene says, God is infinite and unlimited in his being, no name signifying a determinate mode of being would be suitable to him. So the mode of signification of 'He who is' makes it a fitting name of God. Still another reason for its appropriateness is its manner of consignifying. Like all verbs, 'is' signifies an act (the act of existing) and it consignifies the action as taking place in a certain time, namely in the present. This is most suitable to God, whose being knows no past or future but only the present.<sup>19</sup>

Turning to the appropriateness of the divine name from the perspective of the object which the name is designed to signify, St. Thomas finds the name 'God' (*Deus*) more appropriate.<sup>20</sup> With St. Ambrose he considers this name to be the name of a nature: it has been imposed to designate the nature of God.<sup>21</sup> Its etymology is another matter. Following St. John Damascene he derives the name (in its Greek form *θεός*) from the providential action of God. Damascene considers three possible derivations of *θεός*. It may come from *θεεῖν*, which means to take care of or to cherish; or from *αἰθεῖν*, which means to burn (God is a consuming fire); or from *θεᾷσθαι*, which means to consider or think about. No matter which of these etymologies is correct, the name is taken from an action of God, more likely from his providential care of all things. But even though the name is taken from this action, it is imposed to signify the divine nature. Of course, we do not know this nature in itself but only through its effects,

<sup>18</sup> *Summa Theol.*, II-II, 92, 1, ad 2m.

<sup>19</sup> *Summa Theol.*, I, 13, 11.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, ad 1m.

<sup>21</sup> I, 13, 8. See Ambrose, *De Fide*, I, 1; PL 16, 553.

by way of eminence, causality, and negation. Nevertheless, those who invented the name did so to signify a reality that is the transcendent source of all things.<sup>22</sup>

If this is true, the name 'God' is reserved for the divine nature and it is incommunicable to anything else.<sup>23</sup> There is only one God and one divine nature, so the name belongs to him alone. Other names of natures are different in that they are properly communicable to many individuals. For example, the name 'lion' designates a certain nature, and it applies in its proper sense to many individuals, to all that share in the nature of the species. Even some things that do not have the full nature of lion, but share in some of its properties, can be given the name. We may call someone a lion because of his boldness or strength. This is a metaphorical use of the term.

Although the name 'God' is properly applicable only to the one God, it is not, in St. Thomas' view, a personal name, like 'Achilles'. This is the proper name of a person. A name such as this is incommunicable both in reality and in thought. Given to designate the one individual person, it refers to him and to him alone. It can be applied to others only by way of metaphor. Someone may be called 'Achilles' because he is like the original, say, in his courage.

Because the name 'God' designates a nature and not a person, it is communicable to others, not in reality, to be sure, but in the thought or opinion of some men. Some think there are many gods, all sharing in the nature of divinity. In this regard 'God' is like the word 'sun'. 'Sun' is the name of a nature, but in reality this nature is found in only one individual according to the Ptolemaic astronomy. However, in the opinion of some there are many suns; so at least in thought or opinion the word is applicable to many individual heavenly bodies.

It should be noticed that St. Thomas is here comparing the words 'God' and 'sun', not their natures. The divine nature, in his view, cannot be participated by many individual substances, whereas the nature of the sun is such that it might be shared by many, though in reality it is not. But the words 'God' and 'sun' are alike in that they are not proper but 'appellative' names, for they signify a nature as existing in some individual. They are not personal names of individuals.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.* See Damascene, *De Fide Orthodoxa*, I, 9, n. 3 (St. Bonaventure, New York, 1955), p. 49.

<sup>23</sup> I, 13, 9.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, ad 2m. For mediaeval logicians *appellatio* is the present applicability of a term to something; it is the calling of a present individual by a general term. See W. and M. Kneale, *The Development of Logic* (Oxford, 1962), p. 248.



Not only is the name 'God' communicable in thought to many individual substances; it can also be applied in an improper and metaphorical sense to others besides the one divine substance. Thus we read in Scripture "I have said, you are gods" (*Psalms* 81:6). Here some men are called gods metaphorically, because they have some godlike characteristic, and not the full divine nature. The name 'God' applies to them, not in its full meaning, but in some aspect of it.<sup>25</sup>

When it is applied in this way, the word 'God' is used analogously and not univocally. When the pagans speak of many gods, and Scripture gives the name to some godlike men, the term is used by way of analogy. It is similar to 'healthy' applied to an animal and also to urine and medicine. The word 'healthy' has a proper meaning applicable to a living organism; it can be extended to other things because of some relation they have to the health of a living body. A similar analogous use can be made of the name 'God'.<sup>26</sup>

Is there a divine name that is absolutely incommunicable, that applies to God and to him alone? 'He who is' and God do not seem to answer this description. If there were such a radically incommunicable name it would not signify the divine nature, but the divine person or supposit. It would be a personal, proper name of God, like 'Achilles', or the name of the sun designating it not in its nature but as an individual substance. St. Thomas suggests that perhaps the Hebrew name 'Tetragrammaton' fits this description. Like the name 'God' it has been given to signify the reality of God, but it is even more appropriate than this name because it does not signify his nature but the incommunicable and (if one can use the expression) the singular substance itself of God.<sup>27</sup>

Thus, among the three names of God: 'He who is', 'God', and 'Tetragrammaton', the first is most appropriate from the point of view of the origin of the name, the second is more suitable from the perspective of that which the name has been given to signify, and from this same viewpoint the third is even more fitting.

This treatment of the problem of the appropriate name of God in the *Summa Theologiae* is an important advance over St. Thomas' early handling of the subject. The *Scriptum* on the *Sentences* considers the suitability of the divine name only from the point of view of the derivation of the name, not from the perspective of the reality the name is intended to signify.

<sup>25</sup> *Summa Theol.*, I, 13, 9.

<sup>26</sup> *Summa Theol.*, I, 13, 10.

<sup>27</sup> "Et adhuc magis proprium nomen est Tetragrammaton, quod est impositum ad significandum ipsam Dei substantiam incommunicabilem, et, ut sic liceat loqui, singularem." *Summa Theol.*, I, 13, 11, ad 1m.

Hence its conclusion that among all the names of God 'He who is' is the most fitting. But when the latter viewpoint is adopted the *Summa* finds the name 'God' more suitable, and 'Tetragrammaton' even more appropriate.

Where did St. Thomas obtain his knowledge about the sacred Hebrew name 'Tetragrammaton'? Some information about it was available through St. Jerome. In his *Letter to Marcella* on the ten names of God St. Jerome explains that this is the ineffable divine name composed of the four Hebrew letters Jod, He, Vau, He. He distinguishes it from the name 'He who is' (*Esher ehjeh*).<sup>28</sup> In his commentary on Ezechiel he says that it is equivalent to *Dominus* in the Septuagint and that it applies properly to God.<sup>29</sup> Alcuin in his *Disputatio Puerorum* repeats the information given by Jerome in his *Letter to Marcella*.<sup>30</sup> The Venerable Bede also passed on to the later middle ages the fact that the Jews used 'Tetragrammaton' as the ineffable, wonderful name of God, adding that it was inscribed on the forehead of the priests.<sup>31</sup>

Although these Christian writers were available to St. Thomas, they were not his main source of information about the sacred name; rather it was the medieval Jewish theologian Moses Maimonides. The development in his doctrine of the divine names which we have noted was due to his careful reading of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed* and his greater assimilation of its thought in the *Summa*. In the *Scriptum* on the *Sentences* he cites Maimonides as an authority for the statement that 'He who is' is the ineffable and most worthy name of God, but he does not mention the Jewish theologian's long discussion of the sacred name 'Tetragrammaton'. Like his master St. Albert, he ignored this name when commenting on the *Sentences*. Only in the *Summa* does this name feature in his doctrine of the divine names.

Maimonides clearly distinguishes between the divine names 'Tetragrammaton' and 'I am who am', devoting two chapters to the former and a separate one to the latter.<sup>32</sup> The chapters on 'Tetragrammaton'

<sup>28</sup> St. Jerome, *Ad Marcellam. De decem nominibus Dei*; PL 22, 429.

<sup>29</sup> St. Jerome, *Commentaria in Ezechielem*, 9, 28, n. 327; PL 25, 266. The Greek Fathers were also acquainted with the sacred Tetragrammaton as the ineffable and mystical personal name of God. See, for example, Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, V, 6, 34; PG 9, 60. Also Origen, *Selecta in Psalmos*, II; PG 12, 1104.

<sup>30</sup> Alcuin, *Disputatio Puerorum*; PL 101, 1108 D, 1109 D.

<sup>31</sup> Bede, *Explanatio Apocalypsis*, I, 7; PL 93, 150 A. See Dungal, *Liber adversus Claudium*; PL 105, 489 C. See also Petrus Alphonsus, *Dial.*, 6; PL 157, 611, and Garnerius of Rochefort, *Contra Amaurianos*, 10; ed. C. Baeumker (Münster, 1926), pp. 34-39.

<sup>32</sup> Maimonides, *Dux seu Director Dubitantium aut Perplexorum*, I, 60-62 (Paris, 1520: Minerva, 1964), fol. 24r-26v. The Latin version of this work was made about 1240 from the Hebrew trans-

stress its uniqueness as a divine name. All the other names of God are said to be derived from the works or actions of God, with the one exception of this name. It signifies the creator's substance purely, for nothing else shares it with him. 'Tetragrammaton' is the peculiar name of God; it is a 'separated' name (*nomen separatum*). Even the divine name 'Adonai', which means Lord (and which was used in place of the sacred name 'Tetragrammaton'), is shared by others. Abraham, for example, called an angel 'Adonai' or 'my lord'. Names like 'judge', 'just', 'gracious', 'merciful', and 'Elohim' are derived from creatures and are applied generally both to God and creatures. But 'Tetragrammaton' is the proper name of God; having no known etymology, it is shared with none of his creatures.<sup>33</sup>

This name, Maimonides continues, is written but not pronounced. Because of its sacredness it was uttered only in the sanctuary by the holy priests when giving their blessing and by the high priest on the Day of Atonement. Not all Jews knew how to pronounce it. Once a week wise men taught their children and suitable disciples its pronunciation and meaning. Thus is remained a 'spiritual secret'. Another secret name of God, composed of twelve letters, was used as a substitute for it, but this was not a name peculiar to God. Because of the corruption of the people even this name was concealed from them. It was taught only to good priests so that they could use it in blessing the people. The use of the sacred name 'Tetragrammaton' was prohibited at this time and no longer used in the sanctuary. The meaning of the four letters that compose it was lost; indeed the language in which it is written is but poorly known today. Maimonides suggests that it means 'necessary existence' (*necesse esse*). What he is certain is that it designates the very reality of God in such a way that nothing else is signified by it.<sup>34</sup>

Reading this account of the sacred name, St. Thomas must have indeed been puzzled. What is this name, so sacred to the Jews, that they hardly dared to pronounce it? The Latin text available to him contains its four Hebrew letters (Yod, He, Vau, He), but this throws no light on the mystery of the name. For him, as for the Jews, it remained a 'spiritual secret' (*secretum spirituale*). It is of so little use to a theologian who wishes to illumine the contents of faith that it is no wonder that it finds small place in St. Thomas' writings. It occurs exactly where it is needed, at the point where

lation of the Arabic original. See E. Synan, "Maimonides," *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, St. Louis, 1967), 9, pp. 79-81.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 60, fol. 24rv.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, fol. 24v-25v. The reference to *necesse esse* is ch. 60, fol. 24v.

he is looking for a personal name of God that is shared by no one else, that has no known etymology, and that is not derived from creatures. Maimonides' description of 'Tetragrammaton' answers this description perfectly. St. Thomas takes the name as thus described, without mentioning Maimonides' conjecture that it means 'necessary existence'. It must have occurred to him that if this is its meaning it cannot be said to be underived, as Maimonides himself claims. It would have its origin in existence, which, as the Jewish theologian himself says, is the derivation of the divine name 'I am who am'.

At the end of the chapters on 'Tetragrammaton' Maimonides declares that he will now consider in a separate chapter the divine name 'I am who am', which was revealed to Moses by God himself. This clearly shows that he regarded these names as distinct, as did Philo many years before him.<sup>35</sup> Not only does Maimonides devote separate chapters to these names but he considers the Tetragrammaton to be underived, having no known origin, whereas 'I am who am' is derived from the verb 'to be'. At the same time he seems to think they are closely related, since he associates both with the notion of necessary existence. The two names indeed appear in the same context in chapter three of *Exodus*: 'Tetragrammaton' in verse 15 (Yod, He, Vau, He, translated in the Septuagint *Κόσιος*, and in the Vulgate *Dominus*), and 'I am who am' in verse 14 (translated in the Septuagint *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν*, and in the Vulgate *Ego sum qui sum*).

Maimonides' explanation of this latter name struck St. Thomas as being of the greatest significance. According to the Jewish theologian the majority of the people in Moses' day, exiled in Egypt, were idolators and ignorant of the existence of the creator. God's revelation of his name to Moses was meant to assure them of his existence and his ability to lead them out of captivity. The name 'I am who am' gave to the Jewish people a true notion of his existence. It is derived from the verb 'to be' (*hayah*), which means existence. In Hebrew, Maimonides says, there is no difference between saying 'He was' and 'He existed'. The whole secret and meaning of the name lies in the fact that it does not ascribe an attribute to God. Other positive names do. Thus if we call God good we name him through an attribute distinct from himself; but this is improper since God has no

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 61, fol. 25v. In his translation of Maimonides' *Guide of the Perplexed*, S. Munk comments that, like other theologians, Maimonides thought he should separate the name 'Tetragrammaton' from all other divine names and regard it as a proper name, without known etymology, though it is clear that the name contains the meaning of being. See S. Munk, *Le Guide des Égarés* (Paris, 1856), p. 269, n. 2. According to H. A. Wolfson, Philo always distinguishes between the divine name 'Tetragrammaton' and 'He that is'. See his *Philo* (Cambridge, Mass., 1947), 2, pp. 121-122, n. 60.

attributes differing from himself. He is absolutely one and simple. However, when we name God through existence, as 'I am who am', the subject is identical with the predicate. This makes it clear that God does not exist through existence, as an attribute distinct from himself. Rather, he exists through himself; he is sufficient to himself for his existence. This makes us aware of the existence of a necessary being that never was or will be non-existent.<sup>36</sup>

Throughout this chapter Maimonides reveals himself as both a biblical exegete and a metaphysician reflecting on the philosophical import of the revelation of the divine name. It has already been pointed out how significant these pages of the *Guide of the Perplexed* were for St. Thomas' own metaphysics.<sup>37</sup> What is less-known is their influence on the development of his doctrine of the most appropriate divine name, and in particular on his distinction between 'Tetragrammaton' and 'I am who am' or 'He who is'.<sup>38</sup> He may have known the *Guide* when he wrote his *Scriptum* on the *Sentences*, but in those early days he did not mention the name 'Tetragrammaton'. His whole attention was given to 'He who is' as the most proper name of God, derived from the being of creatures and imperfectly signifying the being of God. At this stage, under the influence of his teacher St. Albert, he seems to have ignored the underived, personal name 'Tetragrammaton'. Yet he was as fully aware then as he was in later years of the sublime mystery of the divine reality and the impossibility of knowing what it is or giving it a completely adequate name. As a boy in the Benedictine monastery of Montecassino he often asked the monks "What is God?"<sup>39</sup> In later life, after mature reflection and conscious of his solidarity with a long Jewish and Christian tradition, he concluded that in this world we cannot strictly answer this question; that the essence of God remains wholly unknown to us.<sup>40</sup> He would not agree with Maimonides that (with the exception of 'Tetragrammaton') we cannot apply positive names to God in their proper

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 62, fol. 25v-26r.

<sup>37</sup> See E. Gilson, "Maimonide et la Philosophie de l'Exode," *Mediaeval Studies*, 13 (1951), 223-225.

<sup>38</sup> E. Gilson draws attention to this influence in the following note: "... the very indetermination of HE IS prevents it from naming any nature. Consequently, as a name of nature, God is more appropriate. But there is a still more appropriate one: 'the name Tetragrammaton [Yahweh] imposed to signify the substance itself of God, incommunicable and, if one may so speak, singular' (ST, I, q. 13, a. 11, ad 1). Cf. Maimonides, *Guide*, I, 61, where it is shown that, appropriately enough, we do not know how to pronounce this name of God's individual nature." *Elements of Christian Philosophy* (New York, 1960), p. 309, n. 13.

<sup>39</sup> See P. Calo, *Vita S. Thomae Aquinatis* (*Fontes Vitae S. Thomae Aquinatis*, ed. D. Prümmer, (Toulouse, s.d.), p. 19; V. J. Bourke, *Aquinas' Search for Wisdom* (Milwaukee, 1965), p. 13.

<sup>40</sup> See above, note 14.

sense; that only negative names are properly meaningful of him.<sup>41</sup> But he was fully in accord with him that at the end of our search for God we are left with a mystery that the human mind cannot penetrate; and he was indebted to him for pointing out the sacred name that designates God in these mysterious depths: 'Tetragrammaton'.

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<sup>41</sup> St. Thomas, *Summa Theol.*, I, 13, 2.

## METAPHYSICAL SEPARATION IN AQUINAS

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### I

PRIMARY philosophy, according to the express wording of the *Metaphysics* (E 1, 1026a16; K 7, 1064a28-36), deals with things that are separate. But what exactly should "separate" mean in this particular context?

In the original Aristotelian setting (1025a-27-b15; 1064a23-28), "separate" had been contrasted with presence in matter. It had been illustrated by the example of concavity. The notion "concave" does not involve any particular substrate of its own. Concavity can be found in any type of matter. Snubness, in contrast, requires its own peculiar substrate, a nose. But is this Aristotelian illustration very fortunate for the purpose envisaged? Does it not cause trouble? The contrast it brings out is only relative. The notion of concavity, even though it does not require a particularly constituted bit of matter such as a nose, does require matter of some kind. If everything material were eliminated, nothing could be concave. The notion may be separated from specific material entities in the sense that no one definite type rather than a different type is demanded for its presence. Neither a nose nor any other material thing taken in turn is essential to it. But it is not separate from matter in the sense that no material substrate whatsoever is needed for it. Rather, wherever it is encountered it involves matter of some kind.

The force of this ambiguity in separation from matter becomes apparent even in the immediate Aristotelian context. There mathematics deals with things that are not separate (1064a32-33), even though concavity had just been used to exemplify a mathematical notion in contrast to the physical notion of snubness. Likewise some branches of mathematics are said to treat of things as separate, even though the things are perhaps not separate but as in matter (1026a9-15). In the *Physics* (II 2, 193b33-194b7), moreover, the mathematician is said to separate them in his thought. Along

with "odd" and "straight," "curved" is here used as a mathematical example in contrast to "snub."

These considerations show how awkwardly the factor of separation as a specifying principle in the division of the sciences was introduced into western philosophical tradition. It was presented as separation from matter and was illustrated by the way the mathematical may be separated in thought from the material in which they happen to be embodied. A mathematical such as a curve may be embodied in a nose, but likewise may be found separate from that specific type of embodiment. What is the significance here? Basically this seems to be nothing more than the separation of a more generic notion from any particular species in which the notion may happen to be found. Yet in regard to the mathematical it has a special application. The mathematical such as a line or the number ten have a distinct intelligibility of their own when they are regarded in separation from the sensible instances in which they are found. They become objects of a science that can penetrate their natures and explain them in terms of their causes in the quantitative order. In this they differ from notions in other categories such as tree or yellow or sleep, notions that merely as notions remain impenetrable to human understanding. The mathematical can accordingly serve as a model for the separation of a scientific object from particular instances.

Nevertheless the force of the illustration was placed by Aristotle in the fact that the quantitative notion can be found in separation from certain instances in which it may happen to be present, as for instance concavity may be found apart from the snubness of a nose. On this principle any generic universal may be regarded as apart from any of its species, just as animality may be found apart from a lion. Likewise a specific universal may be realized apart from a particular individual such as Socrates. Further, a super-generic universal like being or unit may be considered as apart from material things. All these possibilities would seem to remain open on the strength of the Aristotelian illustration.

## II

The last mentioned possibility is in fact the way the subject of metaphysics is regarded as separate by St Thomas Aquinas, in the wake of a tradition that had been developing through Avicenna. True to its Aristotelian requirement of separate objects, Aquinas insists that metaphysics in its totality has to bear on things that are separate. But, he argues, this does not mean that it has to have the separate substances as its subject. Rather, metaphysics is specified by common being, which because it can be found apart from material things is something that can be regarded



as separate from matter. Separate substances and first causes are not its subject, but only the principles and causes of its subject:

From this it is clear that although this science considers the three things just mentioned, it nevertheless does not consider each of them as its subject, but only the common being... But although the subject of this science is common being, it still applies wholly to things that are separate from matter in being and notion. For not only the things that can never be in matter, such as God and the intellectual substances, are said to be separated in being and notion, but also those that can be without matter, such as common being.<sup>1</sup>

These statements are made by Aquinas in introducing his readers to the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle. They should be expected to present the type of science contained in the Aristotelian treatises. The effort to make the assertions bear upon the Aristotelian science is in fact obvious. The aim is to ensure that the science deals with separate things, in accord with the plain wording of the Stagirite's text. The concept of separation in this context is likewise explained carefully as separation from matter, again following the Aristotelian wording. But is the end result at all recognizable as genuine Aristotelian doctrine?

There are reasons enough for doubt. The Aristotelian primary philosophy was clearly meant to be dealing with things separate in the sense of things divine. It was in this way expressly a theological science (*Metaph.* E 1, 1026a15-32; K 7, 1064a33-b14). It was accordingly specified by the things that, in Aquinas' wording, "can never be in matter." Its subject would therefore be these absolutely immaterial or divine things. The concept of a subject that is separate in the sense of something able to be found without matter though in other instances able to be found with matter, does not enter into this notion. Rather, it clashes blatantly with it. All other things are treated of indeed by the theological science, yet only as secondary instances related to the primary instance that forms its subject.<sup>2</sup> But in the view presented by Aquinas, the separate substances are treated

<sup>1</sup> "Ex quo apparet, quod quamvis ista scientia praedicta tria consideret, non tamen considerat quodlibet eorum ut subiectum, sed ipsum solum ens commune... Quamvis autem subiectum huius scientiae sit ens commune, dicitur tamen tota de his quae sunt separata a materia secundum esse et rationem. Quia secundum esse et rationem separari dicuntur, non solum illa quae nunquam in materia esse possunt, sicut Deus et intellectuales substantiae, sed etiam illa quae possunt sine materia esse, sicut ens commune." In *Metaph.*, Proem. Cf. In *Boeth. de Trin.*, V, 4, Resp.; ed. Decker, p. 195.6-27.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be the obvious meaning at E 1, 1026a29-32 and K 7, 1064b11-14, in the setting of focal meaning through reference as established in the opening chapters of *Gamma* and the parallel section of *Kappa* (3, 1060b31-1061a15). A discussion of the topic may be found in my book *The Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian 'Metaphysics'*, 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1963).

of by metaphysics only because of their causal relation to another subject, common being, as contradistinguished from divine being.

Aquinas seems to have been well enough aware that according to the Aristotelian text the science of the primary instance of being was the science that treated of being in general: "And because the consideration of common being pertains to the science to which the consideration of the primary being belongs, therefore the consideration of common being belongs to another science than natural philosophy."<sup>3</sup> This perspective regards two sciences, primary philosophy and natural philosophy, as already established. It asks to which of these two sciences does the consideration of common being pertain. Accordingly it regards the consideration of the primary being as basic to Aristotle's metaphysics. The treatment of common being is a subsequent consideration, presupposing the science as already established.

Likewise the relation of common being to primary being is read by Aquinas as that of secondary instances to primary instance, in the way sketched by Aristotle at the beginning of Book *Gamma* of the *Metaphysics*. The science is always of the primary instance, and through the primary instance it extends to the secondary instances: "For it is the same science that treats of the primary being and of common being, as has been stated in the beginning of the fourth Book."<sup>4</sup> This assertion is made in a context in which the primary instance is not substance in general but immobile substance, substance that is prior to the physical order. It makes the separate or immaterial substances the primary instance of all being, after the pattern in which substance is prior to accidents and subsequent instances of being. In this gradated way the science considers separate substances and in consequence treats of being in general. The science is accordingly viewed as basically the science of the separate substances, a theological science in the Aristotelian understanding of the term. Aquinas seems to read nothing else in the text of the *Metaphysics*.

The same order among the various objects treated of by the science is similarly noted in the commentary on Book *Kappa*. The science is universal, *because* the primary beings are the principles of the other beings. The type of universality operative here is clearly marked as universality through reference, in the way food and medicine and exercise are healthy through reference to the bodily disposition: "For it is the same science that

<sup>3</sup> "Et quia ad illam scientiam pertinet consideratio entis communis, ad quam pertinet consideratio entis primi, ideo ad aliam scientiam quam ad naturalem pertinet consideratio entis communis..." In *IV Metaph.* lect. 5, Cathala-Spiazzi no. 593.

<sup>4</sup> "... eadem enim est scientia primi entis et entis communis, ut in principio quarti habitum est." In *VI Metaph.*, lect. 1, no. 1170.

treats of the primary beings, and that is universal. For the primary beings are the principles of the others."<sup>5</sup> In regard to setting up the science, the role of the separable and immobile objects is viewed as primary. The universality then follows.

In fact, Aquinas seems to contrast fairly sharply what he reads in the *Metaphysics* with the cast given to the science by Avicenna. The separate things spoken of in the Aristotelian text are definitely recognized to be strictly supersensible. Yet the primary philosophy is concerned not only with them but also with sensible things. But there is an alternative, found in Avicenna. Under the notion "separate" may be classed aspects that are common to both sensible and supersensible, on the ground that in supersensible things these aspects are found apart from matter:

Now it is to be noted that although things that are separate in being and notion from matter and movement pertain to the consideration of the primary philosophy, they are not the only ones. Rather the philosopher also treats of sensible things, insofar as they are beings. Unless perhaps we may say, as Avicenna says, that these common objects of which this science treats are called separate in being — not because they are always without matter but because they do not necessarily have being in matter as do the mathematical.<sup>6</sup>

The conception of the subject of metaphysics as introduced by Aquinas in the Proem to his commentary is accordingly regarded by him as different from the conception found in the Aristotelian text. It is a conception inscribed in its basic lines to Avicenna.<sup>7</sup> It uses the notion "separate" in a way that is other than that in which the Aristotelian *Metaphysics* characterizes the subject with which the primary philosophy deals. By "separate" in this context the *Metaphysics* meant immaterial. It referred to things that could not exist in matter. With Avicenna, on the other hand, "separate" means common objects able to exist in matter but also able to exist in separation from matter. Yet at the beginning of the above text from Aquinas, sensible things were contrasted with things separate in being and notion.

<sup>5</sup> "Eadem enim est scientia quae est de primis entibus, et quae est universalis. Nam prima entia sunt principia aliorum." In *XI Metaph.*, lect. 7, no. 2267.

<sup>6</sup> "Avertendum est autem, quod licet ad considerationem primae philosophiae pertineant ea quae sunt separata secundum esse et rationem a materia et motu, non tamen solum ea; sed etiam de sensibilibus, inquantum sunt entia, philosophus perscrutatur. Nisi forte dicamus, ut Avicenna dicit, quod huiusmodi communia de quibus haec scientia perscrutatur, dicuntur separata secundum esse, non quia semper sint sine materia; sed quia non de necessitate habent esse in materia, sicut mathematica." In *VI Metaph.*, lect. 1, no. 1165.

<sup>7</sup> See Avicenna, *Metaphysica*, tr. I, cap. 1 (Venice, 1508), fol. 70.

In characterizing the metaphysical separation as "separate in being and notion," the wording of the commentary moreover tends to increase the suspicions of significant departure from the original meaning of the Aristotelian text. The phrase "in being and notion," as qualifying "separate," is obviously meant to echo the *Metaphysics* (H 1, 1042a29-31). Here "in notion" in English and *secundum rationem* in Latin translate satisfactorily enough the Greek *kata ton logon* (a31). But what is expressed as separate "in being" or *secundum esse* was in the Greek "absolutely" separate.<sup>8</sup> The notion "being" did not enter into the designation. In fact, in a context like this the Aristotelian use of the infinitive *einai* would give a very formal cast to the notion. The meaning would be that of a formal aspect.<sup>9</sup> It would accordingly coincide with the meaning of "in notion." It would not set up any contrast between "separate in notion" and "separate in being."

Moreover, the meaning in the Aristotelian contrast between the two expressions was that of a form that had to exist in matter but could be understood as an intelligible object apart from the matter in which it was realized, on the one hand, and on the other a form that could exist just in itself.<sup>10</sup> The former was separate in notion only. The latter was separate both in notion and absolutely. The translation "in being and in notion" accordingly does not do any injustice to the Aristotelian meaning, provided that "being" is understood in an existential sense. In the context the notion "absolutely" was explained by Aquinas as "able to exist by itself separately in the real world."<sup>11</sup> In contrast, "separable in notion" was allowed three possible interpretations — sensible form in contradistinction

<sup>8</sup> These two kinds of separation in Aristotle and the texts on separation in the *Metaphysics* have been thoroughly studied in an as yet unpublished doctoral dissertation by Vincent Giegerich, "The Problem of Separation in Aristotle's *Metaphysics*," University of Montreal, 1969. Giegerich, however, concludes that at least the natural forms of living composites are absolutely separate for Aristotle. Harold Cherniss, *Aristotle's Criticism of Plato and the Academy* (Baltimore, 1944), p. 371, likewise claimed that for Aristotle the two senses of separation, namely "separate in thought" and "absolutely separate," coincided in the case of inherent natural forms. This conclusion seems hard to read into the Aristotelian text. It would have devastating effects on the Aristotelian noetic, in which the forms of sensible things are received by the sense without the matter (*De An.* II 12, 424a17-19). A form that was absolutely separate would have its own independent existence in the physical thing, and could not be conceived as being transferred to the cognitive faculty. If only separate in notion, on the other hand, a sensible form is not prevented from actuating many subjects.

<sup>9</sup> See Bonitz, *Ind. Arist.*, p. 221a34-61.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Metaphysics* (Oxford, 1924), II, 227, nn. 29-31. For a different view, see *supra*, n. 8.

<sup>11</sup> "'separabile simpliciter,' idest separatim per se existere potens in rerum natura; ..." *In VIII Metaph.*, lect. 1, no. 1687.

to matter, mathematical form in contradistinction to natural form, or material form in contradistinction to immaterial form.<sup>12</sup> No preference is given here to any of the three explanations.

Of the three interpretations, however, only the second was used by Aquinas when introducing the subject of metaphysics. Separate in the highest degree from matter are the things that abstract entirely from sensible matter not only in notion but also in being — “non solum secundum rationem, sicut mathematica, sed etiam secundum esse, sicut Deus et intelligentiae” (*In Metaph.*, Proem.). For Aquinas things quantitative accordingly become the object that is set up for scientific consideration through this first kind of separation, separation in notion. As separate in notion they specify the mathematical sciences. Here the meaning of “separate” indicates contrast with natural forms even taken as universal — “formae naturales in universali acceptae” (*ibid.*). It is definitely the second interpretation.

Is this the way Aristotle would speak? For the Stagirite the mathematical are just “not separate” (*ou chorista*, *Metaph.* E 1, 1026a15; K 7, 1064a33). He does not speak of them as “separate in notion” in describing their role as specifying principles for the sciences that treat of them. Rather, “separate in notion” seems reserved for natural forms existing in matter. These forms, though in matter, present an intelligible object that is distinct, as intelligible, from the non-intelligible matter.<sup>13</sup> Quantitative forms, on the other hand, even though taken in abstraction, can hardly be considered as meeting the Aristotelian requirement for “separate” status. As quantitative, they belong to an accidental category while separateness is characteristic of substance.<sup>14</sup> “Separate,” even in notion, does not seem to apply in Aristotle to the abstract mathematical objects. They are to be described as non-separate, even though they are separated in the mathematician’s thought and treated of as though they were separate.

Yet Aquinas shows no awareness of difficulty in applying the designation “separate in notion” to the mathematical. This alerts one to the possi-

<sup>12</sup> “Forma enim est separabilis ratione, quia potest intelligi sine materia sensibili individuante; materia vero non potest intelligi sine intellectu formae, cum non apprehendatur nisi ut ens in potentia ad formam. Vel potest esse sensus quod ‘substantiarum secundum rationem’ idest formarum, quaedam sunt ratione separabiles, ut mathematicae, quaedam non, ut formae naturales. Vel iterum...” *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> “... it is just because the form is itself a self-contained and completely actual unity that it can be thought apart. To be ‘separate in thought’ implies an objective separateness other than particularity.” Harold Cherniss, *Aristotle’s Criticism of Plato and Academy*, p. 371. Cherniss’ purpose here and in the lines noted *supra*, n. 8, is to show a contradiction in Aristotle’s thinking. On Aquinas’ understanding of the form as an objective intelligible unity, see text quoted *supra*, n. 12.

<sup>14</sup> See *Metaph.*, Z 1, 1028a18-34.

bility of departure from the Aristotelian viewpoint in the specification of the sciences. It may serve to cushion the embarrassment of finding transcendental notions regarded as "separate" by Aquinas in the specification of the science of metaphysics. The transcendental notions are the highest type of universal. But for Aristotle (Z 13-14, 1038b8-1039b2) no universal can be substance, with the consequence that it cannot be "separate" like a Platonic Idea. Yet for Aquinas, without any apology, these most universal of all notions become separate not only in notion but also in being.

What has happened? The background for the change was undoubtedly present in Aristotle. The illustration of the concave and the snub suggested that a more universal notion could be regarded as separate from any one of its inferiors. This situation could allow development in the direction of the conceptions found in Aquinas. But historically, how did the change take place? Boethius and Avicenna loom large in the discussions of Aquinas on the specification of the sciences. Albert the Great has practically the same wording as Aquinas for the general framework of their classification. The procedure suggested by these facts, accordingly, is to trace the changes in the Aristotelian presentation of the sciences through Boethius and Avicenna to the immediate background of Aquinas in Albert the Great.

### III

Boethius handed on to Latin readers the Aristotelian threefold division of the speculative sciences — natural, mathematical, and theological. Seemingly on account of the non-*separate* character of the mathematical objects for Aristotle, Boethius describes mathematics as a non-*abstract* science:

Mathematics does not deal with motion and is not abstract, for it investigates forms of bodies apart from matter, and therefore apart from movement, which forms, however, being connected with matter cannot be really separated from bodies.<sup>15</sup>

No attention is paid to Aristotle's regular use of "abstract" as the characteristic feature of mathematical objects.<sup>16</sup> Rather, "abstract" is looked

<sup>15</sup> "Mathematica, sine motu inabstracta. Haec enim formas corporum speculatur sine materia ac per hoc sine motu, quae formae cum in materia sint, ab his separari non possunt." Boethius, *De Trin.*, c. II. Translation Stewart and Rand (London and New York, 1926), p. 8.11-14.

<sup>16</sup> On the topic, see M.-D. Philippe, "Abstraction, Addition, Séparation chez Aristote," *Revue Thomiste*, 48 (1948), 461-479. Further references may be found in my *A Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian Metaphysics* (1963), p. 383, n. 35. For a discussion of the theme in a more general perspective, see posthumous article of Yves R. Simon, "Nature and the Process of Mathematical Abstraction," *The Thomist*, 29 (1965), 117-139.

upon as a synonym for "separate." This is reflected in Aquinas' use of the two, at times, as interchangeable terms.<sup>17</sup> The description of mathematics as "non-abstract" is strikingly odd in any other than the Boethian setting. It jars noticeably with Aristotle's own terminology. But at least in Boethius, in the new synonymy of "non-separate" with "non-abstract," it is a vivid witness that in the Aristotelian tradition mathematics was still regarded as dealing with non-separate things. No qualification was added by which these objects could be viewed as in some way separate.

Separation from movement is explained in this passage as a necessary consequence of separation from corporeal matter. Since the corporeal forms can be regarded by mathematics as without this matter, they can accordingly be treated of as though they were without movement. Here Boethius in explaining how they are viewed "apart" remains true to the Aristotelian teaching that the mathematical are separated by the thinking of the mathematician, and he expresses neatly the relation between matter and movement in regard to the specification of the sciences.

Finally, in the above passage, the Stewart and Rand translation adds the qualification "really" to the separating that is denied the mathematical. They cannot "really be separated." There is no adjective here in the Latin. The text reads merely: "ab his separari non possunt." The translation strives to convey that the separation denied is separation in the really existent world. Against the Platonic background in which the mathematical as well as the universals had been regarded as separate by the opposed Aristotelian tradition, this effort to bring out the meaning of separation is understandable. It is helped by the way Boethius a few lines earlier had used "actu separari non possunt" ("cannot be separated in reality" — Stewart and Rand tr.) for the non-separate status of the natural forms. But the tendency to explain the notion "separate" against this background quite readily suggests the two kinds of separateness noted by Aristotle (*Metaph.*, H 1, 1042a29-31), namely separate in notion and absolutely separate. The only separation denied to the mathematical could then be regarded as the latter type, now known as actual (*actu*) separation in contrast to separation in notion. In this regard "actual" seems to introduce a new viewpoint. In the Aristotelian context the natural form in all its actuality was looked upon as separate in notion from the potentiality in which it was immersed. It was objectively separate as actuality from potentiality. In the new emphasis in Boethius, however, "actual" separation

<sup>17</sup> E.g., "Hac ergo operatione intellectus vere abstrahere non potest nisi ea quae sunt secundum rem separata, ut cum dicitur, homo non est asinus." *In Boeth. de Trin.*, V, 3, Resp.; p. 182.18-20. Cf. V, 4, args. 1-8 and Sed contra 1; pp. 190.9-192.14.

implies separation into two things apart from each other in the real world.

In contrast, theological science is for Boethius both abstract and separate: "Theology does not deal with motion and is abstract and separable, for the Divine Substance is without either matter or motion" (*De Trin.*, II; tr. Stewart and Rand).

With Avicenna, in accord with Arabian linguistics, the problem of the specification of the sciences was approached in terms of "that which is posited" for consideration by each science. This turned up in Latin translation as the *subjectum* — the subject of the particular science.<sup>18</sup> It was equated by Avicenna with what was "granted" to a science before the work of demonstration commenced. In the framework of the Aristotelian *Analytics* it was what was given the science without demonstration, or without need of demonstration within the science itself. In metaphysics it obviously could not be God or immaterial substances or the first principles of all things, since these have to be demonstrated within the science. What is granted the science of metaphysics without any proof at all is being — not being as mobile, nor being as quantitative, nor being as understood under second intention, but being insofar as it is being.<sup>19</sup>

In this way the subject of metaphysics is something common — "being insofar as it is being is common to all these things" and "it has to be posited the subject of this branch of teaching."<sup>20</sup> The objection that the consequent properties rather than the prior principles constitute what is demonstrated according to the Aristotelian notion of science, is met by showing that the study of the first principles is but an inquiry into what is consequent upon this subject.<sup>21</sup> Metaphysics accordingly is concerned with "things separate from matter in existence and definition."<sup>22</sup> These are "things separate entirely from matter."<sup>23</sup> The science is ultimately defined as the science of "things separated from matter by definition and definitions."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>18</sup> On this topic see my *A Doctrine of Being in the Aristotelian 'Metaphysics'* (1963), p. 36, n. 10.

<sup>19</sup> Avicenna, *Metaph.*, I, 1-2; fols. 70r1-71r2 (Venice, 1508).

<sup>20</sup> "Igitur ostensum est tibi ex his omnibus quod ens inquantum ens commune est omnibus his et quod ipsum debet poni subiectum huius magisterii, ..." *Metaph.*, I, 2C; 70v2.

<sup>21</sup> *Metaph.*, I, 2D; 70v2-71r1. According to Aristotle's *Posterior Analytics*, I, 13, 78a22-b31, there can be demonstration from effect to cause. From the viewpoint of human scientific procedure Avicenna could look upon metaphysical knowledge of God as consequent upon knowledge of the common being *qua* being, just as knowledge of the properties is consequent upon knowledge of the subject of a science.

<sup>22</sup> "... divinae scientiae non inquirunt nisi res separatas a materia secundum existentiam et definitionem." Avicenna, *Metaph.*, I, 1B; 70r1.

<sup>23</sup> "Manifestum est enim ex dispositione huius scientiae quod ipsa inquit res separatas omnino a materia." *Metaph.*, I, 1C; 70r2.

<sup>24</sup> "Et propterea definitur scientia divina sic quod est scientia de rebus separatis a materia definitione et definitionibus, ..." *Metaph.*, I, 2E; 71r1.



The "things separate entirely from matter" may be taken readily enough as echoing the "absolutely separate" forms mentioned by Aristotle (*Metaph.* H 1, 1942a31). Read against the texts on the division of the sciences, the meaning of "separate" would presumably be "separate from matter."<sup>25</sup> The Avicennian "separate from matter in existence and definition" accordingly expresses the Aristotelian "absolutely separate" by "separate in existence," and the "separate in notion" by "separate in definition." Either "notion" or "definition" would translate *logos* as used here by Aristotle (1042a29-31). In the Aristotelian context, as already noted,<sup>26</sup> absolutely separate meant capable of existing apart in the real world. Its expression in terms of existence need not cause any surprise. But what does differ from Aristotle is its use to cover not only immaterial existents but also aspects in material things that have a range wider than the material, such as unity and actuality and potentiality.<sup>27</sup> This makes the notion "separate" conform to the new conception of the subject of metaphysics, namely being that is common and immediately presented to human consideration. It allows the Aristotelian description of the science as the study of things separate to continue in use. The mathematical, in contrast, are not separate from matter.<sup>28</sup>

In Albert the Great the Aristotelian conceptions of "separate in notion" and "absolutely separate" emerge with more detailed explanation. The form, understood as one component of a material thing, is "separable through abstraction by reason."<sup>29</sup> Substance is "that which is separate absolutely in being and nature," and among substances "some are separable substances, while some are not."<sup>30</sup> This, of course, is meant as straight explanation of the Aristotelian text.

"Separate in notion" accordingly designates for Albert an effect of abstraction by the rational faculty — *ratione abstrahente*. The objective sense of *logos* in the Aristotelian passage (*Metaph.* H 1, 1042a 29-31) has been replaced by an active sense. In this way the form is "taken as a

<sup>25</sup> Aristotle, *Metaph.* K 7, 1064a24; cf. E 1, 1026a6-15.

<sup>26</sup> See *supra*, nn. 10-11.

<sup>27</sup> "Inquirat enim universale et particulare potentiam et actum possibile et necesse etc." Avicenna, *Metaph.*, I, 1D; 70r2. "... quorum quaedam sunt separata a materia et ab appenditiis materiae omnino, et quaedam sunt commixta materiae... et quaedam sunt quae inveniuntur in materia et non in materia sicut causalitas et unitas." I 2F.

<sup>28</sup> "Nulla autem earum est separata a materia." *Metaph.*, I, 2B; 70v2.

<sup>29</sup> "... forma enim ratione abstrahente est separabilis, ut diximus." Albert the Great, *Metaph.* VIII, tr. 1, c. 3; ed. Borgnet, VI, 496b.

<sup>30</sup> "... substantia etiam est id quod est simpliciter in esse et natura separatum: quia secundum rationem et ordinem substantiarum quaedam sunt substantiae separabiles, quaedam autem non, de quibus in undecimo huius sapientiae libro perquiretur." *Ibid.*

separate essence" (accipitur ut essentia quaedam separata) and is but a part and consequently is not predicated of the whole.<sup>31</sup> This description envisages clearly enough the abstraction of form in the way "humanity" is abstracted from man. It is beyond doubt regarded as the work of the abstracting faculty, as Albert expressly states. It is something separated by the intellect, just as Albert shortly before had described the separation of the universal: "... to the simple nature that is the substance of the thing, there comes universal being by the fact that it is separated through intellect."<sup>32</sup> The Aristotelian "separate in notion" has definitely become something that has been separated through abstraction.

Just as interesting is the explanation given by Albert in this passage in regard to "absolutely separate." The notion is expanded as "absolutely separate in being and nature." What is implied by "being and nature," when used in contrast to what is separated through abstraction? In the text quoted in the preceding paragraph about the way a nature becomes universal through abstraction by the intellect, Albert immediately added that here he would set aside the universals and inquire only into "the substance that is the nature of the thing according to its being or according as it itself is what it is."<sup>33</sup> In this threefold division of nature as universal, nature as existent, and nature just in itself the Avicennian background is clearly recognizable. The meaning given to "separate in being and nature" is that a nature both just in itself and as it exists in reality is separate from matter.

This understanding of the phrase implies that *something* is absolutely separate if in reality it exists apart from matter or if it is able to exist apart from matter, just as a real *nature* exists in the world or is able to exist in it. The nature is expressed in the definition. Accordingly Albert describes even the separate substances the Aristotelian metaphysics deals with as "separable in being and defining notion."<sup>34</sup> The being that is involved in the phrase appears now as being in the real world, real existence. The *ratio* or "notion" is the definition that expresses a nature just in itself, in the Avicennian sense, that is, as existent neither in singular things nor in

<sup>31</sup> "Alio autem modo accipitur ut essentia quaedam separata, et sic est pars accepta, ut ens, et non ut esse: et hoc modo non praedicatur de eo cujus est forma: ..." *Ibid.*, p. 496a.

<sup>32</sup> "... quia naturae simplici quae est substantia rei, accidit universale esse, per hoc quod est separata per intellectum: ..." *Ibid.*, c. 2; p. 495b.

<sup>33</sup> "... cum non quaeramus hic nisi substantiam quae est natura rei secundum suum esse, vel secundum quod ipsa est id quod est." *Ibid.* Cf. Avicenna, *Logica*, III (Venice, 1508), fol. 12r1.

<sup>34</sup> "... et est separabile secundum esse et rationem diffinitivam..." Albert, *Metaph.*, VI, tr. 1, c. 2; VI, 385-386. This is meant to apply to anything that is absolutely immobile, either "eo quod ipsum est necesse, vel immediate pendens ex eo quod est necesse esse: ..." *Ibid.*

the mind. So understood the phrase applies both to things that really exist without matter, such as the Aristotelian separate substances or their equivalents in the Christian setting, and anything that is able to exist without matter. Under the latter come being insofar as it is being, which in the wake of Avicenna is regarded by Albert as the subject of metaphysics, and attributes that follow upon it *qua* being, such as potentiality and actuality and so on.<sup>35</sup>

Mathematics, in contrast, deals perhaps with "things that are inseparable in being from mobile matter, but with things which in being are as it were in sensible matter."<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless these objects are "separable from sensible matter by defining notion."<sup>37</sup>

This rounds out the historical picture quite satisfactorily. In Boethius the concepts of separation and abstraction become interchangeable. In Avicenna the subject of metaphysics, which in Aristotelian terminology should be things separate, becomes the common or universal being *qua* being. In Albert the Aristotelian "separate in notion" becomes the effect of abstraction, applicable to the mathematical, while "separate in being and notion" comes to designate both things that exist without matter and things that may exist either materially or immaterially. The setting is undoubtedly at hand for Aquinas to regard the mathematical as "separate in notion," and common being as "separate in being and in notion."

#### IV

Historically, then, the transition from the Aristotelian contrast of "separate in notion" with "absolutely separate" to its new contrast with "separate in being and notion" is traceable step by step. The new terminology is quite what one might expect in thinkers who developed their metaphysics

<sup>35</sup> "Ideo cum omnibus Peripateticis vera dicentibus dicendum videtur, quod ens est subjectum in quantum ens est, et ea quae sequuntur ens in quantum est ens et non in quantum *hoc* ens, sunt passiones ejus, sicut est causa tantum substantiva, et accidens, separatum et non separatum, potentia et actus, et hujusmodi." *Metaph.*, I, tr. 1, c. 2; VI, 5b.

<sup>36</sup> "... tamen forsitan est circa ea quae secundum esse sunt inseparabilia a mobili materia, sed est circa ea quae secundum esse quasi sunt in materia sensibili." *Metaph.*, VI, tr. 1, c. 2; VI, 386a. The *forsan* and *quasi* reflect the Aristotelian text that is being explained.

<sup>37</sup> "... in quantum per diffinitivam rationem separabilia a materia sensibili..." *Ibid.*, p. 385b. Cf.: "Sed de his quae sunt abstractione dicta, sicut mathematica, quae in diffinitione sua non concipiunt materiam sensibilem, ... per esse conjuncta sunt materiae sensibili, licet per abstractionem vel diffinitionem sint abstracta. Cum enim intelligit simum quod in sua diffinitione carnem nasi concipit, oportet quod illud non separatum accipiat per diffinitionem. In quantum autem accipit genus suum, quod est curvum, in sua ratione non accipit carnem nasi, ..." *De Anima*, III, tr. 3, c. 5; V, 377a.

in the generally accepted Avicennian framework of natures as existent in reality, existent in the mind, and as just in themselves. The Aristotelian "absolutely separate," with its dominant feature of independent existence, would tend to be expressed in terms of a nature that had substantial existence. Both the nature and the existence would appear in the formula. "Separate in being and notion" expressed the two facets neatly enough. "Separate in notion" would characterize the nature just in itself, the nature as expressed in the definition. It could accordingly be applied to the mathematical, as apart from real existence.

But what happens when a thinker uses the fundamental Avicennian framework but brings to it a very different understanding of existence? In interpreting the Aristotelian *Metaphysics*, Aquinas was fully conscious that he was relating existence to nature in a way quite other than that of his Arabian predecessor. Aquinas (*In IV Metaph.*, lect. 2, Cathala nos. 550-558) emphasized strongly that he differed from Avicenna in this regard. For Aquinas being is not subsequent upon nature. Being, whether in reality or in the mind, is not for him something that accrues to an already constituted nature, that is, to a nature that already has its own proper being. Rather, Aquinas explains Aristotle's identification of being and thing in explicit opposition to the viewpoint of Avicenna. Every thing is a being essentially, and not through a subsequent accident.

But the way in which every thing is essentially a being for Aquinas also is patently different from the doctrine in the Aristotelian text. The being of the thing is asserted to be other than the thing itself. The Aristotelian text, in contrast, had made the two coincide. A man and an existent man had the same meaning in reality. With Aquinas, on the other hand, the thing's being was no more coincident than subsequent in regard to the thing itself. It accordingly had to be prior to the thing.<sup>38</sup> Without regard to this prior actualization a nature was neither existent nor non-existent, any more than it was singular or universal. It abstracted from any kind of being, but non-precisely. So diverse in character was it from its being, that even in the early thinking in the commentary on the first book of the *Sentences* (d. 19, q. 5, a. 1, ad 7m — ed. Mandonnet, I, 489; d. 38, q. 1, a. 3, Solut.; I, 903) quiddity and being required two different activities of the intellect for their apprehension. The quiddity or nature was grasped through the understanding of an indivisible object, while the being was apprehended by way of a synthesizing cognition.

What effect will this new doctrine of being and of cognition have on

<sup>38</sup> This priority of being, implicit in the reasoning, is elsewhere affirmed explicitly by Aquinas, e.g. *In de Div. Nom.*, V, 1, Pera no. 633; *In Lib. de Causis*, prop. 4a, ed. Saffrey, pp. 26-30.

the traditional problems of separation and abstraction. It becomes basic in the explanation given them in the commentary on Boethius' *De Trinitate*. It allows the traditional confusion of abstraction with separation to be faced on a different ground. Since the quiddity or nature is known through a non-synthetic activity of the intellect, Aquinas (*In Boeth. de Trin.*, V, 3, Resp.; ed. Decker, pp. 181.17-186.12) is able to show that it can be a distinct object of consideration without any separating activity on the part of the intellect. This, then, is properly abstraction. The synthesizing activity of the intellect, on the other hand, composes when it grasps being and divides when it asserts non-being. It, therefore, is properly the mental activity to which separation may be attributed.

In this way the basis for the distinction between separation and abstraction becomes clearcut. It is the twofold activity of the human intellect. So: "In the operation by which it composes and divides, it distinguishes one from another by understanding that the one does not exist in the other" (p. 183.24-26; tr. Maurer, 2nd ed., p. 28). Existence and the kind of intellection by which existence is known are accordingly the basis upon which the notion of separation, in the context of the specification of the sciences, rests. Correspondingly nature and the intellectual activity by which nature is apprehended provide the basis for abstraction properly so called: "In the operation, however, by which it understands what a thing is, it distinguishes one from the other by knowing what one is without knowing anything of the other, either that it is united to it or separated from it. So this distinction is not properly called separation, but only the first. It is correctly called abstraction" (*ibid.*, lines 26-30).

By abstraction, in consequence upon this doctrine, the objects of all sciences whatsoever receive their status as knowable. The universal is abstracted from the singular, as required in common by all the sciences: "and this indeed belongs to physics and to all the sciences in general, because in every science we disregard the accidental and consider what is essential" (p. 186.19-21; tr. Maurer, pp. 31-32). Likewise by abstraction forms may be considered apart from sensible matter, as with natures taken precisely and with the mathematical: "... the operation by which the quiddities of things are formed, which is the abstraction of form from sensible matter; and this belongs to mathematics" (lines 16-18). The mathematical, accordingly, are restored to their pristine Aristotelian status of abstractions without being separate. Separation of the mathematical as well as of the universals is regarded as Pythagorean and Platonic (lines 21-24).

In this existential setting, then, abstraction is something that takes place only in simple apprehension. It is the apprehension of quiddities or natures. It includes both cognition by way of universality (called ab-

straction of a whole) and abstraction of a formal characteristic of a thing aside from the subject (called abstraction of a part — *In Boeth. de Trin.*, V, 3, Resp.; pp. 185.20-186.12). Through the latter type the mathematical are isolated. No emphasis, however, is placed on the crucial difficulties involved in grouping the mathematical with precisely abstracted quiddities. The one point made here is that both the universals and the mathematical are the work of abstraction, and not of separation properly understood.<sup>39</sup>

But if this is the case, why are the most universal notions of all, namely being and the other transcendentals, not included under the work of abstraction?

The answer emerges from a closer study of the role played by an existence that can be apprehended only in the synthesis of judgment. The nature known through simple apprehension abstracts from all being. In consequence a thing can be known as a being only through reference to what is grasped through judgment. A being is something that is, something that exists. Simple apprehension can grasp the natures of things in ever widening universality up to the category of substance. Even here, however, the notion of substance remains corporeal. One has no simple apprehension of immaterial substance. Substance and body still coincide in the one notion.

To advance beyond the corporeal, judgment must intervene. One has to take the notion of substance, as abstracted from sensible things, and judge that the notion is not restricted to the corporeal order. One does

<sup>39</sup> This topic as in the texts of St Thomas is discussed carefully by Robert W. Schmidt, "L'emploi de la séparation en métaphysique," *Revue Philosophique de Louvain*, 58 (1960), 376-393. A survey of preceding literature on the subject is given *ibid.*, pp. 373-375. A shorter coverage may be found in the late Philip Merlan's "Abstraction and Metaphysics in St. Thomas' *Summa*," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 14 (1953), 284-291. The topic is touched upon by A. Moreno, "The Nature of Metaphysics," *The Thomist*, 30 (1966), 110-119. It is debated by D. Burrell, "Classification, Mathematics, and Metaphysics," *The Modern Schoolman*, 44 (1966), 13-34; "Rejoinder to Dr. Eslick," *ibid.*, pp. 47-48; and L. J. Eslick, "The Negative Judgment of Separation," *ibid.*, pp. 35-46. A penetrating study of the doctrine of Aquinas at *In Boeth. de Trin.*, V, 3, may be found in L.-B. Geiger, "Abstraction et séparation d'après S. Thomas," *Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Théologiques*, 31 (1947), 3-40. In practice, however, "abstraction" is used frequently enough for "separation," even where according to the foregoing doctrine it should be denied. The term is in fact "an analogue capable of being both affirmed and denied of certain concepts," as noted by J. Cahalan, "Analogy and the Disrepute of Metaphysics," *The Thomist*, 34 (1970), 422. Subsistent being, for instance, in its divine reality, may be referred to as *esse abstractum*: "... sicut sola Dei substantia est ipsum esse abstractum..." *De Subst. Sep.*, c. 13, Lescoc no. 71. Likewise *esse abstractum* is used for the Neoplatonic hypostasis, *In Lib. de Causis*, prop. 4a, ed. Saffrey, pp. 29-30. Cf. *ST*, I, 40, 1, ad 1m.; III, 17, 1c; and *In Boeth. de Hebd.*, lect. 2, Calcaterra nos. 24-25. See also *In II Metaph.*, lect. 1, no. 286.

not see this through simple apprehension. Whether by faith or by reasoning, one learns that God and spiritual souls are incorporeal yet substantial. From these supersensible things the notion of corporeality has to be removed, while the notion of substance is retained. This is done by judgment, not by abstraction. One has now a notion of substance that is incorporeal. The concept of substance has accordingly been extended to the incorporeal order.<sup>40</sup>

The notion of substance as a notion extending to both the corporeal and the incorporeal is therefore not a concept reached by abstraction. It is attained on the basis of the separation that takes place in the synthesizing and dividing cognition of judgment. No matter how much at first sight the abstracting process might seem to continue from the specific through the generic grades into the transcendental, a closer scrutiny shows definitely that the jump into the transcendental order is more complex. The question is where an object like substance can be found to exist. The metaphysical study shows that it exists in bodies and also exists in spirits. It is therefore universal to both orders. It is separate from each of the two orders in the way a universal is separate from any one of its particulars, and in the way curvature is separate from snubness.

In the case of substance, then, separation is not achieved through a simple inspection of notions, as it is with the distinctions between the specific and generic grades. Accordingly substance is not an instance of something separate just "in notion." It has to fall back on existence. It is something that can exist both in the material and immaterial spheres. It is something separate by way of existence, and knowable as separate only through reference to existence. In the original notion attained through simple apprehension it does not just alone manifest the wider extension. It has to be characterized in consequence as separate in notion and existence.

The same considerations hold for being. The notion of being is that of a thing in reference to the thing's existential actuality. The basic concept involved is that of something sensible, for all cognition originates in sensation. But, like substance, being is shown through metaphysical investigation to subsist in God and to be immaterial in the spiritual soul. It is known as transcendent not through abstraction but through the separation that is effected by judgment. Like substance it is separate in notion, for its notion does not involve any sensible substrate. It is also separate in being, since unlike the mathematical it can exist immaterially. As separate, it is common being insofar as it extends to angels and spiritual souls and their accidents. Though the entirely unique primary instance, subsistent

<sup>40</sup> See Schmidt, *art. cit.*, pp. 382-383.

existence, cannot come under common being, the concept of being nevertheless extends to it as to the cause of common being.<sup>41</sup>

Novel and perhaps forced as this understanding of separation in being may seem, when viewed against the Aristotelian background, it nevertheless parallels exactly the use of "transcendent" in the thirteenth century. "Transcendent" in one accepted meaning signified the supersensible. It was what transcended sensible cognition. It referred to what was beyond time and change and matter. It matched the sense in which God and the separate substances were "separate in being and notion." But "transcendent" also meant things that spread across the categories and outside them to God who is not in any category. The term included being, unity, truth, goodness, and other characteristics. For Aquinas these also, and not only God and the angels, were "separate in being and notion." The concepts of separation and transcendence accordingly corresponded with each other in their different uses.

Can any significant conclusion be drawn from this observation? Basically, sensible matter is the operative concept. God and the angels transcend the sensible and are separate from sensible matter in a way the mathematical do not transcend and are not separate. That way is real existence apart from matter. The transcendentals can really exist without matter, the mathematical cannot. But existence is known only through judgment. Correspondingly, being and the other transcendentals are known through reference to existence, again involving judgment. They transcend, because they can refer to existence both in sensible matter and apart from sensible matter. They are separate in being, because though they can have real existence in sensible matter they do not require it as do the mathematical. From both viewpoints the decisive factor is real existence.

From the viewpoints of both separation and transcendence, then, existence is intimately and necessarily involved in any metaphysical notion for Aquinas. The factor of existence is what enables a concept to be understood in a way that extends beyond the sensible order. Only through judgment, by which existence is grasped, is a concept freed from restriction to the sensible. As far as simple apprehension is effective, concepts would always remain in the sensible order. It is through separation effected by judgment that they transcend sensible nature and become *metaphysical*. There need be little wonder that for Aquinas separation is the method characteristic of, or proper to, metaphysics.

<sup>41</sup> "... Deus est causa ipsius esse communis... omnia existentia continentur sub ipso esse communi, non autem Deus, sed magis esse commune continetur sub eius virtute..." *In de Div. Nom.*, V, 2, nos. 658-660. Cf. "... ens commune, quod est genus, cuius sunt praedictae substantiae communes et universales causae." *In Metaph.*, Proem.



## V

What bearing do these considerations have on the metamorphosis of Aristotelian metaphysics through Avicenna and Albert into Aquinas?

Certainly the overall picture of metaphysics has been changed in the process. Instead of having its primary bearing on separate movents known via the philosophy of nature and its secondary bearing on all other things, metaphysics has come to deal primarily with the existents attained immediately through the combined activities of judgment and simple apprehension. It no longer requires natural philosophy to lead it to its subject matter. It now relegates separate substance, located in a unique first cause, to the status of the first principle or cause of its subject. It bears only on common being as its subject, and from common being comes by way of consequence to treat of the cause of common being, subsistent existence. Separate substance, instead of having the status of the primary instance through which all other instances are recognizable as beings, now becomes something consequently known in virtue of the subject of metaphysics, common being.

These are the general lines along which the thrust of metaphysics would appear to have been reversed. Actually, the situation is not quite that simple. The factor of judgment enters deeply into it and complicates it. The being that is immediately known is sensible being. Because accidental and prior to the nature it actuates, this being allows reasoning to subsistent being. Subsistent being is then judged to be immaterial, by judgment of separation. It is found to be incommunicable, as a nature, to anything else. It is the nature of being, or being as a nature. Wherever else being is present as the actuation of a nature, it must inevitably remain other than the nature or thing. This means that it is communicated through efficient causality. It is not a nature shared by its instances through intrinsic formal causality.

The role of existence and of the judgment by which existence is known is accordingly all-pervasive in the new penetration given to traditional metaphysics by Aquinas. The primacy of actuality has been located in the primacy of existence. As the most basic actuality of every material nature, existence leads the mind to its own nature, subsistent existence. It allows the human intellect to extend its knowledge beyond the material natures known through simple apprehension, and to work on objects that are separate from the sensible insofar as they extend beyond the whole sensible and even the whole finite order. This extension would not be permitted if the only basis of human intellection were the natures originally known through simple apprehension. Only the characteristics consequent

upon existence or implied by existence, along with existence itself, are able to be regarded as separate in being from the sensible thing in which they are found.

All this is involved in the use of the formula "separate in being and notion" to characterize the subject of metaphysics in the new understanding brought to it by Thomas Aquinas. Presumably the interest of the theologian in assuring for sacred theology its proper place among the sciences was his dominant concern. As subject of a science, separate substance had to be reserved to sacred theology. In contrast, the philosophical theology of Aristotle had to be dealing with a different subject. Yet, in conformity with Aristotelian terminology, the latter subject had also to be separate, not only in notion like the mathematical, but in a stronger way. The formulation for this further type of separation was found in Avicenna and Albert — "separate in being and notion." The way had been prepared by Avicenna, who had shown that the cause of motion reached by the Aristotelian natural philosophy was not the cause of being and accordingly could not provide a subject for metaphysics. But the Avicennian formula "separate in existence and definition" had been re-thought in its deepest foundations by Aquinas. For him the reasoning from movement, by way of actuality and potentiality, led to a pure actuality that was existential in nature. It led in this way to a pure actuality that "all people understand to be God" (*ST*, I, 2, 3c). It could not be otherwise in a metaphysics for which the actuality of all actualities known in a sensible thing was the existence grasped through judgment.<sup>42</sup> The new insights into existence and the intellectual activity by which it is grasped, judgment, provide the key for entering into the doctrine of metaphysical separation as a distinctive procedure of Aquinas.

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<sup>42</sup> This theme may be found discussed at considerable length in my *An Interpretation of Existence* (Milwaukee, 1968).

## EXEMPLA AND *THE AWNTYRS OF ARTHURE*

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THE close relationship between medieval sacred and secular literature has long been a commonplace of literary history and criticism. All genres of medieval literature have both a religious and a worldly aspect, though in varying degrees and with varying importance.<sup>1</sup> For the verse romance, a type which often seems more uniformly worldly than, say, the satire or the lyric, the didactic romance provides the contrasting element. Such romances as *Guy of Warwick*, *Sir Isumbras*, or *Sir Amadas* show a curious blend of saint's life, sermon, exemplary tale, and pure narrative, that is of teaching and of pleasure, which has proved singularly repugnant to many modern critics.

In this paper I wish to consider one of these romances, *The Awntyrs of Arthure*, from two points of view.<sup>2</sup> First, I will discuss the background of the romance and the details of the story in their relation to the tradition of sermon exempla. Second, I will consider the poem critically as a unified work of art.

### I

The title of the romance is perhaps misleading, for it is far less concerned with Arthur than with Gawain. The first part of the 'awntyre' in which Arthur does not figure at all, takes place by the Tarn Wadling in Cumberland, a site also known from *The Avowing of Arther* and the fragmentary

<sup>1</sup> G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933), 10 ff., esp. 13-14.

<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise noted, citations will be from the Thornton MS text in *Scottish Alliterative Poetry*, ed. F. J. Amours (STS, Edinburgh, 1897), 116-171, parallel with the text of MS Douce 324. The Ireland MS version was printed by J. Robson, *Three English Metrical Romances* (Camden Soc., London, 1840), 1-26. A new edition from these three manuscripts and MS Lambeth 491 has been prepared by R. J. Gates (*The Awntyrs of Arthure at the Terne Wathele*, Philadelphia 1969) but unfortunately arrived too late to be used here.

ballad, "The Marriage of Sir Gawaine". A party from the court at Carlisle is hunting near the tarn; Guinevere, accompanied by Gawain, rests beneath a laurel tree during the hunt. Suddenly it becomes dark as night, and the rest of the party scatters to shelter in the forest. From the tarn rises a ghostly apparition which approaches Gawain and the queen. Gawain approaches the spirit and charges it to reveal its errand. The ghost explains that it has come to speak with the queen, and claims that it was once one of the most beautiful women in the world — the mother of Guinevere. The queen comes forward and the apparition warns her of the transitoriness of earthly beauty, describing in horrible detail her own hell-pains. Guinevere, moved to pity, asks if there is any solace that she can bring. The ghost explains that she was brought to this state by the breaking of a solemn vow, of which only she and Guinevere know; that she has been damned through love and lust. Her soul, however, can be saved by thirty trentals and the remembrance of the poor. "What", asks Guinevere, "grieves God most"? "Pride", is the reply. "What deeds may best bring us to bliss"? "Meekness and mercy; pity for the poor, combined with almsdeeds". Gawain inquires of the fate of those who fight for power and glory. The king, replies the ghost, is too covetous, and will one day be overthrown. She prophesies many of the details of Arthur's eventual defeat, then bids Gawain and Guinevere farewell and slips away as mysteriously as she appeared. The sun appears and the reassembled court is told of the wonder. They set off for Randolph's Hall for supper. During the meal a knight is led into the hall by a beautiful lady, who demands that justice be done him. Arthur asks the knight his suit, and is told that he is Sir Galleroune of Galloway, who has been dispossessed by Arthur (like Sir Gromore Somyr Joure in *The Weddyng of Sir Gawaine and Dame Ragnell*), and whose lands have been given to Gawain. He has come to fight for their return. Arthur explains that as they are but a hunting party they are unprepared for such an encounter, but that the knight will receive satisfaction on the following day. The stranger and his lady are provided for, and Gawain requests the honor of meeting him in battle. Galleroune is vanquished in the fight and his lady appeals to Arthur, through Guinevere, for mercy. The king commands peace and restores to Galleroune his lands, granting estates in Wales to Gawain. The court returns to Carlisle, where Galleroune is made a knight of the Round Table and marries his lady. Guinevere arranges for the trentals to be sung for her mother.

## II

It is clear that this tale was formed by the joining of two independent stories, and it will be convenient to consider each half of the narrative separately. Only G. Neilson has investigated the derivations of the story in any detail.<sup>3</sup> He has shown that the poet of *Awntyrs* was familiar with the early fourteenth century English version (A) of the *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*, and took much of his detail directly from it.<sup>4</sup> Gregory is celebrating mass when the chapel suddenly becomes very dark and a terrible smell pervades the room. A horrible spirit appears and identifies itself as Gregory's mother, who had been thought by all an upright and virtuous woman. She explains that she is damned for wicked sin during her life — the murder of her two illegitimate children. The pope asks if there is anything he can do to bring her succour, and she replies that a trental of masses would save her soul. She explains the requirements of the trental. Gregory vows to perform it, and commands his mother to appear again in a year's time. At the end of the year a beautiful vision of a woman crowned like a queen appears to Gregory, who mistakes the apparition for the Virgin Mary and falls at her feet begging mercy for his mother. The spirit explains that she is not Mary, but is indeed his mother, now in bliss through his efforts. The A version ends with a *moralizatio* on the efficacy of prayer in obliterating sin. The B version is somewhat different in detail: three children are killed instead of two, and the mother tells her son of her crimes before her death, promising to appear to him. As in the exemplum of the Knight in the Chapel, Gregory is harassed by devils who attempt to make him break the trental by falsely announcing the burning of his house and other disasters while he is singing mass.<sup>5</sup> Unlike the A text, it does not attribute the actual writing of the tale to Gregory, and the moral appendix is not included.

There is sufficient similarity in detail between the *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii* A and the ghost's appearance in *Awntyrs* to imply the derivation of one from the other. Neilson gives a full list of the correlations between them,

<sup>3</sup> "Crosslinks between *Pearl* and the *Awntyrs of Arthure*", *Scottish Antiquary*, 16 (1902), 67-78; *Huchown of the Awle Ryale* (Glasgow, 1902), 111-116; correspondence with H. Bradley in *Athenæum*, 1 (1903), 489, 626, 657, 689, 754, 816; 2 (1903), 221.

<sup>4</sup> A. Kaufmann, *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*, *Erlanger Beiträge*, 3 (1889), prints the A version from MS Cotton Caligula A ii, and the B version from Cambridge MS Kk I 6. Both are derived from the French text of Cambridge MS Ff VI 15, ff. 249b-250b (printed by P. Meyer, "Les manuscrits français de Cambridge", *Rom.*, 15 (1886), 282-283), in which Gregory's name is not mentioned.

<sup>5</sup> R. Köhler, "Die Legende von dem Ritter in der Kapelle", *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, 6 (1865), 326-331.

but the following are among the most important.<sup>6</sup> Before the appearance of the ghost, it becomes dark as midnight:

Per drowȝ to hym such a derkenesse,  
 Þat lakkede al þe dayes lyȝt,  
 For hit was derke as mydnyȝt.  
 (*Trentalle*, ll. 46-48)

The daye woxe als dirke  
 Als it were mydnyghte myrke.  
 (*Awentyrs*, ll. 75-76)

The appearance of the spirit conveys in both works a similar sense of mystery, although there are no verbal parallels to confirm the borrowing. Both Gregory and Gawain conjure the ghost to speak, Gregory "þorow Goddes myȝte" (l. 61) and Gawain "one criste" (l. 133). The question concerning the ghost's state and the subsequent explanation are similar in both poems, though not precisely parallel. The full explanation of the terrible crimes of Gregory's mother is omitted in *Awentyrs*, where the spirit alludes mysteriously to the breaking of a secret vow. The only remaining suggestion of the sins of Gregory's mother is the comment in *Awentyrs* that "This es it to luffe paramoures, and lustis and litys" (l. 213). The remedy is of course the same in both cases, though the exact nature of the trental as a series of thirty masses seems to have become confused in *Awentyrs*, where it appears as "thritty trentaless" (l. 218). The promise to perform this office and its eventual fulfillment appear in both texts, though in *Awentyrs* the latter is transposed to the end of the romance.

As Kaufmann noted in printing two analogues from the realm of sermon exempla, the tale of the adulterous woman who appears after death to her son is not unique to the *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, Gregory's story is but one branch of an extensive family of minatory tales which achieved sufficient popularity to be represented in most of the large surviving exempla collections. These tales are also relevant to *Awentyrs*. One of the earliest versions which has come down to us in this form is a tale in MS Egerton 1117, f. 189b (I), a late thirteenth century collection.<sup>8</sup> This short tale provides the

<sup>6</sup> Neilson, *Huchown*, 116.

<sup>7</sup> *Trentalle*, 25-28.

<sup>8</sup> Unedited: "Mulier quedam de adulterio concepit filium qui factus sacerdos. Matre iam defuncta cum in missa continue oraret dominum pro eius anima cupiens de statu eius certificari. Semel ei apparuit in figura terribili et deformis et excoxiata et post se trahens corium et duo terribiles demones ipsam ligatam chatenis igneis deducebant a quibus inestimabili modo torquebatur. Duo vero serpentes horribiles eius mammas ore seivissimo devorabant. Cumque sacerdos ab ea quae esset quereretur. Ego ait sum anima matris tue quae duos habui amatores qui me ad suum libitum deducebant. Pro quibus hii demones me vexare continue non cessant. Duos vero ex eis filios genui

basic form for most later versions. The son of an adulterous woman becomes a priest. He prays continually for her soul until one day at mass a horrible deformed figure appears, trailing its skin behind it. The creature is tormented with fire by two demons, and carries two serpents hanging from its breasts. The vision announces itself as the spirit of the priest's mother, damned for her adultery. Her two lovers are represented by the two demons, and the two illegitimate children whom she murdered are the serpents sucking at her breast. No penance, she says, can bring relief; she is damned eternally. Although it figures in the *Trentalle*, the motif of the murdered children appears only in this early version of the exemplum; in later texts the priest himself is one of the illegitimate children.

Two slightly different versions of the story appear in early fourteenth century texts. Added marginally to the MS Harleian 463 text of the exemplum of Jacques de Vitry is the tale (II) of Godfrey, a Sussex chaplain, to whom a vision appears of his mother, saying, "Ecce, fili mi, quod gravia tormenta ego infelix et impenitens patior pro nefandis operibus meis"!<sup>9</sup> The details of the Egerton tale (I) are lacking in this version, the vision is merely "deformis et nuda", and the nature of the sin is not given. A further type of the tale appears in the *Speculum Laicorum* (III).<sup>10</sup> After a priest has prayed seven years for his mother's soul, she appears to him explaining that she is damned for adultery, which at her death she failed to confess. The priest asks if his masses and prayers have been of no avail, and she replies, "Que pro me fuisti, multis animabus profuerunt et tu pro eis mercedem recipies, mihi autem nec illa, nec alia prodesse possunt".

John Bromyard included the story in his *Summa Predicantium* (IV).<sup>11</sup> His version includes most of the details common to later texts and was probably instrumental in spreading the story. It may have been known to the author of the English *Trentalle* A, for it is the only exemplum text to include the mysterious darkening of the church before the appearance of the vision, a detail lacking in the French *Trentalle*: "Huic ergo semel solite in ecclesia pro ipsa oranti, apparuit nubes tenebrosa que totam obscuravit ecclesiam". Here as in most later versions the spirit is also tormented by toads which gnaw her lips. As in the Egerton tale (I), the torments are moralized; the serpent around her head signifies "quia luxuriose et curiose ornabat vt ab alijs amaretur", while the toads torture her lips "propter oscula et adulteria

quos occidi et ideo hii duo serpentes mammas meas continue devorant quas illi suggere debuerunt. Et quia non penitui ante mortem reclusa sum in inferno sine fine crucianda".

<sup>9</sup> Kaufmann, *Trentalle*, 27.

<sup>10</sup> *Speculum Laicorum*, ed. J. Welter (Paris, 1914), 8.

<sup>11</sup> J. Bromyard, *Summa praedicantium* (Basel, no date) I, ex. xiiii (Hain 3993).

colloquia". The skin she trails behind her (as in I) represents the magnificent clothes she once wore so proudly.

A similar version is found in the fourteenth century collection of MS Add. 28682, f. 212b (V).<sup>12</sup> The woman is damned "pro adulteriis suis et ornatu luxurioso capillis", and is tormented by serpents. Flames issue from her head and hands, a detail which finds a place in both the *Trentalle* and *Awntyrs*. Another version appears in MS Sloane 3102, f. 37b-38a (VI); there the serpents have become "drachones".<sup>13</sup>

A very brief version is included in some texts of the Latin *Gesta Romanorum* (VII).<sup>14</sup> There the mother appears "cum duobus buffonibus et serpente". The serpent is interpreted as a belt, a lover's gift ("zona data ab amasio"), while the toads indicate two illegitimate children. This is a reversal of the usual explanation, in which the children are symbolized by the breast-sucking serpent. A late fourteenth century English sermon in MS Royal 18 B xxiii seems to be derived from the *Speculum Laicorum* version or a similar tale, although the author cites as his source the "Vitis Patrum".<sup>15</sup> The emphasis of the story is changed, for the preacher stresses the woman's concealment of her sin, which appears in the *Speculum* but not elsewhere until the fifteenth century, and explains the story as an example of the evils of incomplete confession: "Þou must loke þat þou tell all þi synnes and leue no dedely synne be-hynde, for and þou do for þat synne þou goyst to hell". As in the *Speculum* the priest prays for seven years, after which his mother appears, damned for adultery. The priest asks about the

<sup>12</sup> An abridgement of Etienne de Bourbon's collection; unedited: "Tu ergo noli orare pro populo hoc nec assumas pro eis laudem et orationem quia non exaudiam te. Quidam frater predicator Bernardus nomine sacerdos multum se affligeret pro matre sua mortua, flens frequenter et celebrans pro ea quam noveret in peccato vixisse volens scire de statu eius. Quadam vice celebrans, videns eam iuxta altare detentam a duobus demonibus et ligatam de cuius capite tanquam capille pendere videbantur quasi serpentes ignivomi et eius collum cingere de capite et manibus videbantur flamma exire et dictum fuit ei quod ipsa inutiliter orabat cum ipsa fuisset impenitens mortua et hoc pro adulteriis suis et ornatu luxurioso capillis et manuum et gaudeolis que male acceperat pateretur et quod eternis cruciatibus tradita esset. Item loca sacra ubi sepeliuntur non eis valet".

<sup>13</sup> The *Tractatus de Abundantia Exemplorum* ascribed to Humbertus de Romans: "Exemplum dicitur et frequenter predicatum est quod quidam sacerdos pro matre sua mortua orabat multum se affligens pro ea. Cum autem semel pro ea celebraret et multum desideraret aliud scire de statu eius, vidit eam in spiritu iuxta altare detentam a duobus demonibus et ligatam. Videbantur enim de capite eius pendere drachones ignivomi tanquam capilli et collum circumcingere. De manibus autem eius videbatur flama exire, et dictum est ei quod inutiliter orabat quod erat damnata eo quod mortua fuerat impenitens. Hoc autem patiebatur pro adulteriis et ornatu capitis luxurioso et anulis manuum [f. 38a] et huiusmodi gaudiolis que male acceperat et usa fuerat ad vanitatem. Ideo dicit Augustinus quod non oraret pro patre vel matre si sciret eos esse in inferno".

<sup>14</sup> Ed. H. Oesterley (Berlin, 1872), 666.

<sup>15</sup> *Middle English Sermons*, ed. W. Ross (ETS 209, London, 1938), 183-184.



masses he has sung for his mother and she replies, as in the *Speculum*: "Pat pou dud for me, itt shall aveyll be sowles in purgatory, and per-fore pou shalte haue þin mede, For vn-to me þese no noon opur may aveyll. For when þat I was first wedded I dud avoutre in my zoughthed, and for shame I wold neuer shrive me þer-of, and so sodenly I died with-oute confession. And per-for I am dampned withowten ende".

To the early fifteenth century belongs the version of MS Harleian 219 (VIII), which is interpolated in a collection of the moralized fables of Odo of Cheriton.<sup>16</sup> In this story the details of the Egerton (I) and Bromyard (IV) versions are combined and expanded. The woman has three children, one legitimate son who is a priest, and two illegitimate sons. She appears to the former, her head surrounded by flames, with toads on her lips and serpents at her breasts. The interpretation of these details follows Bromyard. A tale in MS Add. 9066, a fifteenth century English version of the *Gesta Romanorum* (IX), appears to be a translation either of VIII or of a closely similar tale.<sup>17</sup> The English tale is rather more dramatic than the Latin, but the details correspond exactly and many lines appear to be direct translations.

The mid-fifteenth century version in John Herolt's *Sermones* (X) expands the details of the earlier versions into a particularly horrid picture of hell-pains.<sup>18</sup> In this case the story serves as an example, not of adultery, but of the tortures of the damned. Herolt did not take all his material from known versions of the tale, for there are some significant differences between his and the other surviving versions. The damned woman is not related to the priest, and her sin is not adultery, but a series of various sorts of luxury and pride. She explains her torments at length:

Capitis mei lacerte puniunt me propter capitis mei superflua ornamenta, bufones oculorum puniunt illicitos aspectos meos, similiter sagitte puniunt nepharios aurium auditis, similiter igne sulphureo punitur os meum propter verba blasphemie, et propter detractiones et cantilenas et oscula et turpia et verba indecencia et vaniloquia. Similiter propter illicitos tactus et amplexus serpentes vbera mea sugunt et collum cingunt. Canes vero manus meas corro-dunt quas extendi plus ad dandum canibus quam pauperibus, et quas eas annulis et gemmis ornaui.

She rides upon a terrible dragon, "propter superbiam quam habui in equitando".

One further tale deserves mention, for it combines motifs from the exemplum family and the *Trentalle*. This, again from the English *Gesta Roma-*

<sup>16</sup> Kaufmann, *Trentalle*, 26.

<sup>17</sup> Ed. S. Herrtage (*EETS ES 33*, London, 1879), 383-384.

<sup>18</sup> *Sermones de discipuli de tempore et sanctis* (Cologne, 1474), cxxv.

*norum*, tells of a man who feared the pains of purgatory so much that he prayed for a temporal sickness in lieu of purgatory.<sup>19</sup> God sends him "the fallyng Euyll, and the lipre, and the fyre of hell", and at the end of fifteen years announces his absolution. The man then asks, "I pray the, that I may haue the same paynes a-gayne, for to delyeur my modre, if that she be in payne". The angel replies that no such penance can save his mother, but if he will become a priest, he will be shown how to help her. After he has celebrated his first mass his mother appears bearing the symbolic fire and toads. She says that a year's prayer will release her from her pains, and this penance is fulfilled by the priest.

And after the yeris Ende he sawe twoo [angels], and be-twene hem a fayre woman, the which he had wende had ben oure ladie seynte maire; and she seide to him, "I am not maire, but I am thy modere, that for þe and thy messes syngyng for me, I ame delyuered from all paynes, and go to the Ioyes of paradise; and for thou haste done þus, thou haste bothe delyuered me and the from all woo, and thy merite is sette in heuyn redy agayne þou come; and sone shalte thou Come therto".

This mistake in identification is much the same as that made by Gregory. His mother, too, is led by a pair of angels:

At þat same tyme fulle ryght,  
He sawe a fulle swete syght,  
A comely lady dressed and dyght,  
That all þe worlde was not so bryzt,  
Comely crowned as a qwene,  
Tweyn angellys ladde her hem betwene.  
(ll. 145-150)

Like the priest of the *Gesta* tale, Gregory assumes that she is Mary:

He was so raveded of þat syght,  
That nyȝ for joye he swoned ryght,  
He fell down flatte byfore her fete;  
Devowtly teres wepyng he lete  
And grette her with a mylde steven  
And sayde þere: "Lady, qwene of heven,  
Modyr of Jhesu, mayde marye,  
For my modyr mercy I crye".  
"Blessed sone", she seide, "I am not she,  
Ne whom þou wenest þat I be;  
But certes, as þou seest me here,  
I am þy modyr, þat þe bere".<sup>20</sup>  
(ll. 151-162)

<sup>19</sup> *EETS* ES 33, 401-402.

<sup>20</sup> Neilson ("Crosslinks", 72) assumes that the passage in the *Pearl* in which the Dreamer asks a similar question is derived from this part of the *Trentalle*. The correspondence of the passages,

In the family of exempla from which the *Trentalle* was derived, we can also see several details of the ghost scene of *Awntyrs* which are not present in *Trentalle* A. These details occur primarily in the description of the ghost. The *Trentalle* describes the apparition only briefly, with little of the detail of the *Awntyrs* version:

In þat derknes a þyng drew nere,  
A wonþur grysely creature,  
Aftur a fend ferde her feture;  
All ragged and rente, elenge and evell,  
As orrybull to beholde as devell.

(*Trentalle* A, ll. 52-56)

The comparison of the spirit with a fiend is reminiscent of the first appearance of Guinevere's mother, "in the lykenes of Lucyfere, layetheste in helle". Of the first part of the *Awntyrs* description, only the raggedness of the ghost is found elsewhere, and then only in the *Trentalle*:

Bare was hir body, and blake to the bone,  
Alle by-claggede in claye, vn-comlyly cledde;  
It weryit, it wayemettede lyke a womane,  
Pat nowþer one hede, ne one hare, hillynge it hade.

(*Awntyrs*, ll. 105-108)

Of more interest is the next part of the description, as the ghost approaches Gawain:

On þe chefe of þe cholle,  
A tade pykit one hir polle,  
Hir eghne ware holkede fulle holle,  
Glowand als gledis.

(ll. 114-117)

None of this is to be found in the *Trentalle*; it is clearly taken from an exemplum such as VIII, in which "labia quoque ejus et linguam bupho horribili[s] radere non cessabat".<sup>21</sup> The "chefe of þe cholle" is a reasonable approximation for *labia*. The description continues in a similar vein:

All glowede als gledis the gaste whare scho glydis,  
Vmbycledde in a clowde, with clethyng vn-clere,  
Cerklytt withe serpentis, þat satt by hir sydes;  
To telle þe dedis<sup>22</sup> þer one my tonge were to tere.

(ll. 118-121)

however, is remote, for the Dreamer is not making Gregory's mistake; he know perfectly well he is not addressing Mary. Compare the similar error in *Thomas of Erceldoune* (ed. J. Murray (EETS 61, London, 1875), Thornton text, ll. 85-92) in which Thomas mistakes the fairy for Mary.

<sup>21</sup> Kaufmann, *Trentalle*, 26.

<sup>22</sup> The Ireland MS gives a better reading: "To telle the todus upon with tung were ful tere".

Again the author uses the almost formulaic description of the exempla. In his more mysterious and less allegorical version it is the serpents surrounding the woman rather than the serpents sucking her breasts that he retains.<sup>23</sup> It is clear that the author of *Awentyrs* has based his tale to a considerable extent on the *Trentalle*. It is also evident that he was familiar with some exemplar of the family of sermon tales which lay behind the *Trentalle*.

The series of questions and prophecies which ends the scene in *Awentyrs* could perhaps have been influenced by a questioning scene such as ends Herolt's story (X), although that text is too late for the poet to have known it. Guinevere asks her mother, "Whate greues Gode moste of any kynes thyng?" (238), and receives the reply, "Pride, with apparementis, als prophetis haue talde" (239). The poet assumes a knowledge on the part of his audience of the character of Guinevere outside of what is given in the romance. Of course, her sinful associations are common romance fare from Geoffrey of Monmouth's time, and her adultery is commonly seen as the ultimate cause of the destruction of Arthur's court. Sin begets sin, and the queen is rarely viewed without this aura of moral blemish — her description in the *Queste del Saint Graal* echoes this: "Lors entra en la royne Genevre que ne s'estoit mie vraiment faite confesse puis qu'elle fut premierement venue en mariage".<sup>24</sup> Through this common characterization and the frequent association of *luxuria* with pride in the penitential sermon tradition, the ghost's answer to Guinevere's question achieves considerable dramatic force. Herolt's version is not treated dramatically. The priest asks, "Que sunt capitalia peccata quibus precipue plures damnatur"? The reply is more extended and explicit than that of Guinevere's mother:

<sup>23</sup> Outside this group of exempla, the motif of the breast-sucking serpents seems to be found largely in personifications of the earth: "Etwa seit der Jahrtausendwende sind Tiere die beliebtesten oft auch einzigen Attribute einer Erde-Personifikation. Zuvor hatte nur die Schlange, die auch fortan das häufigste Tierattribut der Erde blieb, einen festen Platz in der Erde-Ikonographie eingenommen... sie saugt an den Brüsten der Erde". (*Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, ed. O. Schmitt (Stuttgart, 1933-), 5, 'Erde', 1034-1035. Schmitt includes several illustrations from eleventh and thirteenth century encyclopedias, 1039, 1063, 1067). Adhémar has suggested that the figure of Terra developed directly into the Luxuria of the exempla. (J. Adhémar, *Influences antiques dans l'art du Moyen Age* (*Warburg Institute Studies* 7, London, 1939), 197-200; also Fig. 49-53). The association of serpents with adultery is also known from a series of exempla in which St. Germanus (sometimes Gregory) tracks a serpent to the tomb of an adulteress. (J. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1910), iii, 18, 279-280, 375, 472. R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane* (La Haye, 1931-), ii, 99). Karl-Heinz Goller (*König Arthur in der englischen Literatur des späten Mittelalters* (Göttingen, 1963), 125, n. 47) notes that toads and snakes accompany Frau Welt in Konrad von Würzburg's *Der werlte lôn*.

<sup>24</sup> E. Vinaver, *Malory* (Oxford, 1929), 165.

women are damned "propter peccatam luxurie lingue et superflui ornatus sortilegii, et ficte confessionis propter nimiam verecundiam". It is an enumeration — as is the list of the woman's own sins — of the "apparentis" of pride.

### III

Although it has received little critical attention, *The Awntyrs of Arthure* must be counted as one of the most engaging of the romances. The poet's artistry will become apparent in a closer examination of the text. The tale opens, after a brief introduction, with a description of Guinevere riding to the hunt. The vocabulary, though familiar enough from other alliterative poetry, creates an atmosphere of exhilaration beside which many of the purely rhymed romances are pale and lifeless. Guinevere is dressed "withe riche rebanes reuerssede" (l. 16), "raylede with rubes one royalle arraye" (l. 17), and is "schruedede in a shorte cloke, þat the rayne schrydes" (l. 20). The king goes to the hunt, leaving Guinevere alone with Gawain. The poet emphasizes that the two are quite alone:

Thus alle in gleterande golde gayely scho glydis  
The gates, with sir Gawane, by a grene welle;  
Nane bot hym selfe one a blonke by þat birde bydis.  
(ll. 27-29, repeated ll. 68-69)

The implications of this emphasis are uncertain, but it is very possible that we are intended to infer that the story will be concerned with another of Guinevere's intrigues.

The hunting scene which follows is similar in many ways to that of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, although it is doubtful whether it is a case of direct borrowing, as J. L. N. O'Loughlin assumes.<sup>25</sup> Both hunts take place in "fernysone tyme" (*Awntyrs* l. 8; "in fermysoun tyme", *Gawain*, l. 1156), so that it is only the female deer that are hunted, but beyond this and the inevitable similarities of the alliterative style there are no close correspondences. The inferior technique of the *Awntyrs* poet is evident at a glance; his verse is both choppier and less varied than that of *Gawain*. Nonetheless, it is easy to hear in *Awntyrs* many of the rhythms of *Gawain*, and it is not impossible that the poet may have known it even if he did not borrow directly.

The details of the hunt are left to the imagination, for it is not viewed close to the centre of action but from a distance, where Guinevere rests

<sup>25</sup> *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. S. Loomis (Oxford, 1959), "English Alliterative Romances", 526. The similarities between the romances are discussed by W. Matthews, *The Tragedy of Arthur* (Berkeley, 1960), 208-209.

under a laurel in the company of Gawain. The scene narrows quickly to them:

Thus with solauce þay semelede, the prowdeste in palle,  
 And sew to þe soueraygne, in cleues so clene;  
 Nane bot sir gawane, the gayeste of alle,  
 By-leuys with dame gaynour in pose greues grene.  
 Vndir a lorrere scho laye, þat lady so smalle,  
 Of Boxe and of Barborane byggyde fulle bene.  
 (ll. 66-71)

It is here, in a position of comparative comfort, that the poet announces the beginning of the "mervelle". Darkness covers the hunters, and the party flees to the woods. The extraordinary speed with which the weather changes, the hunt disperses, and the apparition becomes visible over the water provides a startling effect; the terseness is mysterious rather than bald, it charges the pleasant atmosphere of the opening landscape rather than deflating it.<sup>26</sup> The sense of a supernatural force is intensified as the poet notes the effect of the ghost on the birds and animals of the forest:

The hundes are to hillys, and paire hedes hydes,  
 For þat grysely gaste made so gryme bere.  
 The grete grewhundes were agayste for that grym bere;  
 The birdis one the bewes,  
 Pat one that gaste gewes,  
 Thay clyme in the clewes,  
 That hedows whene þay here.  
 (ll. 124-130)

The author uses stanza-linking to excellent effect in this passage by transferring a phrase between stanzas from the tormented spirit to the rather surprised queen:

"I banne the byrde that me bare,  
 For noue comyn is my care,  
 I gloppen and Y grete" !  
 Alle gloppuns and gretys Damme Gaynour the gay,  
 And sayd to Syr Gauan, "Quat is thi best rede" ?<sup>27</sup>  
 (ll. 89-93)

<sup>26</sup> In its provision for supernatural characters and events the magic hunt was a likely setting for moral teaching as well as for mere strange happenings; in the Irish *Eachtra an Mhadra Mhaoil* Arthur is under a geis to hold a hunt every seventh year until some adventure develops.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted from the Ireland MS text; the Thornton reading of the first line of the passage seriously undercuts the ghost's later revelation of her identity and purpose: "I ame the body þat þe bare".

The suggestion of humor in this question may well be intentional, for Gawain continues with a bit of popular science for the queen's benefit:

"It es a clippes of the Mone,<sup>28</sup> I herde a clerke saye":  
And thus he comforthede þe qwene with his knyghtehede.  
(ll. 94-95)

The author continues this lightness of tone as Guinevere complains of being abandoned by the court to deal alone with "the gryselyeste gaste þat euer herde I grete" ! (l. 99). Even Gawain's assurance that he will deal with the situation does not seem entirely serious:

"At this gaste", quod Sir Gawayne, "greue zowe no more;  
A salle speke with zone spyrete".  
(ll. 100-101)

When we turn to the ghost, however, the tone changes to a seriousness sustained by the strange and none-too-pleasant description of the spirit. Gawain's approach to the ghost, which before the description would perhaps be viewed with a smile, is now a solmen matter:

Vn-to þat grysely gaste Sir Gawayne es gane;  
He raykede to it one a rase, for he was neuere rade;  
For rade was he neuer<sup>29</sup> nowhe who þat ryghte redis.  
(ll. 111-113)

The seriousness with which Gawain views the situation is evident as he conjures the spirit by Christ to reveal its purpose. The ghost replies with corresponding gravity, announcing immediately her theme of mutability:

"I was of Fegure and of flesche the fayereste of alle,  
Cristenede and krysommede, withe kynges in my kyne.  
I hafe kynges in my kyne, knawene kyde fulle kene;  
God hase sent me this grace,  
To drye my paynes in this place".  
(ll. 137-141)

Stanza-linking is again used effectively, but the repetition here (with its change in reference from Guinevere to the ghost) has an ominous ring:

"And nowhe am I commence one a pase,  
To speke withe zoure qwene.  
Qwene was I whilome, wele bryghttere of browes  
Than Beryke or Brangwayne, the byrdis so balde;  
Of any gamnes or gudis, þat one the grownde growes,

<sup>28</sup> A somewhat better reading is supplied by both the Ireland and Douce texts, which note a "clyppus of the sune".

<sup>29</sup> The same is said of Arthur as he confronts the Green Knight (*Sir Gawain*, l. 251).

Wele grettere þan gaynour, of garsomes and of golde...  
 And nowe am I cachede owte of kythe, in carys so colde".  
 (ll. 142-147, 151)

This ominousness is not diminished by the ghost's specific comparison with Guinevere. She states explicitly the exemplary nature of her visit, "Thus am I lyke to Lucefer, takis witnes by mee"<sup>30</sup> (l. 165), and expands upon this warning in the manner of the *memento mori* lyrics:

"For alle zoure fresche fauoure,  
 Now moyse one this mirroure,  
 For, bothe Kynge and Emperoure,  
 Thus salle 3e bee".  
 (ll. 166-169)

The poet catches the drama of the situation in a stanza-link at Guinevere's interruption of the ghost's sermon:

"For thou erte warnede, I wysse,  
 Be warre now, be my waa!"  
 "Now wo es me for thi waa!" sayd Waynour, "I wysse,  
 Bot a worde wolde I wete, and thi wille ware".  
 (ll. 194-197)

In the ghost's confession the horrible crimes of the exempla are merely suggested. As Neilson has said, the author forsakes horror for a delicacy of implication which, with our knowledge of Guinevere, carries far more weight: "We must note how quietly he sets aside the gross elements of incest and murder; the sexual flaw indeed is necessarily carried over from the legend, but it is touched in by a mere word".<sup>31</sup> Beyond the mention of the breaking of a "solempne a-vowe" (l. 206), the ghost refers only briefly to her sin: "This es it to luffe paramoures, and lustis and litys" (l. 213). The implications of that example could not be missed.

The old queen explains the necessary penance, and Guinevere assures her of its completion in terms which are half lyric, half prayer:

"To blysse brynge the that barne, þat dere hase the boghte,  
 That was crucyfiede on croyse, and crownede with thorne;  
 Crystynned and krysommede with candilles and coude,  
 Fullede in funestane, fulle frely by-forne;  
 Mary, þat es myghty, and myldeste of mode,  
 That bare þat blysschede, in bedleme was borne,  
 Gyffe me grace for to grete thy saule with some gude,  
 And mene the with messes and matynnes one morne".  
 (ll. 222-229)

<sup>30</sup> The Ireland text is rather better: "Thus lau am I lyzte, take wittenesse by me".

<sup>31</sup> "Crosslinks", 73.



Her promise is fully contained in the last two lines; the rest of the passage consists of a lyric invocation of Christ and Mary. Having given her promise, Guinevere questions the ghost on moral points, and the author takes the opportunity of presenting his didactic interests in dramatic guise. Her first question concerns that which grieves God. The answer, as in Herolt's sermon, is pride: "It makis beryns fulle balde to breke his byddinge" (l. 242). The ghost pointedly remarks that those who know care are safe from this sin.

Guinevere continues her questioning by asking what will please God most; what will "me beste in to blysche brynge" (l. 249). The answer is charity:

"Mekenesse and mercy", scho saide, "þo are the moste;  
Hafe pete one the pore, thane plesys þou oure Kynge,  
Sythene after that, do almous dedis of alle oþer thyng;  
Thies arene the gud gyftis of the holy goste".  
(ll. 250-253)

Gawain then inquires of the future of those who live for worldly power, those "pat fowndis to fyght" (l. 261). The spirit's reply sounds odd, for it does not at first appear to answer Gawain's question. Only after a preliminary accusation does she return to her theme of mutability, and the wheel of Fortune by which Arthur and his court are governed:<sup>32</sup>

"zoure kynge es to couetous, I telle the, sir knyghte;  
Maye no mane stere hym of strenghe, whilles þe whele standis;  
Whene he es in his mageste hegheste, and maste es of myghte,  
He salle lighte fulle lawe, appone the see sandis".  
(ll. 265-268)

Her tone remains exemplary. For Guinevere she herself is the example ("Takis witnes by mee"); for Gawain (and Arthur) the example is France:

"Thus zoure cheualrous kynge chefe schalle a chaunce;  
False fortune in fyghte,  
That wondirfulle whele wryghte,  
Mase lordis for to lyghte;  
Takes witnes by Fraunce".  
(ll. 269-273)

The old queen prophesies in detail the end of the Round Table. As you have conquered France, she says, so shall you conquer the Romans, but after that your fortune will turn. Eventually the Round Table will fall,

<sup>32</sup> The whole of this passage is closely related to the alliterative *Morte Arthure*, in which the theme of "couatys" in Arthur's military economics is developed at length (ll.1549-1588); cf. Matthews, *Tragedy of Arthur*, 129-130.

and the evil seed which will destroy the court is even now growing among you in Mordred:

"In Kyng Arthures haulle  
The childe playes hym at the balle,  
That salle owtraye ȝow alle,  
Fulle derfely a daye".

(ll. 309-312)

With a reminder to Guinevere of her promise the spirit slips away.

The complete freshness of the stanza which follows quickly dispels the dark and sickly atmosphere created by the presence of the ghost. The view broadens again to include the distant hunters, who now rejoin each other and return to the queen:

The wynde and the wedyrs þane welkene in hydis;  
Thane vnclosede the clowddis, þe sone schane schene.  
The kyng his bogille hase blowene, and on þe bent bydis;  
His faire folke in firthes flokkes in fere;  
All þat royalle rowte to þe qwene rydys.

(ll. 328-332)

She tells them of her experience, but it is passed over in a line; they wonder at it but do not take it to heart. No sooner are the king and queen set to supper, but a strange lady rides in followed by a knight. She addresses Arthur in the same terms the ghost had used in her warning, calling him "Mane moste of myght" (l. 348). Both she and the knight are described in detail, both of them in the same tone of courtly admiration:

He was the souerayneste sir, sittande in sette,  
Pat euer any segge saughe, or sene was with syghte.

(ll. 358-359)

Scho was the worthilieste wyghte, þat any wy myghte welde;  
Hir gyde was glorious and gaye, alle of gyrse grene;  
Hir belle was of plonkete, wiþe birdis fulle baulde,  
Botonede with besantes, and bokollede fulle bene.

(ll. 365-368)

The audience's sympathies are quickly placed on the side of the interlopers by the tone of these descriptions. The knight's horse, squire, and arms are all as magnificent and noble as could be imagined. Thus it is that when he asks his boon of Arthur we are predisposed in his favor, and recognise immediately and without further explanation the injustice done him by Arthur. We are completely willing to believe his accusation:

"Thou hase wonnen thaym one werre, with owtrageouse wille,  
And gyffene þame sir Gawayne, and þat myne herte grilles".

(ll. 421-422)

Here, then, is the illustration of Arthur's covetousness, presented to us in the story of Galleroune.

Provisions are made for the visitors on the grand scale for, though he may be covetous of lands and power, Arthur is no niggard. Yet however grandly he may entertain his guests, it is certain that he has no intention either of losing the estates in question or of losing face over the matter:

The kynge in to concelle hase callede his knyghtis so kene;  
Sayse: "Lukes nowe, 3e lordyngs, oure lose be noghte lost".  
(ll. 461-462)

Gawain — appropriately, since he now holds Galleroune's lands — takes up the challenge.

The course of the battle is narrated in some detail and, though it differs little from many another romance combat, it is enlivened constantly by the alternating richness and asstringency of the alliterative style. The poet delights in the juxtaposition of a virile rough-and-tumble verse in describing the course of the fight:

The beryns broches paire blonkes to pair sydes bledis.  
Aythire freke appone felde hase fichede thaire spere;  
Schaftis of schene wode þay scheurede in schides;  
So jolyly those gentille mene justede one were!  
(ll. 499-502)

and a more feminine and delicate mode in describing the apparel of the protagonists and the interests of the spectators:

Gawayne was graythely graythede on grene,  
Withe griffones of golde, Engrelede fulle gaye;  
Trayfolede with trayfoles, and trewluffes by-twene.  
(ll. 508-510)

Both men are sorely wounded, and when Gawain's horse is killed they fight on foot. Arthur is grieved by the course of the battle: "Hit hurte King Arther in herte, and mengit his mode" (l. 594).

The length of the fight is in fact necessary, for it must be as even a battle as possible. The poet has worked himself into a moral problem, for both by the standard of Arthurian romance and the preserve the appeal of the tale, Gawain must be the victor. Yet the author has clearly shown that Galleroune is in the right, and has aroused sufficient sympathy for him that his outright defeat at the hands of Gawain would prove highly unsatisfactory. The drawn-out battle and the nearly equal outcome are his only obvious solution. Gawain eventually vanquishes Galleroune, but it is a pyrrhic victory for he is heavily wounded and the great horse Griselle is dead.

By the time Gawain has forced Galleroune to the ground and is preparing for the final attack, the author has shown so much sympathy with the alien

knight that he seems to feel it necessary to insert an explanatory phrase showing that, after all, his own feelings do lie with the Round Table:

Glenly þat crewelle couerde hym on highte,  
 And with a caste of þe care in kautelle he strykes;  
 ffule 3erne he wayttis Sir Wawayne þe wighte,  
 Bot hym lympeþe þe werse, and þat me wele lykis.  
 (ll. 612-615)

Galleroune's lady appeals, through Guinevere, for the fight to be stopped, but before Arthur can announce this Galleroune presents his surrender:

"Of renttis and reches I make the relese".  
 Downe knelis þat knyghte,  
 And carpis thies wordes on highte;  
 The kyng stude vp-ryghte,  
 And commandis þe pese.  
 (ll. 646-650)

The terms of the king's peace are not entirely expected. To Gawain he will give "þe wirchiþe of Wales" (l. 666) and a dukedom, while Galleroune, for his bravery, he will "refeff"<sup>33</sup> with his Scottish lands. On Gawain's suggestion, he will make Galleroune a knight of the Round Table. The fight, said the author, "mengit his mode". Its effect has been to awaken in Arthur a consciousness of his own avarice. He has, for a space, rectified the accusation of the ghost by his generosity.

The court return to Carlisle, and while the wounds of the knights are seen to, Guinevere attends to the salvation of her mother's soul:

Dame Gaynour garte besyly wryte in to þe weste,  
 To alle manere of relygeous, to rede and to synge;  
 Pristes withe processyones [to pray were prest  
 With a mylione of] messis to make her menynges.<sup>34</sup>  
 (ll. 703-706)

The author ends his tale with a final sidelong glance at the exemplary nature of the story:

And thus this ferlyes by-felle in a foreste,  
 Vndir an holte so bare, at an hunttynge;  
 Swylke hunttynge in holtis sulde noghte bene hyde.  
 (ll. 709-711)

It was long assumed that *Awntyrs* consisted of two tales, joined quite arbitrarily and haphazardly by the author, a view exemplified by Amours' remark that "the romance is composed of two episodes, the only connection between which is the identity of place and time".<sup>35</sup> This opinion was countered by S. O. Andrew, who recognised the didactic connections between

<sup>33</sup> Douce text, l. 685; the passage is missing from the Thornton text.

<sup>34</sup> The bracketed passage, missing in the Thornton text, is supplied from Douce.

the sections, but was rather outspoken in his apologetics of the romance's construction, considering that "the relation between the two parts is... as close as can be reasonably expected in an episodic poem of this kind".<sup>35</sup> J. Oakden redressed the balance by noting that while the second part of the romance does indeed grow from the first, the structure is nonetheless imperfect.<sup>37</sup> Yet it is clearly the ghost's exhortation which is taken up in the second half, and it is through her recommendation of charity that Guinevere intercedes for Galleroune, and that Gawain suggests his inclusion in the Round Table; as W. Matthews says, "Imperial conquests, won with wrong, are cancelled out in a display of Christian charity, so that one might believe that the troubled ghost could have taken almost as much comfort from the effect of her moral advice as from the masses with which the poem ends".<sup>38</sup>

The poet set himself a difficult task — a moral tale in Arthurian style concerned with the illustration of both *luxuria* and *avaritia*. Most of the structural faults of the romance grow directly from its basic ideas, from its sources and their utilization. The poet intends to give warning against two sins, and as a medium uses the exemplum of the Dead Adultress (and, of course, the *Trentalle Sancti Gregorii*). But in the original exempla the dead woman does not present a direct warning in her appearance: it is to a priest that she shows herself, not to someone endangered by the same sins for which she is damned. The moral warning is solely to the audience. In *Awntyrs*, this implicit warning against incontinence becomes more weighty in its direction towards Guinevere, and the warning against pride and covetousness is introduced explicitly. The exemplum did not originally bear this point, and it is in the exemplification of both sins that the structural problems arise. The sexual sin is conveniently illustrated by the ghost herself and is inherent in the tale, but the second sin of avarice requires considerable amplification that a balance may be struck. Therefore the tale of Galleroune is introduced, in which Arthur's covetousness and pride are shown, and his liberality vindicated for the time being. The episodic division of the tale is a direct result of the attempt to consider both these points. Even more serious than this division is the manifestly non-religious origin of the second part. The exemplary origin of the ghost's tale makes it admirably suited to the author's purpose, but the moral direction of the story of Galleroune is rarely clear, and it thus provides a poor foil for the drama of the ghost's story, where the moral function is never in doubt.

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<sup>35</sup> *Scottish Allit. Poetry*, xliii-xliv.

<sup>36</sup> "Huchown's Work", *RES*, 5 (1929), 17.

<sup>37</sup> *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English* (Manchester, 1930-5), ii, 47-48.

<sup>38</sup> *Tragedy of Arthur*, 161.

THE FAILURE OF CHURCH AND EMPIRE:  
*PARADISO*, 30

*Edward M. Peters*

THE thirtieth canto of Dante's *Paradiso* occupies an important place both in its own *cantica* and in the *Commedia* as a whole. It describes the final stage in the transformation of the pilgrim's vision and is the last canto in which Dante and Beatrice are together. It concludes with Beatrice's final words to Dante. On the scale of the entire vision, it is the point toward which Dante had started with Vergil when they began their journey out of the dark wood, and thus it stands as a representation of ultimate justice and order against the error of the *selva oscura* and the evil of the anti-city of Dis. The final twenty-five lines of the canto, however, may be said to possess an importance which extends even beyond the limits of the *Commedia*. They contain Dante's final political testament and thus complete the complex development of his thought on politics which first found expression in the *De vulgari eloquentia* and the *Convivio* and whose presence pervades not only the philosophical works and the letters, but the great poem of justice itself.<sup>1</sup>

Vergil had prophesied at the beginning of the *Inferno* that Dante might come to Paradise at the end of his journey but that Vergil himself could not guide him there:

Ché quello Imperador che la sú regna,  
Perch'io fu ribellante a la sua legge  
Non vuol che'n sua città per me si vegna.  
In tutte parti impera, e quivi regge;  
quivi è la sua città e l'alto seggio:  
O felice colui cu'ivi elegge!  
(Inf., i, 123-128)

<sup>1</sup> Studies on Dante's political thought abound. A useful starting-point is provided in U. Parricchi, *Dante* (Rome, 1965), 273-291. In the same volume, see particularly P. Brezzi, "Il pensiero politico di Dante". Among other recent studies those especially valuable in preparing this article were, Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies* (Princeton, 1957), 451-495 and A. P. d'Entrèves, *Dante as a Political Thinker* (Oxford, 1952).

At the end of *Paradiso* xxx Vergil's prophecy is fulfilled. Dante stands within the city of the celestial rose, his pilgrimage behind him, engrossed in the contemplation of Beatrice's heavenly *città* just as he had once stood paralyzed by fear before the walls of the *città dolente*. Immediately before she leaves him, Beatrice indicates to Dante a particular seat within the rose. It is the throne of the emperor Henry VII and is the subject of the last major reference to earthly life in the poem:

Nel giallo de la rosa sempiterna, —  
 Che si dilata ed ingrada e redole  
 Odor di lode al Sol che sempre verna, —  
 Qual è colui che tace e dicer vuole,  
 Mi trasse Beatrice, e disse: 'Mira  
 Quanto è 'l convento de le bianche stole!  
 Vedi nostra città quant' ella gira!  
 Vedi li nostri scanni sì ripieni  
 Che poca gente più ci si disira!  
 E 'n quel gran seggio a che tu li occhi tieni  
 Per la corona che già v'è su posta,  
 Prima che tu a queste nozze ceni  
 Sederà l'alma (che fia giù agosta)  
 De l'alto Arrigo, ch'a drizzare Italia  
 Verrà in prima che ella sia disposta.  
 La cieca cupidigia che vi ammalia  
 Simili fatti v'ha al fantolino  
 Che muor per fame e caccia via la balia.  
 E fia prefetto nel foro divino  
 Allora tal che, palese e covertò,  
 Non anderà con lui per un cammino.  
 Ma poco poi sarà da Dio sofferto  
 Nel santo officio: ch' el sarà detruso  
 La dove simon Mago è per suo merto,  
 E farà quel d'Alagna intrar più giuso'.  
 (Par. xxx, 124-148)

Dante, pilgrim and prophet throughout his journey, here witnesses the resolution of one of the major themes of the poem, the conflict between papacy and empire which has prevented the establishment of the *vera città* on earth and is the result of the greater opposition between justice and greed which is the root of all earthly social and individual disorder.<sup>2</sup>

Beatrice's speech clearly falls into two symmetrical parts. Not only does she fulfill Vergil's earlier promise, but she also echoes Vergil's imperial

<sup>2</sup> The most comprehensive study of Dante's theory of justice is still that of A. H. Gilbert, *Dante's Conception of Justice* (rep. N. Y., 1965). See also E. Gilson, *Dante and Philosophy* (N. Y., 1949). 175-224, 277-281. For Dante as prophet, see G. R. Sarolli, "Dante, *Scriba Dei*". *Convivium*, 4-6 (1963), 385-422, 513-544, 641-671.

imagery which she transforms from an imaginative contrast between the Roman Empire of Augustus and the heavenly 'empire' of God into a deliberate philosophical contrast between the form of justice which pervades the *civitas Dei* and the injustice which has perverted human society on earth. Her first words carefully direct Dante's vision into the city of the rose to the throne of Henry VII. She then briefly describes the imperial mission and its failure. The second part of the speech consists of an analysis of the causes of the failure of empire and indictment of those whose greed had contributed to it. The brief reference to the life and death of Henry,

Ch' a drizzare Italia  
Verrà in prima che ella sia disposta,

occupies the center of her discourse, referring back to the *alma agosta* and forward to the *prefetto nel foro divino*, who occupies the same prominence in the second half of the speech as does the *alma agosta* in the first. Not only are the roles of Henry VII and Clement V thus the immediate subjects of their respective halves of Beatrice's discourse, but the greater opposition of Heaven and Hell is invoked in its opening and closing lines. The *convento de le bianche stole* stands in symmetrical opposition to *La dove Simon Mago è*, the *Civitas Dei* to *Malebolge*. Within a few lines, Beatrice's speech moves from the highest part of Paradise to the depths of Hell by her citation of the paired issues of Henry's salvation and Clement's damnation in symmetrical halves of the discourse.<sup>3</sup>

Her opening words are joyous, echoing precisely that elation which Dante himself had experienced as soon as his vision had been transformed by the river of grace:

Poi, come gente stata sotto larve,  
Che pare altro che prima, se si sveste,  
La sembianze non sua in che disparve.  
Così mi si cambiò in maggior feste  
Li fiori e le faville, sì ch'io vidi  
Ambo le corti del ciel manifeste.  
O isplendor di Dio, per cu'io vidi  
L'alto trionfo del regno verace,  
Dammi virtù a dir com' io lo vidi.  
(Par. xxx, 91-99)

<sup>3</sup> On Dante's use of paired symbols of justice, see E. von Richthofen. "The Twins of Latona and Other Symmetrical Symbols for Justice in Dante". in S. B. Chandler and J. A. Molinaro, *The World of Dante* (Toronto, 1966), 117-127. The author does not consider the emperor-pope opposition in *Paradiso* xxx. For the following discussion, see Joseph A. Mazzeo, *Mediaeval Cultural Tradition in Dante's "Comedy"* (Ithaca, N. Y.), 91-132.



The repetition of *mira* and *vedi* by Beatrice both echoes Dante's own response to his transformed means of perception and urges him to *see* now what she had promised him earlier:

Qui vedrai l'una e l'altra milizia  
 Di Paradiso, e l'una in quelli aspetti  
 Che tu vedrai a l'ultima giustizia.  
 (Par. xxx, 43-45)

Beatrice's exhortation, however, also serves to direct Dante's vision to one specific aspect of the rose — and that, from the next three *canti*, certainly not its most prominent — the *gran seggio* of the emperor Henry. These lines not only continue the earlier theme of the pilgrim's new vision, but in the process of narrowing Dante's attention from the general *convento* to the particular *seggio* through *città* and *scanni* invokes through systematic description another theme, that of the celestial rose as the *civitas Dei*, a city set off not only against the dark wood and *malebolge*, but against Florence itself in the next canto:

Io, che al divino dal' umano,  
 A l'eterno dal tempo era venuto,  
 E di Firenze in popol giusto e sano,  
 Di che stupor dovea esser compiuto!  
 (Par. xxxi, 37-40)

Beatrice not only echoes Vergil's earlier description of the heavenly *città* and Dante's earlier *regno verace*, but by her selection of the throne of Henry VII as Dante's first point of concentration purposely emphasizes the political dimension of the Augustinian image — not, to be sure, its primary meaning for Augustine, but nevertheless a popular one in later medieval political thought. The whole scene, moreover, is dramatically constructed in such a way that the essential character of the rose is not altered and that Dante's complete vision of it is merely delayed in order to treat a problem which for the poet had to be resolved in the court of Heaven.

That the final word about earthly political disorder should be uttered in the celestial *civitas* is not surprising. Dante's views on the ordering of society transcended, as did those of other political thinkers, the temporal character of political institutions. That vision, in the *Commedia*, is an integral part of a broader concept of justice, and it is in terms of the relationship between divine justice and the earthly empire that the episode in *Paradiso* xxx must be considered. Dante, it may be remembered, lived in a period in which both civic and imperial political ideas were in a rapid process of change. The most striking example had been the reception of Aristotelian political thought from the mid-thirteenth century on, but the problems arising from the deposition of Adolf of Nassau, the abdication of Celestine V, the

quarrel between Boniface VIII and Philip the Fair, and the imperial advent into Italy, all occurring between 1294 and 1313, constituted practical occasions for intensive revisions in political thought.<sup>4</sup> Dante's own concept of the *civitas*, moreover, like that of Remigio de Girolami and others, shows many of the traits which he was later to apply to the *imperium*.<sup>5</sup> As d'Entrèves notes,

The word *città* is a keyword in the Comedy. There is not only the opposition between the City of the Damned and the Heavenly City. The word is used to denote the fundamental and 'typical' form of human association. Retracing the growth and development of man. Marco Lombardo, in the sixteenth canto of *Purgatorio*, indicates the setting up of the *vera città* as the primary imperative, even though of the true city men discern only the tower.<sup>6</sup>

*Città*, *regno*, and *imperio* are all strikingly analogous in Dante's thought, the *città* assuring the individual's need for justice in the same manner as the empire assured mankind's need. If Dante's *civitas Dei* is different from that of Augustine, the extent of that difference must be sought both in the poet's dramatic requirement for a scene of ultimate resolution of the political theme and in the new values professed by secular society and political organization in the thirteenth century, particularly in terms of Dante's subtle adaptation of those values in forming his theory of empire.

If mankind had failed, in Dante's view, to construct or find the *vera città*, that failure in no way diminished the power or the validity of the ideal. Yet in d'Entrèves' stimulating discussion of the role of the *civitas* in Dante's thought, the celestial rose is described only as a city "in the metaphorical sense, and *città* (in *Paradiso* xxx) is certainly more reminiscent of the Augustinian *civitas* than of the Aristotelian *polis*".<sup>7</sup> Grandgent suggests that "it may be that a sight of the Roman Coliseum influenced his conception of the great amphitheater of Paradise".<sup>8</sup> It may be suggested that, in view of Beatrice's choice of emphasis and the specific contrast between *Firenze* and a *popol giusto e sano* (Par. xxxi) neither of these views accurately describes the function of the city of the rose in the last lines of *Paradiso* xxx. The regalia of the emperor and the *città* itself belong to the same order of existence,

<sup>4</sup> A recent survey of historical studies dealing with the period of Dante's lifetime is that of Nicolai Rubinstein. "Studies on the Political History of the Age of Dante". *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi danteschi* (Florence, 1965), 225-247.

<sup>5</sup> For Remigio, see L. Minio-Paluello, "Remigio Girolami's *De Bono Communi*". *Italian Studies*, 11 (1956), 56-71 and C. T. Davis, *Dante and the Idea of Rome* (Oxford, 1957).

<sup>6</sup> *Dante as a Political Thinker*, 11.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 19, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> C. H. Grandgent, ed., *La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri* (Boston, 1933), 946, n. 1. This is the text of the *Commedia* used in the preparation of this article.

an order which Dante was able to perceive only *after* his illumination earlier in the canto and one more 'real' than the earlier manifestations of Paradise which belonged to an order of perception inferior to that which Dante achieved in *Paradiso* xxx. If, as Silverstein has shown, the throne and crown represent the absolute regalia of justice, the *città* must belong to the same order.<sup>9</sup> It is the perfected state of Marco Lombardo's *vera città* in which the two roads meet in *un cammino*, as they had long ago under the aegis of Rome:

Soleva Roma, Che il buon mondo feo  
 Due soli aver, che l'una e l'altra strada  
 Facean vedere, e del mondo e di Deo.  
 (*Purg.* xvi. 106-108)

Like many contemporary Italian cities, the rose-city is under the particular influence of the Virgin. Like them, its essence is a great meeting-place. Rather than a metaphorical city, modelled on a sight of the Roman Coliseum, Dante's celestial *civitas* is, at least for a moment, a genuine *civitas Dei*, fulfilling Vergil's imperial imagery and resolving an imperial theme. Although its origins go back to Augustinian theology, it would hardly seem metaphorical to a people familiar with the vast frescoes on "Buon governo", such as those of Lorenzetti at Siena with their rows of enthroned figures or those which would be executed by Andrea da Firenze in the Spanish Chapel of Santa Maria Novella in the third quarter of the fourteenth century.<sup>10</sup>

The most immediately striking difference between the *civitas Dei* and the earthly empire, however, is the curious place given to the emperor in the former. The *alma agosta* of Henry VII, although it occupies briefly the center of Dante's interest, does not occupy a conspicuous place in the rose, as the reader learns in the following *canti*. His role on earth — to guide men to salvation by administering justice — no longer remains to be fulfilled. His soul, like Dante's ('*prima che tu a queste nozze ceni/Sederà l'anima de l'alto Arrigo...*'), is one of many which compose the *popol giusto e sano*. The throne and crown of the emperor are an indication of his former existence. In *Paradiso* xxx he is now a member of the *città* mentioned by Vergil in *Inferno*, i. The place of Henry VII in the celestial city echoes the theolo-

<sup>9</sup> See below, n. 14.

<sup>10</sup> On the *città* in Dante's thought, see d'Entrèves, *Dante as a Political Thinker*, 1-25. On the public architecture of the period, see Hélène Wieruszowski, "Art and the Commune in the Time of Dante", *Speculum*, 19 (1944), 14-33, with bibliographical notes. See also Wolfgang Braunfels, *Mittelalterliche Stadtbaukunst in der Toskana* (Berlin, 1953), 189-208; Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (rep. N. Y., 1964), 94-104.

gical language which Dante had used toward him in the seventh letter, yet reflects also his role as only a single member of the celestial *popolo*. Before discussing the possible significance of Henry's position in the rose, it may be useful to consider the imperial iconography and its role in the passage under discussion.

In his study of the throne and crown in *Paradiso* xxx, Theodore Silverstein has drawn several striking analogies between the place of Henry VII and earlier representations of the celestial disposition of just kings.<sup>11</sup> His conclusion, that the throne is not, as Grandgent had suggested, "a symbol of mundane sovereignty in Paradise", but a representation of the throne of justice which had long been a commonplace in visionary and political literature, is perfectly consistent with Dante's own theories of the role of imperial power on earth in the fulfillment of divine justice. Yet one may argue that the poet transformed this tradition too, just as he had others. First, the throne of the emperor Henry is not the center of the rose as had been some of the representations discussed by Silverstein. Second, the crown which Dante and Beatrice see above the throne is probably not, as Silverstein suggested, the crown of compassion, but the *corona gloriae et iustitiae* mentioned in imperial coronation *ordines* from the tenth century on.<sup>12</sup> Both throne and crown are the absolute regalia of justice, symbolically linked to — but only approximated by — earthly representations. Throne, crown, city — all transcend their earthly manifestations and complete them. They belong, in fact, to a higher order of existence connected to earthly institutions and earthly justice by the dual nature of the anointed emperor.<sup>13</sup> The order to which they belong was familiar to Dante's contemporaries as was the order to which belonged the frescoes of good government and

<sup>11</sup> "The Throne of the Emperor Henry in Dante's Paradise and the Medieval Conception of Christian Kingship", *Harvard Theological Review*, 32 (1939), 115-129.

<sup>12</sup> On the general significance of the crown in medieval political iconography see P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 2 (Stuttgart, 1954). A more recent study with bibliography is that of H. Hoffmann. "Die Krone im hochmittelalterlichen Staatsdenken," *Festschrift für Harald Keller* (Darmstadt, 1963), 71-85. An early coronation *ordo* may be found in C. Vogel and R. Elze, *Le pontifical romano-germanique du dixième siècle*, I (Città del Vaticano: Studi e Testi 226, 1963), 264: 'Accipe signum gloriae in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, ut, spreto antiquo hoste spretisque contagiis omnium vitiorum, sic iudicium et iustitiam diligas et misericorditer vivas, ut ab ipso domino nostro Iesu Christo in consortio sanctorum aeterni regni coronam percipias...'. See also R. Elze, *Ordines coronationis imperialis: Die Ordines für die Weihe des Kaisers und der Kaiserin*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fontes iuris germaniae antiqui in usum scholarum, 9 (Hannover, 1960); C. A. Bouman, *Sacring and Crowning: The Development of the Latin Ritual for the Anointing of Kings and the Coronation of an Emperor before the Eleventh Century* (Groningen-Djakarta, 1957); Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 336-382, 482-483.

<sup>13</sup> *The King's Two Bodies*, 494-495.

had its origins in the history of Christian political thought and in the development of liturgical ceremony and pictorial symbolism.

The opposition between justice and greed, which Christian thinkers had long since adapted from the Stoic strain in Roman historiography and moral philosophy and more recently from the reception of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*, governs the syntactical divisions of Beatrice's discourse. *La cieca cupidigia* — the metaphor of blindness, traditionally associated with injustice, here made stronger in contrast to the light and vision imagery of the passage — has caused not only the failure of Henry of Luxemburg, but of human society and Dante's ideal of empire. There is a tone of disillusion in the *Paradiso* as well as in the later *Letters* when the topic of empire appears. It may be noted that Dante is pointedly silent in the *Commedia* about political events and prospects later than 1314. Even the *Letter to the Italian Cardinals* emphasizes the need for elemental reform of the church and sustains no hope of yet another imperial renewal.<sup>14</sup> Dante scholars have often tentatively described the changing stages of the poet's political ideas, yet few have paid attention to the stage reached in the passage under discussion. The events of *Paradiso* xxx constitute the final stage: Dante's earlier enthusiasm for the imperial cause and his hopes that it might triumph had been based, as parts of the *Commedia* and the *Letters* suggest, on an over-estimation of the readiness of Italy, the church, and, by inference, of human society as a whole to achieve *humana civilitas*. In his final citation of the imperial mission, Dante revives yet another image, that of unreasonable childhood, which he had once applied not to the great emperors, but to the earliest kings of Rome, teachers and guardians of an unready people:

Che se consideriamo li sette regi che prima la governaro, cioè Romolo,  
Numa, Tullo, Anco e li re Tarquini, che furono quasi baiuli e tutori de la  
sua puerizia...<sup>15</sup>

Clement V embodies not only the church, but Italy as well — in fact all of those,

Simili fatti v'ha al fantolino  
Che muor per fame e caccia via la balia.

Childhood is always a period of unreason in the *Commedia*. Dante's earlier view of Henry VII as a new David, Aeneas, and Augustus, i.e., one who might create a new empire, appears to have changed into that of Henry as a ruler who comes to an unready people, willful, malicious, unreasonable, closer to the *adolescentia* of the early Romans, yet unlike even

<sup>14</sup> In P. Toynbee, ed., *Dantis Alagherii Epistolae*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1966), 121-147, esp. 137-142.

<sup>15</sup> *Il Convivio*, ed., G. Busnelli and G. Vandelli (Florence, 1937), Vol. II, IV, pp. 48-50.

them, possessed in certainty of no such glorious future. The theme is not original with Dante: it appears in literature dealing with the fall of the Britons, in the letters of Frederick II, and as late as the sixteenth century in a funeral exequy of Edward VI of England.<sup>16</sup> Yet it is a difficult admission for the prophet of empire to make, even in the *Civitas Dei*.

Henry VII and Clement V do not confront each other personally. Neither, in fact, is present, even though Henry's absence and the few remaining empty seats which Beatrice indicates would suggest that it is not literally the *ultima giustizia* which Dante sees. Beatrice's discourse, however, allows Dante the prophet to witness not only one more disposition of souls but also the disposition of the two powers which might have been the highest manifestations of justice on earth. Up to this point the political themes in the *Paradiso*, from the heaven of Mercury to the Eagle, prepare the traveller for the final confrontation of the forces which contended for power over man. Ironically, it is the spiritual power which causes the failure of the temporal, the more important of the two. Not inadvertently did Dante contrast the *alma agosta* with the *prefetto* Clement V. The Aristotelian-Thomistic view of political life with which Dante was certainly in sympathy had given a new vigor and a new direction to the old Carolingian idea of kingship as a *ministerium*. Dante, however, unlike most other political thinkers of the period, considered the ruler not only the *minister utilitatis publicae*, but the *minister omnium*. Clement's thwarting of the imperial ministry could not be tolerated by God much longer, but it had done damage enough: it had caused the empire to fail. It is fitting that Dante's final view of political failure should be embodied by the throne and crown of Henry VII and not by any heroic emperor of the past. If he had earlier urged ecclesiastical reform on the Italian Cardinals, it was doubtless because without it no empire could succeed and because imperial failure meant the failure of justice.

Thus Augustine's image of the city of God became briefly, in the last lines of *Paradiso* xxx, something different from its theological essence. In the remaining *canti* it becomes the city of the Virgin, its inhabitants the whole body of the saved, its rationale the direct perception of divine love through justice. For a moment, however, Dante had purposely altered its initial appearance in order to permit Henry VII, who was neither to find nor establish justice on earth, to find it as a member of the *corpus mysticum* of the *civitas Dei*. Dante, no longer the prophet of an imperial triumph but of

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Robert Hanning, *The Vision of History in Early Britain* (N. Y. 1966); *Petri de Vineis Epistolae*, ed. S. Schardius (Basel, 1566), I, 7, pp. 14-15; William Baldwin, *Beware the Cat and the Funerals of King Edward VI*, ed. William P. Holden (New London, Conn. 1963), 65-83.

ecclesiastical and imperial failure, translated the empire out of the world in which he had seen it inevitably fail into a city in which it inevitably triumphed. Henry VII had been the anointed, the *regulator*, the *minister* of justice. Whatever failure he encountered on earth — and which, without reform of the church, any imperial ideal would also encounter — it was justice itself which allowed Dante to represent him by the throne and crown in the heart of the golden city.

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## SCOTUS AND TRANSUBSTANTIATION

*David Burr*

JOHN Duns Scotus remains somewhat of an enigma to the average student of intellectual history. Since the so-called "Thomistic synthesis" is usually accepted by the non-specialist as the quintessence of medieval religious thought, Scotus is relegated to a rather shadowy existence as the "other great medieval theologian," without any clear notion of what was so great about him. His identification as the Subtle Doctor does little to ease doubts on this score, since some observers wonder if this subtlety may have been achieved at the cost of catholicity.

In no area of Scotus' thought is the ambiguity of his position more apparent than in his eucharistic thought. It has long been recognized that his notion of transubstantiation differs from Thomas' view in some very basic ways. The precise nature of this difference is less clear than one might imagine, however, since much of the relevant research has been prompted by something resembling ulterior motives.<sup>1</sup> The following

<sup>1</sup> Thomists have been more than ready to attack Scotus for his deviation from Thomism. See for example, Vincentius Cachia, *De natura transsubstantiationis iuxta S. Thomam et Scotum* (Rome, 1929). Franciscans have rallied to his defense by either minimizing the deviation or justifying it as consistent with that formulation accepted by the Council of Trent. The latter course is seen in a perceptive article by Antonius Vellico, "De transsubstantiatione juxta Joannem Duns Scotum," *Antonianum*, 5 (1930), 301-302. The former, more difficult course is attempted by Hugolinus Storff, *De natura transsubstantiationis iuxta I. Duns Scotum* (Quaracchi, 1936).

Protestant authors have brought their own concerns to the study of Scotus' eucharistic thought, occasionally attempting to picture him as a harbinger of the Reformation. See, for example, the classic study by Reinhold Seeberg, *Die Theologie des Johannes Duns Scotus* (Leipzig, 1900), hereafter cited as *Duns Scotus*. In his discussion of Scotus' eucharistic thought, Seeberg betrays a strong desire to interpret Scotus in as Protestant a manner as the text will allow. See, for example, the general interpretation in *Ibid.*, 383 which concludes "Das wäre ungefähr lutherisch gedacht, aber ist sich auch nicht unschotistisch gedacht." Protestants are hardly the only ones moved by such desires, however. See Kilian McDonnell, OSB, *John Calvin, the Church and the Eucharist* (Princeton, 1967). McDonnell sees in Scotus' formulation an attempt to affirm the continued presence of the bread and wine without contradicting the doctrine of transubstantiation.



study will attempt to provide reasonably objective answers to two questions. First, how did Scotus' formulation actually differ from Thomas' view? Second, how did Scotus and his followers react to that difference? In order to answer these questions, Scotus must be approached by a rather circuitous route. Some attempt must be made to sketch at least the outlines of the Thomistic formulation. Even St. Thomas makes a very poor starting point, since it is important to recognize that common sentiment within the church had already placed significant limitations upon the way in which a theologian in Thomas' day might understand the nature of Christ's eucharistic presence. Nevertheless, one must start somewhere.

Perhaps Thomas Aquinas' main significance in the history of eucharistic theology is that he was the first theologian in whose writings Aristotelian terminology and Christian affirmations were galvanized into a systematic, relatively coherent formulation in which all of the major questions concerning eucharistic presence found what a large number of succeeding churchmen would consider a sufficient answer.

It is, of course, always dangerous to select a single aspect of a man's thought as the starting point from which any explanation of his views should proceed. In the case of Thomas' eucharistic thought, however, one could do worse than to choose as a starting point his reflections on the nature of bodily presence. For Thomas, the central fact to be considered is that Christ's body, by the very fact that it *is* a body, must be subjected to the same physical limitations placed upon any other body. The fact that it is united to divinity is actually irrelevant in this context. Thus Christ's bodily presence in several places at once is, in itself, no more explicable than anyone else's, and Christ's bodily presence in several places in the same way that he is present in heaven is, in fact, impossible.<sup>2</sup> Again, Thomas sees the union with divinity as equally irrelevant to the question of how the body of Christ *comes to be present* in the eucharist.<sup>3</sup> For Thomas, there are only two ways in which a thing can come to be present where it formerly was not. The first, local motion, demands certain correlative phenomena such as movement in time through a succession of places and the relinquishing of a previous place. Thus, it is inapplicable to the present case. We are left with the second alternative, conversion. Here one begins to appreciate the absolutely central place of conversion in Thomas' eucharistic thought, a centrality which is seen, not only in the

<sup>2</sup> See especially the *Commentarium in quatuor libros sententiarum magistri Petri Lombardi*, liber IV (henceforth abbreviated as *IV Sent.*), d. 10, q. 1, a. 1 ad 8, in *Opera* (New York, 1948-50), 71.

<sup>3</sup> *Summa theologiae* (Rome, 1948), III, q. 75, a. 2. (The *Summa theologiae* will hereafter be cited as *ST.*). See also *IV Sent.*, d. 11, q. 1, q. 1a 1; *Questiones quodlibetales* (hereafter cited as *Quodl.*), III, q. 1, a. 2, in *Opera*, 9.

substance of his thought, but in the very shape which that thought assumes in the *Summa theologiae*. A comparison with his sentence commentary will demonstrate this point.

Peter Lombard's *Sententiae* are not tightly organized, but the general order in which the Lombard deals with Christ's presence in the eucharist is that of the mode of presence, the manner of conversion and the nature of the eucharistic accidents.<sup>4</sup> Such is, in essence, the general order found in the multitudinous sentence commentaries that followed, including Thomas' own. In the *Summa theologiae*, however, Thomas was freer to structure according to his own design. Here a significant change takes place. Thomas chooses to begin with the nature of conversion, then proceed to the nature of Christ's presence. The prime importance of conversion is strikingly illustrated in the very structure of the work.

If, then, Christ is to be present in the eucharist at all, he *must* become present through conversion of one substance into another. Thus Thomas feels that it is quite impossible for the substance of bread either to remain or to be annihilated.<sup>5</sup> Either alternative would compromise the key notion of substantial conversion.

<sup>4</sup> *Libri IV sententiarum* (Quaracchi, 1916), liber IV, dd. 10-12.

<sup>5</sup> It must be noted in passing that Thomas' refutation of the theory that the bread remains — a theory which, for reasons of brevity, will hereafter be characterized as the theory of permanence — does not rest entirely upon his argument for the necessity of conversion. In *ST* III, q. 75, a. 2 he presents a detailed argument for the necessity of conversion and then adds, in briefer form, the following arguments: (1) The idea of permanence is contrary to the words of consecration, which would have to be *hic est corpus meum* if the bread remained; (2) the idea is contrary to the veneration given to the sacrament, which could not be worshipped with the adoration of *latria* if the bread remained; (3) the idea is contrary to the custom of the church forbidding the eating of any food before communion and yet allowing priests to partake of successive consecrated hosts. In *IV Sent.*, d. 11, q. 1, a. 1, q. 1a 1 he cites all of the preceding arguments plus the observation that if the bread remained the function of the species as a sign would be frustrated, since the species would point, not to the body of Christ, but to the substance of bread.

Thomas also advances other arguments in his refutation of annihilation. These arguments can be summarized as follows: If the bread were not converted into the body of Christ, it would be either resolved into matter or annihilated. If the former, then it must be resolved into matter without form (which is self-contradictory, implying that the matter is *in actu* without that form which is its *actus*) or into its material elements. If it is resolved into its material elements, these elements must either remain in the same place (thus involving all the *inconvenientia* implied in the theory of permanence) or move elsewhere (which is impossible, since no such movement is perceived and since such motion would be gradual, whereas transubstantiation is instantaneous). Thus if the bread is not converted into the body of Christ it must be annihilated. Thomas then refutes the idea of annihilation by reference to the previously noted argument that presence must come about through conversion. *ST* III, q. 75, a. 3; *IV Sent.*, d. 11, q. 1, a. 2. In both cases Thomas describes the theory of annihilation as "false," while he brands the theory of permanence as "heretical."

Thomas is not quite out of the woods yet, however, since he must still face the objection that it is inherently impossible for Christ to be in two places at once in the same way that he is in heaven. Here again the idea of substantial conversion plays a key role. Thomas asks *what sort of presence* requires that a thing be in one place at a time.

No body is related to a place except by means of the dimensions of quantity ; and thus a body is present as *in loco* where the dimensions of that body are commensurated with the dimensions of the place (*locus*) ; and the body of Christ is in only one place in this way, i. e. in heaven.<sup>6</sup>

To be in a place in this way is, in Thomas' words, to be there "according to the mode of dimensive quantity" (*secundum modum quantitatis dimensivae*)<sup>7</sup> or circumscriptively.<sup>8</sup>

What, then, is the alternative ? Thomas finds his answer in a very literal understanding of the expression "transubstantiation" and in an equally literal reading of the words of institution. On the one hand, the conversion is one of *substances*, not of accidents. On the other hand, it is the substance of the *body and blood* which terminates the conversion. Thus, considered from the viewpoint of the instrumental power inherent in the words of institution — in Thomas' words, *ex vi sacramenti* — Christ's divinity and soul are as thoroughly excluded from the conversion as are the accidents. Moreover, considered from the same viewpoint, Christ's blood is excluded from the species of the bread and his body is excluded from the species of the wine.<sup>9</sup>

The idea of Christ's presence as a presence of his substance brought about by substantial conversion seems to solve a number of problems. In the first place, it explains how Christ can be in a small portion of the broken host.

The proper totality is contained indifferently in a small or large quantity, just as the whole nature of air is contained in a large or small amount of air and the whole nature of man is contained in a large or small man.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> IV *Sent.*, d. 10, q. 1, a. 1: ... nullum corpus comparatur ad locum nisi mediantibus dimensionibus quantitatis; et ideo ibi corpus est aliquid ut in loco, ubi commensurantur dimensiones ejus dimensionibus loci; et secundum hoc corpus Christi non est nisi in uno loco tantum, scilicet in caelo.

<sup>7</sup> ST III, q. 76, a. 5.

<sup>8</sup> ST III, q. 76, a. 5.

<sup>9</sup> ST III, q. 76, aa. 1 and 2.

<sup>10</sup> ST III, q. 76, a. 1 ad 3: Propria autem totalitas continetur indifferenter in parva vel magna quantitate; sicut tota natura aeris in magno vel parvo aere, et tota natura hominis in magno vel parvo homine.

It also explains how Christ can be in every part of the host and on several altars at once.

The whole nature of the substance is under every part of the dimensions under which it is contained, just as the whole nature<sup>1</sup> of air is under every part of air and the whole nature of bread is under every part of bread.<sup>11</sup>

If the change is a *substantial* one, however, how does one reach the affirmation of Christ's *full* presence demanded by the faith? The answer lies in the fact that the body which is present in the eucharist is the same one which sits in heaven, and Christ as he sits in heaven is not divided. Thus, if Christ's body is under the species of bread and his blood under the species of wine *ex vi sacramenti*, each is present with the other by natural concomitance: *ex naturali concomitantia*. If Christ's body and blood are present on the altar *ex vi sacramenti*, his divinity, soul and accidents are present *ex naturali concomitantia*.<sup>12</sup>

Through the idea of natural concomitance, Thomas insures Christ's total presence in such a way as to neutralize the effects of dimensive quantity. It is present, but not in its own proper mode, i. e. with the whole in the whole and single parts in single parts of the *locus*. Instead, it is present *per modum substantiae*, with the whole in the whole and in every part.<sup>13</sup>

Such is, in bare outline, Thomas' formulation of the way in which Christ comes to be present in the eucharist. Other problems remain, of course, but they lie outside the scope of the present study. We can now turn to Duns Scotus.

Since Scotus' *Opus Oxoniense* is a sentence commentary, its treatment of eucharistic presence follows the usual order for works of this kind, beginning with a discussion of Christ's presence and proceeding to a discussion of the nature of conversion. As will be seen, however, this order is as natural for Scotus as the opposite order was natural for Thomas. Scotus begins by acknowledging as an article of faith the assertion that the body of Christ is truly present, then turns to investigate "how that which is believed is possible."<sup>14</sup> This question is divided into two more specific

<sup>11</sup> ST III, q. 76, a. 3: ... natura substantiae tota est sub qualibet parte dimensionum, sub quibus continetur, sicut sub qualibet parte aeris est tota natura aeris et sub qualibet panis est tota natura panis. The idea of substantial conversion also explains several other things, such as why the conversion is instantaneous and why Christ is not increased in size by daily conversion.

<sup>12</sup> ST III, q. 76, a. 1. For the historical development of the idea of concomitance, see James J. Megivern, *Concomitance and Communion* (Freiburg, 1963).

<sup>13</sup> ST III, q. 76, aa. 4 and 5.

<sup>14</sup> *Fratri Ioannis Duns Scoti... in quantum lib. sententiarum perutiles quaestiones* (Venice, 1598), d. 10, q. 1, fol. 40K. All references to the work in question, hereafter cited as IV *Sent.*, will be given in terms of this edition, although all passages cited have been checked against the text in *Opera*

questions which he examines in turn. First, how can the body of Christ begin to be present on the altar without local motion? Second, how can this body be present as a *quantum* but not in a quantitative mode?

Scotus inaugurates his consideration of the first question by launching an attack on the "common opinion," which explains Christ's presence by referring to the eucharistic conversion. Against this thoroughly Thomistic notion he argues that, since substance is the *per se terminus ad quem* of the conversion, nothing posterior to it is gained *per se* through that conversion. Thus the eucharistic presence cannot be a *per se* result of the conversion.<sup>15</sup> In other words, existence of a substance *qua* substance is prior to the presence of that substance in a particular place. Substantial conversion relates to the former, not the latter. The question of eucharistic presence relates to the latter. Therefore, the idea of substantial conversion seems irrelevant to the question at hand.

Scotus himself chooses to approach the problem by another path. He begins with an analysis of what sorts of motion are involved in action of eucharistic presence. When a body is moved from one place to another,

(Paris, 1891-95). Until *Opera* (Vatican City, 1951) offers a complete text of the *Opus Oxoniense*, any edition must be regarded with some suspicion.

One important observation must be made at the outset. It has been accepted since the fourteenth century that Scotus commented upon the *Sentences* at least twice. The Paris, 1891-95 edition of his works (like its ancestor the Lyons, 1639 edition) includes not only the *Opus Oxoniense* but the so-called *Reportata Parisiensia*. Recent scholarship has shown that the story is even more complicated. For discussion and bibliography see especially Charles Balić, *Les Commentaires de Jean Duns Scot sur les quatre livres des sentences* (Louvain, 1927) and the new *Opera*, 1, 140-75. It takes little more than a glance at the *Reportata Parisiensia* to realize that Scotus' formulation of eucharistic doctrine is not uniform throughout his sentence commentaries. Moreover, *quaestio* 10 of his *Quaestiones quodlibetales* (St. Bonaventure N.V., 1950) deals with some of the same material discussed in the sentence commentaries and is closer to the views of the *Reportata Parisiensia* than to those of the *Opus Oxoniense*. In both cases the difference involves a move closer to the Thomistic position. Thus any attempt to present the teaching of the *Opus Oxoniense* as the Scotist view of eucharistic presence would seem ill-advised.

Nevertheless, such a course is precisely the one the present work proposes to take. The priority of the *Opus Oxoniense* is dictated both by its nature and by chronological considerations. In the first place, it would seem to be an *ordinatio*, a work that Scotus himself revised for circulation, while the *Reportata Parisiensia* is a *reportatio*, recorded by his students from his lectures. In the second place, Scotus seems to have used his Oxford and Paris lectures in writing the *ordinatio*, which means that the *ordinatio* marks a late stage in his development. Thus the *reportationes* are interesting as reflections of his development, but the *ordinatio* represents the views of the mature Scotus. See the conclusion offered by Charles Balić, "The Life and Works of Duns Scotus," *Duns Scotus*, 1365-1965 (Washington, 1965), 21 "... whenever disagreement exists between the teaching of the *Ordinatio* and the teaching of the *Reportationes*, the text of the *Ordinatio* is to be followed as that which reflects Scotus' final and definitive doctrine."

<sup>15</sup> IV *Sent.*, d. 10, q. 1, fol. 41B.

expelling another body in the process, four *mutationes* and eight *termini* are involved. First, there is the *mutatio* in the expelling body from presence in a certain place to loss of that presence; second, the *mutatio* in the same body from lack of presence in the new place to acquisition of such presence; third, the *mutatio* in the expelled body from presence in the old place to lack of such; fourth, the *mutatio* in the expelled body from lack of presence in a new place to acquisition of such presence.<sup>16</sup> When a body moves from place to place without expelling another body, two *mutationes* and four *termini* are involved. When it gains a new place without leaving the old one, one acquisitive *mutatio* between two *termini* is sufficient. Here one reaches the absolute minimum of *mutationes* possible in the gaining of any new place.

Thus the body of Christ becomes present in the eucharist, not (as some have affirmed) without any *mutatio* at all, but through a single acquisitive *mutatio*. Scotus emphasizes that this *mutatio* does not alter the form of Christ's body. It simply involves the acquisition of a new *respectus extrinsecus adveniens*.<sup>17</sup>

Scotus' treatment of the second question also begins with the statement and refutation of the Thomistic view. In response to the suggestion that the quantity of Christ's body is present concomitantly and therefore not in a quantitative mode, he asserts that anything which is really present must be present with all of the attributes which naturally and necessarily belong to it.<sup>18</sup> The idea of quantity as present *sub modo substantiae* makes little sense to him. Having dispensed with the Thomistic solution, he allots a significantly smaller space to the refutation of what would soon be identified as the Ockhamist view, a view holding the body of Christ to be present without the extension of parts.<sup>19</sup> Scotus observes that such an argument is not *probabile*, since it denies to the body of Christ that *positio* and *figura* necessary to any animated body.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 41D-K.

<sup>17</sup> Here we encounter a term which defies translation. In essence, it refers to a relation of one thing to another, but a relation of such a sort that it is not directly determined by the nature of the thing in question. As will be seen, Scotus' formulation of eucharistic presence is dependent upon his essentially "realistic" notion of a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens*.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 41H-I.

<sup>19</sup> In the marginal reference provided by the Venice, 1598 edition it is described as such. Since Scotus is also aware of what would eventually be thought of as the Ockhamist view of quantity, one is tempted to put the two together and affirm that Scotus is refuting an essentially Ockhamist view at this point, well before Ockham himself appeared on the scholarly scene. The possibilities are more varied than one might suppose, however, and are unfortunately beyond the scope of the present work.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 41K-A.

Duns' use of the word *positio* offers a preview of his own plan of attack. If his answer to the first question proceeds from an analysis of motion, his answer to the second one proceeds from an analysis of position. He distinguishes *positio* as a *differentia* of quantity (involving an order of parts in the whole) from *positio* as a predicament (involving an order of parts to a *locus*).<sup>21</sup> *Positio* in the first sense is necessarily present in any *quantum*. *Positio* in the second sense is not. A *quantum* may be deprived of the latter through God's omnipotence by simple negation of any *locus*. If, for example, God were to place a cat outside the universe, it would still have internal order of parts — its nose would still be in front of its tail and between its whiskers — but these parts would not be ordered to any *locus*, since the cat would not be present to any *locus*. The important thing for Scotus, however, is that such a negation of any *locus* is not required in order for a thing to be without *positio* in the second sense. The same cat could be present to a given *locus* in such a way that there is no commensuration or coextension of the parts of the cat with the parts of the *locus*, for such would be nothing more than the presence of one extrinsic relation: *respectus extrinsecus adveniens* in the absence of another.<sup>22</sup>

How, then, is this distinction to be applied to the case at hand? Scotus' argument is somewhat obscured by the complexity of his terminology. Having distinguished between the two senses of *positio*, he comments that the second sense, *positio* as a predicament, is what is called the quantitative or dimensive mode of existence. Had he stopped at this point, the discussion might have retained at least the appearance of clarity. Unfortunately he chooses to make four more distinctions. First, there is the aforementioned distinction between coexistence and coextension (or commensuration). Next, there is a distinction between *ubi*, which is a *respectus extrinsecus* of the whole circumscribed thing to the whole circumscribing thing (e.g. of the whole cat to the whole *locus* in which the cat is present), and *positio*, which "adds (*superaddit*) a *respectus* of parts to parts."<sup>23</sup> Third, there is

<sup>21</sup> In the latter case *positio* is equal to what some scholastics call *situs*. Scotus' distinction is not entirely foreign to Thomas Aquinas. In his *Commentarium de physico auditu*, liber IV, lectio 5, in *Opera*, 18 Thomas distinguishes between *situs* as a predicament (involving *ordo partium in loco*) and *situs* as a *differentia quantitatis* (involving *ordo partium in toto*). On the whole, however, Thomas uses *situs* in the predicamental sense.

<sup>22</sup> IV *Sent.*, fol. 42A-D: ... possibile esset Deum conservare quantum et coexistentiam eius ad aliud quantum, et tamen sine ista coextensione partium unius ad partes alterius quam dicit positio ista, de qua loquimur. Note that *positio* in the second sense is here identified with "coextension of parts."

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 42B.

a distinction between coexistence and *ubi*.<sup>24</sup> Finally, there is a distinction between simple presence (*praesentia simplex*) and *ubi*.<sup>25</sup>

How does one go about fitting all of these distinctions into a coherent pattern? The first sense of *positio* can be dispensed with at once, since it is intrinsic to the substance and obviously has nothing to do with the other categories, which are described as *respectus extrinsecus advenientes*. The second sense of *positio*, *positio* as a predicament, can be identified with that *positio* which is contrasted with *ubi*.<sup>26</sup> Both of these can, in turn, be identified with coextension.<sup>27</sup>

The other pieces of the puzzle are a bit harder to fit together, but it can be done. The difficulty lies partly in the fact that Scotus is trying to describe a phenomenon which cannot be classified within the context of Aristotelian predicaments as Scotus himself understands them. The sort of presence he envisages for Christ in the eucharist is described by him as coexistence or simple presence. Such presence is not equivalent to the predicament *positio*, since there is no coextension of parts involved. Thus he is left with a single possibility, the predicament *ubi*. While he grants that eucharistic presence might be referred "more properly" to this predicament than to any other,<sup>28</sup> he is unwilling to assign it there unconditionally, since he sees *ubi* as presence in a single place, while eucharistic presence involves presence in two or more places at once.<sup>29</sup> Thus he seems to be heading toward a threefold distinction according to which presence can be simple, definitive (i. e. limited to one place, or circumscriptive (i. e. with coextension of parts). Such is, in fact, precisely the solution offered by the Scotist Johannes de Bassolis,<sup>30</sup> but Scotus himself is less definite about the matter.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 42C: ... coexistentia... non tamen formaliter est ubi.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 41C: ... terminus istius mutationis non est ubi, ... sed terminus est quaedam praesentia simplex.

<sup>26</sup> Such is seen to be the case, not only because of the identity of names, but also because of the similarity of definitions. *Positio* as a predicament is described as an: ordinem partium ad locum, sive ad partes loci, vel locantis... See *Ibid.*, fol. 42B.

<sup>27</sup> See *ibid.*, fol. 42C, which refers to: ista coextensione partium unius ad partes alterius, quam dicit positio ista, de qua loquimur.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 41F-G.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 41F-G: ... praesentia corporis Christi speciei magis recedit a vera ratione ubi, quia nullo modo per istam praesentiam determinatur sic ad unum ubi, quod sibi repugnat aliud.

<sup>30</sup> *In librum sententiarum opus* (Paris, 1517), IV, d. 10, q. 1, fol. 38r. Johannes sees all three types as contained within the predicament *ubi*.

<sup>31</sup> He remarks that the divergence between eucharistic presence and the predicament *ubi* does not necessarily suggest the existence of more than ten predicaments, but may simply reflect our failure to define the ten as satisfactorily as we might. See also Scotus' *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, q. 11, where he limits the notion of *ubi* properly speaking to *praesens modo quantitativo* or as *coextensum loco*, but grants that the presence of the whole to *cuiilibet parti illius loci* — as in the case of angelic presence — may improperly be called *ubi*.



In reality, Scotus' argument is sufficient for his own purposes. He has contrasted the intrinsic sense of quantity and position with the extrinsic one. In terms of the first, the body of Christ by virtue of its very nature is of a different shape and size than the eucharistic species; yet no particular form of *respectus extrinsecus adveniens* follows from this fact. That is, the fact implies no limitation to a single place and no particular type of commensuration or coextension of the parts of Christ's body with the parts of a *locus*.<sup>32</sup> Thus the body of Christ has one part outside of another *in itself*, but it does not follow that it has one part outside of that part of the *locus* in which another part is located.

There is a great deal of truth in Seeberg's observation that Scotus, while apparently complicating the problem, has actually simplified it.<sup>33</sup> His distinction between two senses of *positio* enables him to separate the problem of the shape and size of Christ's body from that of how it is present in a particular place, and the latter problem is neutralized, if not completely solved, by his classification of presence in terms of different types of *respectus extrinsecus adveniens*. Christ is present in the eucharist by a simple presence which implies neither limitation to a single place nor presence in a quantitative mode.

It might be noted in passing that there is no necessary connection between this *praesentia simplex* and the possibility of presence in several places at once. It follows from Scotus' understanding of a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens* that Christ *could* be present in a quantitative mode in several places at once. (So, for that matter, could our aforementioned cat.) Scotus cites Thomas' arguments against the possibility of such a phenomenon, adds a few of his own, then refutes them all. He first appeals to God's omnipotence. All that does not include an evident contradiction or from which an evident contradiction does not follow is possible for God.<sup>34</sup> This appeal hardly settles anything by itself, of course, since it must still be demonstrated that the matter in question does not imply a contradiction.<sup>35</sup> In attempting to demonstrate that such is the case, Scotus first argues by way of a com-

<sup>32</sup> IV *Sent.*, d. 10, q. 1, fol. 42D.

<sup>33</sup> *Duns Scotus*, 371.

<sup>34</sup> IV *Sent.*, d. 10, q. 2, fol. 43C. See also fol. 431.

<sup>35</sup> Perhaps the main significance of the statement for the historian of theology is simply that it is there at all, that Scotus considers it necessary to begin with an appeal to God's omnipotence. Here one sees evidence of a tendency which, although not entirely absent from thirteenth-century theology, was to exert even greater influence upon the fourteenth century, the tendency toward an increased awareness of and reference to God's omnipotence, along with great effort to use the doctrine as a major tool for attacking any number of theological and even philosophical questions.

parison with the simultaneous presence of two bodies in one place. Such a phenomenon, no less *inconveniens* than the one now being discussed, actually occurred after Christ's resurrection.<sup>36</sup> Thus no logical impossibility should be posited in the present case. The most obvious line of argument, however, flows smoothly from his notion of a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens*. The multiplication of such *respectus* seems no less possible than the multiplication of *respectus intrinsecus advenientes*; yet the latter can indeed be multiplied, as is seen in the fact that two different relations of similitude can relate a single whiteness to two other whitenesses.<sup>37</sup> Such an argument may strike the modern reader as less than convincing. Scotus seems to be saying that, if our aforementioned cat can be the same color as several other cats, then *a fortiori* he can sit on several front porches at the same time. The present task is, however, to present his position rather than to criticize it.

Seeberg comments that the basic presupposition of Scotus' whole argument is his realistic understanding of place, which enables him to separate it from the substance in question.<sup>38</sup> One might observe that Scotus' view of place is not strikingly different from that held by other scholastics if one means by "place" that containing thing to which the located substance is related. If, however, one takes Seeberg to mean "place" in the sense of "being in a place," then he is correct. Duns Scotus' view of a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens* might be called "realistic" inasmuch as he sees it as capable of being absent even though the two *termini* of the *respectus* are present. Thus a body can coexist with a *locus* without being related to it by any particular *respectus* of *positio* in the predicamental sense.

It should be obvious by now that Scotus' [understanding of presence as a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens* and his view of substance as prior to any such *respectus* are absolutely central for an understanding of his eucharistic theology. Any misrepresentation of these ideas can only lead to a distorted interpretation of his thought. Seeberg is probably a case in point. He continually represents Scotus as one who has reduced the bodily presence of Christ in the eucharist to a *mere* relation.<sup>39</sup> Again, he tends to think of the distinction between Christ's sacramental presence and his presence in other places as one between the sacramental and the *real* Christ.<sup>40</sup> Once

<sup>36</sup> The example of the virgin birth is also used. *Ibid.*, fol. 45C.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 43K: ... *respectus intrinsecus advenientes*, de quibus minus videtur possunt plurificari fundamento eodem manente ad diversos terminos, ut super eandem albedinem possunt duae similitudines fundari ad duos terminos...

<sup>38</sup> Duns Scotus, 373. See also his *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3, (Graz, 1953), 526-27.

<sup>39</sup> See Duns Scotus, 376, where it is called "nur eine logische Beziehung." See also 374-75, 383.

<sup>40</sup> See *Ibid.*, 374-75.

one takes Duns' view of presence seriously, however, it becomes apparent that Christ's presence in the eucharist is just as "real" as his or anyone else's presence in any other place.<sup>41</sup> Christ may be present in the eucharist "only" by a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens*, but it is also "only" by such a *respectus* that the statue of liberty is present in New York harbor.

Such is, in essence, the view of Christ's presence advanced by Scotus in *liber IV, distinctio 10* of the *Opus Oxoniense*. However dense some of his explanations may seem, they are always clear enough to show the striking dissimilarity between his approach to the problem and the one advocated by Thomas Aquinas. To what extent does this difference extend to his understanding of transubstantiation? Even in *distinctio 10*, which is primarily devoted to other matters, the issue of eucharistic conversion is very much in evidence. It is seen, first, in Scotus' criticism of the relationship between conversion and presence offered by the Thomistic view. We have seen Scotus' argument that, since the presence of a thing is posterior to its essence, transubstantiation does not in itself furnish an adequate explanation of Christ's presence. God could, in fact, convert the bread into the body of Christ *existing in heaven*, just as he could effect the presence of the body without converting the bread. This claim is consistently stated throughout *distinctio 10* and serves as a major weapon against the Thomistic position.<sup>42</sup> Even if such an explicit challenge were not uttered, however, Scotus' own positive formulation would suffice to make the point. The notion of eucharistic presence as a *respectus extrinsecus adveniens* seems to suggest that the idea of a eucharistic conversion — a *fortiori* the idea of a transubstantiation — is unnecessary and even irrelevant. It is with this issue that Scotus must wrestle in *distinctio 11*.

Scotus' *ex professo* treatment of conversion in this *distinctio* begins with two relatively harmless *quaestiones* regarding the possibility of transubstantiation. These can be ignored for the moment, since it is in the third *quaestio*, concerning whether the bread actually *is* converted into the body of Christ, that the most striking features of the Scotist system begin to appear. He begins by citing three opinions on the subject which he describes as those listed by Innocent III: (1) that the bread remains and the body of Christ is present with it; (2) that the bread is not converted, but ceases to be through annihilation, resolution into matter or change into another thing (*corruptionem in aliud*); and (3) that the bread and wine are transubstan-

<sup>41</sup> Scotus does distinguish between Christ's presence *sub modo sacramenti* and his presence *sub modo naturali*, but he does not consider the latter to be any more "real" than the former. See IV *Sent.*, d. 10, q. 4, fol. 47D-E.

<sup>42</sup> See, for example, IV *Sent.*, d. 10, q. 1, fol. 41B-C; d. 10, q. 3, fol. 46D-E; d. 10, q. 4, fol. 48A-B.

tiated into the body and blood of Christ. All of these opinions, Scotus says, wish to maintain the real presence of Christ's body and blood, since such an affirmation is demanded by faith.

He then turns to a long and tightly packed discussion of the arguments for each position, beginning with the first. These arguments are so important for the present study that they must be described in some detail.

The first argument for the permanence of the bread is based upon a species of what was later to be called "the principle of parsimony" or "Ockham's razor," a principle which actually entered the minds of medieval philosophers through their study of Aristotle. The basic intention of the principle is a fairly simple one: No explanation of any phenomenon should introduce more factors than are necessary for the understanding of that phenomenon. If event X can be explained by positing causes A, B and C, one should not throw in D and E for good measure. Such a rule, Scotus suggests,<sup>43</sup> applies to theological as well as philosophical matters.<sup>44</sup> Thus one must ask how essential a role transubstantiation plays in the explanation of Christ's real presence.

Here two factors seem to militate against transubstantiation. First, it is clearly unnecessary for Christ's presence since, as Scotus has already agreed in *distinctio* 10, the body of Christ could be present along with the bread and wine.<sup>45</sup> Thus transubstantiation simply adds an additional miracle without contributing anything necessary for the presence itself.<sup>46</sup> Second, conversion is unnecessary for the symbolic aspect of the eucharist, since the substance of bread, far from ruining the signification of the species by its presence, would actually be a better sign of Christ's body than the accidents themselves.<sup>47</sup>

Again, "this way of understanding the real presence [i. e. transubstantiation], which is harder to understand and seems to lead to more *inconvenientia*, does not seem to have been handed down to us as an article of

<sup>43</sup> It must be remembered that Scotus is speaking in the person of an anonymous exponent of the first view, not expressly for himself. The nature of Scotus' own view will be discussed later.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 11, q. 3, fol. 55G: Sicut in naturalibus non sunt plura ponenda quam ratio naturalis necessario convincit... quia pluralitas est superflua, ita in credibilibus non sunt ponenda plura quam convinci possit ex veritate creditorum. Si veritas Eucharistiae salvari potest sine ista transubstantiatione, ergo etc.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 55H: ... non magis repugnat substantiae esse simul cum substantia, quam cum quantitate illius substantiae.

<sup>46</sup> The principle of parsimony extends to miracles: ... ponenda sunt pauciora miracula quantum possibile est."

<sup>47</sup> Note that this argument, like the others in this section, opposes a recognizably Thomistic argument.

faith."<sup>48</sup> Here the main clause, which actually receives thorough treatment in the next argument, can be ignored for the moment and attention can be concentrated upon the subordinate clause. Scotus does not enumerate the difficulties involved in the idea of transubstantiation, and we are left to assume that they are the same ones confronted later when Scotus takes up the cudgel *for* transubstantiation. Instead, he concentrates upon the effect these difficulties have upon those following natural reason, who, he says, would find more apparent *inconvenientia* in this one idea than in all the articles of faith regarding the Incarnation. Thus the doctrine would tend to prevent such men from accepting the faith. "And it seems strange that concerning one article, which is not even a principal article of faith, something should be asserted which lays the faith open to the contempt of all those following natural reason."<sup>49</sup>

Again, "nothing is to be held as part of the substance of faith except what is expressly found in the scripture or expressly declared by the church or evidently follows from something plainly contained in the scripture or determined by the church."<sup>50</sup> None of these sources of authority seems to require belief that the substance of bread is absent. If it is argued, "as one doctor says," that the words *hoc est corpus meum* demand the assertion that the substance of bread does not remain, one might easily respond that, given the permanence of the bread, the phrase could easily mean "this entity contained under this sensible sign is my body," just as it does if we grant the truth of transubstantiation, since even if such is granted the *hoc* cannot refer to *all* that is present on the altar but must somehow exclude the accidents of the bread.<sup>51</sup>

Finally, the sacrament of truth should contain no falsity. Accidents naturally signify their substance and should do so in the eucharist. If it is objected that they signify the body of Christ, it can be replied that the natural signification should not be altered through the imposition of a new, freely instituted signification when the truth of both significations could be conserved if the substance were to remain.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 551: In creditis nobis secundum intellectum universalem traditis, non videtur ille modus determinandus, qui est difficilior ad intelligendum, et ad quem plura videntur sequi inconvenientia.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 55K: Et mirum videtur quare in uno articulo, qui non est principalis articulus fidei debeat talis intellectus asserti, propter quem fides pateat contemptui omnium sequentium rationem.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 56A: Nihil est tenendum tanquam de substantia fidei, nisi quod potest expresse haberi de scriptura vel expresse declaratum est per ecclesiam, vel evidenter sequitur ex aliquo plane contento in scriptura vel plane determinato ab ecclesia.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 56B-C.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 56E.

The case for the second alternative, annihilation, is presented by Scotus with great brevity. He points out that the first three arguments already cited in favor of the first opinion can also be adduced to prove the superiority of annihilation over transubstantiation as an explanation of the eucharistic presence. That is, it involves less miracles and less *inconvenientia* while seeming equally permissible in the light of scripture and tradition.<sup>53</sup>

Having thus set forth the arguments for the first two opinions, Scotus proceeds to refute the counter-arguments advanced against them by "a certain doctor."<sup>54</sup> In response to the objection that the permanence of bread would lead to idolatry, Scotus asserts that in such a case the *latria* allotted to the sacrament would be directed toward the body of Christ contained in the bread rather than toward the bread itself, just as it is now directed toward the body of Christ contained under the accidents rather than toward the accidents themselves. Here again Scotus has managed to show that the Thomistic arguments can be turned against the Thomistic formulation. In response to the objection that such permanence would ruin the signification of the sacraments, Scotus repeats what he has already said on this score. In response to the objection that it would detract from the function of the sacrament as spiritual food, making it corporeal food, Scotus observes that it *is* corporeal as well as spiritual food, citing St. Paul's testimony in I *Corinthians* 11 as proof of this fact. Against the objection that Christ cannot become present in the eucharist except through substantial conversion, Scotus simply cites his own argument in *distinctio* 10, *quaestio* 1. In response to the objection that, given such permanence, the biblical text should read *hic est corpus meum* rather than *hoc est corpus meum*, Scotus again raises the spectre of the same problem within the objector's own formulation.

Duns then turns to examine the same doctor's arguments against annihilation. That doctor is represented as arguing that, if the substance of bread were resolved into matter, it would become either pure matter (*materiam nudam*) or matter with some other form. The first would be impossible, since, given the existence of matter without form, the "act of matter" (*actus materiae*) would simultaneously be and not be. In the second case, the resultant new substance would either be present in the same place as the body of Christ or be moved to a different location, both of which are *inconveniens*. Scotus replies that the argument against reduction to *materiam nudam* depends upon an equivocal use of the word *actus*, since it refers

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 56D.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 56. These arguments are the same ones advanced by Aquinas in IV *Sent.*, d. 11, q. 1, art. 1.

in one sense to that "difference of being" (*differentia entis*) opposed to *potentia*, whereas in the second sense it refers to that *habitus* which form has to the informable. The argument is based upon an equally equivocal use of *potentia*. As opposed to *actus* in the first sense it refers to a being which is diminished (*diminutum*) in its being, being less complete (*completum*) than an *ens in actu*. As opposed to *actus* in the second sense it refers to a principle receptive of an *actus* in the second sense. Thus matter, after being created by God but before being informed, would be *in actu* in the first sense and *in potentia* in the second. In defense of the second possibility, that of the bread being reduced to matter under a new form, Scotus argues that there is no more contradiction involved in the coexistence of the new substance with the body of Christ than in the coexistence of the body of Christ with the quantity of bread, since *quantum* is more repugnant to *quantum* than substance to substance. Nor, on the other hand, has it been demonstrated that it is impossible for God to move the new substance to another place. Thus all three possibilities are defensible.

Scotus has finally finished his presentation of the first two opinions. It is hardly necessary to observe that this presentation represents a conscious effort to refute both chapter and verse of the Thomistic argument for transubstantiation. Having thus demolished the argument, however, Scotus must still deal with the thesis which the argument was designed to support. At this point he must stand with Thomas and assert the truth of transubstantiation, not for Thomas' reasons, but because it is commonly held and *principaliter* because it is held by the holy Roman Church. Although Duns cites Ambrose and provides a brief indication of two points at which the belief is "congruent" with established church practices, he makes it quite clear that the authority of the Roman Church is the crucial factor in his decision.

What, then, of the arguments for the first two opinions? Scotus observes that the principle of parsimony is valid, but that it does not militate against transubstantiation, since it is necessary to posit transubstantiation in order to preserve "the truth of the eucharist": *veritas Eucharistiae*. Had God instituted the eucharist in such a way as to make the body of Christ coexist with the substance of bread, the *veritas Eucharistiae* could have been saved without positing transubstantiation. Since he did not do so, however, the situation is entirely different.

One is tempted to see in Scotus' response a somewhat superficial bow to churchly authority, less impressive than the original argument; yet such a response may simply betray the degree to which Duns' attitude toward doctrine differs from our own. At any rate, there is more to his response than first meets the eye. In stating implicitly that God's actions are not in themselves governed by the principal of parsimony, he provides a clarification

which is of more than passing interest when seen in the context of the age in which he was writing. The opposite notion was hardly untenable in the early fourteenth century.<sup>55</sup> It would, in fact, be hard to avoid if the role of God's reason were emphasized at the expense of his will. Scotus' response places a check upon this sort of thought by stressing God's freedom in regard to the created order. He *could have* done it in one way if he had chosen, but he chose to do it in quite another way.

The reverse side of the same coin might be said to contain an important warning for theologians. If emphasis upon the contingency of the divinely instituted order involves greater attention to divine freedom, it also involves greater awareness of the limitations imposed upon rational argument in theology. Here the greatest caution is necessary. Scotus is not advocating a new irrationality. In fact, it is possible to judge from what has been said that his theology is more rational than Thomas' own, inasmuch as it is based upon a more penetrating analysis of the extent to which theology can be supported by natural reason. Thomas' argument for the necessity of transubstantiation is rejected, not because it is rational, but because it is not rationally convincing. It does not prove what it claims to prove.

Thus two different factors would seem to coalesce in the formation of Scotus' more "positivistic"<sup>56</sup> approach. On the one hand, emphasis upon divine freedom leads to emphasis upon the contingency of the divinely instituted order, which in turn leads to greater emphasis upon revelation as opposed to natural theology. On the other hand, a critical evaluation of the "proofs" provided by previous theologians leads to a greater awareness of the insufficiency of these "proofs," which in turn leads to a similar emphasis upon revelation as opposed to natural theology. Thus the theologian is encouraged to place more and more reliance upon authoritative revelation concerning the divinely instituted order. If that revelation can be supported by rational arguments, such support is to be welcomed; yet the theologian is made suspicious of such arguments both by theoretical considerations concerning the divine freedom and by his own empirical observation that many arguments have hitherto been proved inconclusive.

The same general attitude is manifested in Scotus' reply to the second argument. All other things being equal, one should not accept the explanation which is more difficult to believe. Nevertheless, such a rule cannot be used to refute what we know to be the truth.<sup>57</sup> Here again one is tempted to protest that Duns the philosopher has been betrayed by Duns the church-

<sup>55</sup> See M. de Gandillac in *Histoire de l'Église*, 13: *Le Mouvement doctrinal de XI<sup>e</sup> au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1951), 373.

<sup>56</sup> See Secberg, *Duns Scotus*, 381.

<sup>57</sup> *IV Sent.*, d. 11, q. 3, fol. 561-K.



man. Here again, however, such an evaluation would be premature. Once a theologian is aware of the extent to which natural theology falls short in its construction of rational proofs for Christian doctrine, he should be equally skeptical concerning any attempt to construct a rational *disproof* of some doctrine. Such an attitude need not result in a precipitous flight from rationality. It could just as easily result in a rational awareness of the limits inherent in human thought and a healthy distrust of any rational argument which concerns matters lying at the fringe of our understanding. So far Scotus' admonition is open to the latter interpretation. Whether such an interpretation can be maintained throughout his discussion of eucharistic conversion can only be decided after viewing the entire discussion.

It is noteworthy that Scotus' responses to the first two arguments contain explicit reference to an authoritatively revealed truth which counterbalances the claims of any strictly rational argument. Thus both of these responses anticipate his response to the third argument, that regarding authority. Here Scotus reveals the precise source of the truth which he is defending. It is, of course, the Fourth Lateran Council.<sup>58</sup> The earlier arguments regarding the Bible and early tradition are true as far as they go. Neither the Bible nor the early church presents an explicit doctrine of transubstantiation. Nevertheless, this question has been settled once and for all by the decree of the Fourth Lateran, "in which the truth of some things to be believed is set out more explicitly than in the Apostles', Athanasian and Nicene creeds."

Thus Scotus' formulation of the doctrine is striking, not only on its refusal to offer rational justification for the doctrine, but also in its apparent willingness to base the doctrine upon the decision of a council less than a century old in his day, a decision admittedly based upon no clear-cut biblical or patristic precedents. On what basis, then, could the church have arrived at "such a difficult interpretation of this article," especially "when the words of scripture would support an easy and apparently truer interpretation"?<sup>59</sup> Scotus' answer is that in choosing this interpretation the church was guided by the same spirit through which the scriptures were written and handed down. Thus it chose the true interpretation.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 56K: *Ecclesia declaravit istum intellectum esse de veritate fidei in illo symbolo edito sub Innoc. tertio in concilio Lateranensi Firmitur credimus etc.*

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 57A: *Et si queras quare voluit ecclesia eligere istum intellectum ita difficilem huius articuli, cum verba scripturae possent salvari secundum intellectum facilem, et veriore secundum apparentiam de hoc articulo...*

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 57A: *Dico quod eo spiritu expositae sunt scripturae quo conditae. Et ita supponendum est, quod ecclesia catholica eo spiritu exposuit, quo tradita est nobis fides. Spiritu scilicet veritatis edocta, et ideo hunc intellectum eligit, quia verus est. Non enim in potestate ecclesiae fuit facere istud verum vel non verum, sed Dei instituentis, sed intellectum a Deo traditum ecclesia explicavit directa in hoc ut creditur spiritu veritatis.*

Such a view demands a new look at what Duns has to say about the scriptural authority for transubstantiation. As Antonius Vellico rightly suggests,<sup>61</sup> Scotus is not placing the Fourth Lateran Council alongside the Bible as an independent authority. On the contrary, the Council was interpreting scripture when it demanded belief in transubstantiation. No matter how vaguely scripture may have put the matter, its true meaning is now clear.

Such an explanation tells us everything and nothing. It clearly states the conciliar claim to doctrinal authority, yet it says absolutely nothing about the sorts of criteria which would enter into the doctrinal decision. Granting that the bishops at the Council were guided by the Holy Spirit, their interpretation must have been based on some concrete evidence. What evidence does Scotus think was decisive? This question must, unfortunately, remain unanswered, since there is nothing in his formulation which would help us to answer it.

So far, we have examined Scotus' presentation and refutation of the arguments for the first two opinions and his assertion that the third opinion, transubstantiation, is the correct one. He must also show in good scholastic fashion that it is possible, that it is neither a contradictory notion in itself nor does it lead to such. It is in these sections that one would expect him to come to terms with the *inconvenientia* seemingly entailed by the doctrine, and it is in the context of this confrontation that one might expect to discover what Duns really means by "transubstantiation."

The first stage of this confrontation actually takes place with his answer to the question "whether transubstantiation is possible."<sup>62</sup> Here, having defined transubstantiation as "the transition of a total substance into a substance,"<sup>63</sup> he argues that "it is not repugnant for whatever is able to be entirely new to succeed that which is able to cease to be entirely... consequently this is able to be converted totally into that and thus transubstantiated."<sup>64</sup> Whatever may be the merits of such an explanation, it is obvious that it does not support the possibility of transubstantiation in the sense in which Thomas wants to use the word. What it *does* support is the possibility of a succession of being to being or, more precisely, of the

<sup>61</sup> "De transsubstantiatione iuxta Ioannem Duns Scotum," *Antonianum*, 5 (1930), 308. For a recent investigation of Scotus' views on the relation of tradition and scripture, see Eligius Buytaert, "Circa doctrinam Duns Scoti de traditione et de Scripturae sufficientia adnotationes," *Antonianum*, 40 (1965), 346-62.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 11, q. 1.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 53K: ... transitio totalis substantiae in substantiam...

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 531-K: Quicquid potest esse totaliter novum non repugnat sibi succedere alii, quod potest totaliter desinere esse... et per consequens hoc potest converti totaliter in illam, et ita transsubstantiari.

ceasing-to-be of one to the beginning-to-be of another. This apparent insufficiency represents something more than an oversight on Scotus' part, as will be seen in a moment.

Even a casual reading of Scotus' explanation seems to uncover a major fallacy. It seems to apply to any situation except the one to which he intended it to apply, since the body of Christ, being preexistent, is not really produced *de novo* in the eucharistic conversion. Here the striking dissimilarity between Scotus and Thomas is again demonstrated. Whereas for the latter Christ's preexistence is an important part of the argument for the necessity of transubstantiation, for the former it seems one of the gravest threats to the same doctrine.

Scotus replies that two modes of transubstantiation must be distinguished. In the first, the substance takes on being (*esse*). In the second, it takes on "being-here" (*esse hic*).<sup>65</sup> The first is productive (*productiva*) of its term, the second adductive (*adductiva*). The first mode of transubstantiation cannot have a preexistent substance as its term, but the second can. The sort of transubstantiation involved in the eucharistic conversion is, then, of the second type.

Scotus immediately acknowledges the inevitable objection to this line of thought: The second type is not transubstantiation at all, since its term is not substance in itself but presence, which is an accident of substance. He replies that substance is indeed the term of transubstantiation in the second sense, since substance succeeds substance.<sup>66</sup> Such an argument would not seem to be completely at odds with the Thomistic view. It simply focuses attention on the area in which the concept of transubstantiation is relevant. The concept refers, not to the mutation which occurs in Christ (which involves change of presence rather than change of substance), but to the change which occurs upon the altar. The latter does involve a change of substance. This rather obvious affirmation is the only one Duns needs in order to make his point. His argument requires a quiet revision of his earlier distinction between transubstantiation and presence,<sup>67</sup> but once this revision is made his defense of transubstantiation is assured, provided that the word is not taken to mean anything more than a succession of substance to substance.

Unfortunately, the term was assumed to mean something more in the later thirteenth century. Transubstantiation meant conversion, and

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 11, q. 3, fol. 57K.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 57G: ... substantia est terminus ipsius transsubstantiationis secundo modo dictae, quia ipsa substantia succedit substantiae, non tamen habet esse substantiale novum, sed tantum praesentiam novam.

<sup>67</sup> Duns now says that his distinction, employed with gusto against the Thomistic opinion in d. 10, q. 1, applies only to the first mode of transubstantiation.

conversion meant more for Thomas, Bonaventure and others than simple succession. At least a minimum degree of assent to this view was exacted through the practice of answering in the negative the question of whether the bread is annihilated in the conversion. For a theologian like Thomas, the "strong" sense of transubstantiation is so obvious and so necessary for his understanding of eucharistic presence that the question of annihilation hardly needs be asked. For Scotus, the situation is entirely reversed. His understanding of presence and his definition of transubstantiation are such that one eagerly turns to his consideration of the question of annihilation, half expecting him to answer in the affirmative.

The expectation is not completely unfulfilled. Scotus' treatment of this question is a strange one. After beginning, according to his usual pattern, with the presentation and refutation of various opposing arguments, Scotus makes an explicit statement "that the bread is not annihilated, or at least that the bread is not annihilated by this conversion";<sup>68</sup> yet his determination, rather than taking the form of a sustained argument, might almost be termed a dialogue. At times one gets the impression that Scotus is thinking out loud.<sup>69</sup> Within this section one can isolate at least four answers to the problem. The first three are immediately followed by refutations. The fourth provides the traditional negation, but in as minimal a form as one could expect to encounter. The conversion is between the bread as present and the body of Christ as present. Thus, within this conversion, the bread does not lose "being-in-itself" (*esse simpliciter*) but only "being-here" (*hic esse*). What, then, do we make of the fact that the bread ceases to *be* as well as to *be present*? This phenomenon must come about through a different act than that involved in transubstantiation.<sup>70</sup> This "ceasing-to-be," although concomitant with the conversion, is not a term of the conversion.<sup>71</sup> Thus, even though this "ceasing-to-be" might be described as annihilation, the conversion is not thereby implicated.<sup>72</sup> Returning for

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 11, q. 4, fol. 62B: ... quod panis non annihilatur, vel quod est facilius, quod panis ista conversione non annihilatur.

<sup>69</sup> In view of the arrangement of the arguments in this *quaestio* and the relation of some of these arguments to those used by Scotus himself in *Quodl.*, q. 10 and the *Reportata Parisiensia*, liber IV, d. 11, q. 4, it is tempting to see the discussion of the *Opus Oxoniense* as a relatively late formulation incorporating former views, later refinements of these views and the final solution of the question in the light of the distinction between productive and adductive transubstantiation.

<sup>70</sup> *IV Sent.*, d. 11, q. 4, fol. 63A: ... oportet quod desinat esse alia desitione, quae est a simplici-  
citer esse eius ad simpliciter non esse eius...

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 63A: ... illud autem non esse eius, licet quasi concomitetur praesentiam corporis, ut hic, non tamen, ut terminum eiusdem generis...

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 63B: ... et per consequens si ista desitio secundum se considerata sit annihilatio, tamen nullo modo ista conversio est annihilatio.

a moment to the assertion with which Scotus began his determination, we see that he has succeeded in backing at least the second of his two claims. The bread is not annihilated *by the conversion*.<sup>73</sup>

What is one to make of this conclusion? It is of course impossible to agree with one of his more extreme defenders that Scotus is in complete agreement with St. Thomas on the matter.<sup>74</sup> On the other end of the spectrum, it is equally impossible to accept Seeberg's attempt to present Scotus' theory of adductive transubstantiation as essentially a doctrine of consubstantiation phrased in accordance with the demands of orthodoxy.<sup>75</sup> There is no compelling reason to believe that Duns' initial case for the permanence of the bread represents his own secret opinion or that it is the only opinion consistent with his view of eucharistic presence. It is noteworthy that the most striking aspect of that case, his reference to the ridicule heaped upon transubstantiation by those following natural reason, argues *against* transubstantiation rather than *for* consubstantiation. Again, one must not fail to note that the most forceful arguments advanced by Duns Scotus in favor of the permanence of the bread are also listed by him as valid arguments for the superiority of an annihilation theory over that of transubstantiation. In other words, although it is true that the permanence theory is supported with one more argument than is accorded to the annihilation theory, the main point of the opening section is not so much the superiority of one of those views to the other as the superiority of both to transubstantiation.

Furthermore, if we are to take seriously the rebuttals of these opening arguments offered by Scotus himself — rebuttals which, in their emphasis upon divine freedom and the centrality of revealed truth, accord well with Scotus' views elsewhere — we must recognize that he would not accept as decisive any slight rational superiority on the part of a given theory. Thus, as was suggested earlier, the real problem is one of how prodigious the difficulties accompanying transubstantiation actually seem. Scotus might be expected to find transubstantiation a major stumbling block only if the *inconvenientia* seem so unassailable as to involve any formulation in hopeless self-contradiction.

Once we examine Scotus' own formulation in the light of these considerations, we might be moved to conclude that he is, in fact, unable to formulate a thoroughgoing doctrine of transubstantiation in the "strong" Thomistic sense of that word. Is there anything especially sinister about this

<sup>73</sup> He explicitly recognizes this fact. *Ibid.*, fol. 63C: *Potest ergo teneri tertium scilicet secundum membrum disiunctivae positae supra.*

<sup>74</sup> Storff, *De natura transsubstantiationis iuxta I. Duns Scotum*, 74.

<sup>75</sup> See *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 3, 522-23; *Duns Scotus*, 382-83, 386-87, 393-94.

conclusion? In the long run, one would guess that there is not, even if we choose to measure Scotus by the canons of Roman Catholic doctrine. His view of transubstantiation is not explicitly contradicted by the definition of transubstantiation produced by the Council of Trent, nor did the great theologians of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries interpret the tridentine definition as a condemnation of Scotus.<sup>76</sup>

In the short run, the situation is more ambiguous. Scotus himself may well have felt somewhat uncomfortable about his position. He seems to see himself as moving in a tradition which clearly expects a negative answer to the question of "whether the bread is annihilated." He states the problem in such a way as to demand such an answer, since he introduces the theory of annihilation as an alternative to transubstantiation. He eventually escapes from his dilemma through an artful application of the two theories to different phenomena. As the discussion ends, one senses an atmosphere of relief rather than exultation.

Interestingly enough, Scotus' definitive solution was not universally adopted by early fourteenth-century Scotists. Hugo de Novo Castro<sup>77</sup> and Johannes de Bassolis<sup>78</sup> both argue that the bread is not annihilated because the *termini* of transubstantiation are both positive. These *termini* are seen as the bread and the body of Christ. Thus both men adopt the solution which Scotus accepts in the *Reportata Parisiensia* but rejects in the *Opus Oxoniense*.<sup>79</sup>

Other Scotists seem less resolute. In answer to the question of whether the bread is annihilated Franciscus de Mayronis<sup>80</sup> replies that it is not, since it is converted. God, he says, can cause a thing to cease to be in two ways, either *secundum se* or *in ordine ad aliud*. The first case alone can be called annihilation. Then, unfortunately, Franciscus provides an illustration. God decides not to destroy a man unless he creates an angel. Since He intends something positive, it can be argued that the man is not annihilated. Thus, in the same way, He does not effect the nonbeing of the bread

<sup>76</sup> See Vellico, "De transsubstantiatione," 323-31. Although the prehistory of Scotus' stand is of less concern in the present context, it might be observed in passing that, although Scotus' "weak" view of transubstantiation is a departure from trends inherited from the late thirteenth century, it would seem to fall within the limits of orthodoxy recognized by some important earlier authorities. See Petrus Lombardus, *IV Sent.*, d. 11, p. 1, cap. 2; Innocentius III, *Mysterium evangelicae legis et sacramenti eucharistiae libri sex*, liber IV, cap. 20, in PL 217, 870-71.

<sup>77</sup> *Quaestiones super quartum librum sententiarum* (MS., Holy Name College, Washington, D.C.), d. 11, q. 3.

<sup>78</sup> *In libros sententiarum opus*, IV, d. 11, q. 4.

<sup>79</sup> In the *Opus Oxoniense* it is the second possible solution to be considered and rejected. See d. 11, q. 4, fol. 62E-G.

<sup>80</sup> *Praeclarissima... scripta... Francisci de Mayronis in quatuor libros sententiarum* (Venice, 1520), liber IV, d. 11, q. 20.

*secundum se*, but rather *in ordine ad aliud*, namely the sacramental body of Christ.

Needless to say, the illustration does not support a very "strong" sense of transubstantiation. In fact, the author is still not satisfied. He goes on to offer four more arguments in favor of annihilation, then answers them in less than six lines which leave one wondering precisely what Franciscus *did* think about the matter.

To the first argument I say that it is true if the thing is reduced to nothing which is not *in ordine ad aliud*. And the same response can be made to the other arguments. Because, therefore, God has ordered the nonbeing of the bread to another *terminus*, there seems to be no better way of arguing against annihilation. He who can understand, let him understand!<sup>81</sup>

Perhaps the most ingenious improvement upon Scotus' view was made by a man who, although hardly a Scotist, seems to have been one of Scotus' more discerning readers. It was William of Ockham who decided that Scotus' main difficulty lay, not in his conclusion regarding annihilation, but in his way of formulating the problem. Like Scotus, Ockham denies the close connection posited by Thomas Aquinas between eucharistic presence and conversion.<sup>82</sup> Like Scotus, he offers an extremely "weak" definition of transubstantiation.<sup>83</sup> Like Scotus, he presents and discusses several alternative theories regarding the nature of the eucharistic conversion.<sup>84</sup> It might be suggested (1) that the bread remains and the body of Christ coexists with it; (2) that the substance of bread is moved to another place while the accidents remain, the body of Christ coexisting with them; (3) that the substance of bread might be understood to be reduced to matter, either remaining without a form or receiving a new one; or (4) that the substance of the bread is reduced to nothing. Like Scotus, Ockham grants an *a priori* possibility to all the alternatives, explicitly recognizes the rational advantages enjoyed by the theory of permanence, but finally rejects that hypothesis because the Fourth Lateran Council has chosen differently.

Note, however, that Ockham has effected a quiet revolution in his listing of the alternatives. Unlike Scotus, he does not have to face a choice between transubstantiation and annihilation. Thus he is in a position to

<sup>81</sup> Ad primum dico quod verum est si sit deductum ad nihil quod non est in ordine ad aliud. Et per idem ad alia argumenta potest responderi; quia igitur deus ordinavit desinitionem istius panis esse ad alium terminum non apparet alius modus melior per quem salvetur quod non sit annihilatio. Qui potest capere, capiat.

<sup>82</sup> *Super 4 libros sententiarum*, liber IV, q. 4 in *Opera Plurima* (London, 1962), 4.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, q. 7: ... transsubstantiatio... est successio substantiae ad substantiam desinentem esse simpliciter in se sub aliquibus accidentibus propriis substantie precedentis.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, q. 6.

accept annihilation, not as an alternative to transubstantiation, but as one aspect of it.<sup>85</sup>

Such a clarification was not without its dangers. It is noteworthy that none of Ockham's later works contains an explicit affirmation of annihilation. Moreover, his lone affirmation of annihilation in the sentence commentary appears among those aspects of his thought censured by a papal commission in 1325/26.<sup>86</sup> The problem of eucharistic conversion was hardly settled by Ockham or anyone else in his time. Succeeding theologians might well have taken to heart the warning with which Ockham's contemporary, Durandus a Sancto Porciano, prefaced his thoughts on the matter.

It is to be noted that since this is one of the greatest miracles contained by our faith... it is not our intention to provide any rigorous explanation of how it happens—for it is beyond the understanding of any mortal—but simply to provide some insight into what the faith holds regarding this sacrament and what the church holds concerning the way in which the body of Christ exists there. Nor should anyone be proud of himself if he finds that he can argue against our formulation, since it is the easiest thing in the world to attack the faith in its various formulations by the use of human reason and philosophy. Moreover, it is most difficult—perhaps impossible—to provide unquestionable refutations for all such attacks... If anyone is not satisfied with our formulation, let him try another in the knowledge that perhaps he will suffer as many or more slanders than we. Nor is it sufficient for anyone to say in general that there is another formulation, although unknown to us; for any ignoramus can say that.<sup>87</sup>

*Blacksburg, Virginia.*

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, q. 6. Ockham observes that annihilation is quite acceptable as long as one does not take it to mean that the bread is reduced to non-being without being converted into anything else.

<sup>86</sup> The committee preferred to see annihilation as opposed to transubstantiation. See David Burr, "Ockham, Scotus and the Censure at Avignon," *Church History*, 37 (1968), 144-59.

<sup>87</sup> *Petri Lombardi in sententias theologicas commentariorum libri IIII* (Venice, 1571), liber IV, d. 11, q. 1. The translation does notentirely do justice to the Latin, which is as follows: Advertendum est quod cum inter omnia miracula quae continent fides nostra istud sit unum de maximis, sc. quod corpus Christi manens caelo localiter et circumscriptive sit simul in hoc sacramento, non est intentionis nostrae dare modum evidētiaē per quem hoc possit fieri quia hoc est super omnem humanum intellectum cuiuslibet viatoris, sed intendimus solum dare modum persuasibilem per quem aliquāliter manducamur in illud quod tradit fides de hoc sacramento, et illud quod tenet ecclesia de modo existētiaē corporis Christi in ipso. Nec gloriatur aliquis si sciāt arguere contra modum quem intendimus ponere, quia facillimum est impugnare per humanam rationem, et Philosophiam ea quae sunt fidei et omnes modos declarantes fidem, et difficillimum est, et forte impossibile est evidenter omnes tales impugnationesolvere; ut ostensum fuit I lib. super prologum sententiarum. Sed cui non placuerit ille modus quem ponere intendimus studeat aliūm ponere et sciāt quod forte patietur tot vel plures calumnias quam noster. Nec sufficiat alicui dicere in generali quod est aliūm modus, quamvis nobis incognitus et occultus; quia hoc posset dicere quilibet idiota et ignarus. The passage is not without its irony, since Durandus, no stranger to censures himself, served on the papal commission that censured Ockham.



## THE RELATIONSHIP OF SOME FOURTEENTH CENTURY COMMENTARIES ON VALERIUS MAXIMUS

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ONE of the earliest and most influential commentaries on the first century A. D. Roman writer Valerius Maximus of which any trace remains today is that written by Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro in the early part of the fourteenth century. This was followed by commentaries by Simon de Hesdin, Benvenuto da Imola, Johannes de Floremontis, and the anonymous commentaries contained in the manuscripts Rheims 1332, 1333, and 1334. It is the purpose of this article to set these unpublished commentaries in perspective, to show their interrelations, and to investigate the degree of dependence of the later commentaries upon the earlier work of Dionigi da Borgo San Sepolcro.

The catalogues of the mediaeval libraries of France, Italy, England, and Germany which were consulted revealed no evidence of a commentary on Valerius in the ninth to thirteenth centuries.<sup>1</sup> In the old European libraries the listings of manuscripts of the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* of Valerius are infrequent; yet such manuscripts were certainly present in France in the Carolingian period, for Lupus of Ferrières prepared an edition of Valerius.<sup>2</sup> In France the libraries of Bec, Corbie, Limoges, and

<sup>1</sup> T. Gottlieb, *Über mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890); G. Becker, *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* (Bonn, 1885); P. Lehmann, "Quellen zur Feststellung und Geschichte mittelalterlicher Bibliotheken, Handschriften und Schriftsteller", *Historisches Jahrbuch* (Munich, 1920), 40, 69-105; G. Meier, *Catalogus Codicum Manu Scriptorum qui in Bibliotheca Monasterii Einsidlensis servantur* (Einsiedeln, 1899), 1; M. Faucon, *La Librairie des papes d'Avignon (1316-1420)* (Paris, 1886), I, II; Hiver de Beauvoir, *La Librairie de Jean, duc de Berry* (Paris, 1860); L. Arrigoni, *Notice historique et bibliographique sur vingt cinq manuscrits de la bibliothèque de François Pétrarque* (Milan, 1893); L. Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V* (Paris, 1907), I, II; P. Lehmann, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* (Munich, 1918), I, 368, 426; G. Gröber, *Grundriss der römischen Philologie* (Strasbourg, 1893-1902), III.

<sup>2</sup> M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Müllers Handbuch, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1, 489; R. J. Gariépy, Jr., "Lupus of Ferrières: Carolingian Scribe and Text Critic", *Mediaeval Studies*, 30 (1968), 95.

Pontigny possessed manuscripts of Valerius, and his name is mentioned by Richard de Fournival.<sup>3</sup> In Germany during this period only Bamberg possessed a copy of Valerius, and in England a manuscript was in evidence at Canterbury in the thirteenth century.<sup>4</sup> In the same century also excerpts from Valerius appeared at Limoges and Reischach.<sup>5</sup> In the fourteenth century, manuscripts of Valerius, some of which are extant, became more abundant in Italy and Spain.<sup>6</sup> However, none of these listings revealed evidence of a commentary on the text.

In another attempt to find evidence of a commentary earlier than that of Dionigi, a study was made of the way in which Valerius was used by authors of the ninth to twelfth centuries. The infrequency of quotations from Valerius or citations of his work corresponds to the comparative rarity of listings of manuscripts of the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* in the catalogues of the period. Individual passages from Valerius were quoted or cited by several twelfth century German writers,<sup>7</sup> but no trace of a commentary appears. From a survey of the use made of Valerius by the various authors the following conclusions can be reached. The name of Valerius was merely listed among the author's ancient sources, quotations from his work were used in support of the author's point of view, or excerpts or versifications were made with no evidence of a commentary.<sup>8</sup>

In addition, the works of Sedulius Scottus and John of Salisbury were consulted since both of them had made use of Valerius and furthermore were cited by Dionigi in his list of authorities.<sup>9</sup> The passages from Valerius used by Sedulius are few in number<sup>10</sup> and the excerpts he made of them

<sup>3</sup> M. Manitius, "Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen bis 1300", *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 47 (1892), 43-44.

<sup>4</sup> *Idem*, "Handschriften antiker Autoren in mittelalterlichen Bibliothekskatalogen", *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 67 (1935), 85, 88. See also M. R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover* (Cambridge, 1903), 297.

<sup>5</sup> M. Manitius, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Valerius Maximus in Mittelalter", *Philologus* (1888-89), Supp. 7, 764.

<sup>6</sup> For these manuscripts see the catalogues of Gottlieb and Becker. Their increasing abundance is noted by J. de Ghellinck, *L'Essor de la littérature latine au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1946), I, 2.

<sup>7</sup> See M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Müllers Handbuch, IX<sup>2</sup>, 3; 161, 169, 292, 296, 394, 505, 550, 627, 805, for a detailed discussion of the use made of Valerius.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, IX<sup>2</sup>, 1, 487, 489; IX<sup>2</sup>, 2, 684, 692; IX<sup>3</sup>, 872. Some of the most significant uses of Valerius include the excerpts of the text made by Heiric of Auxerre and imitated by Remigius of Auxerre in the ninth century, the versification in nine books by Raoul le Tortaire in the eleventh century, and the ten rather free citations used by Vincent of Beauvais.

<sup>9</sup> See note 36 below.

<sup>10</sup> S. Hellman, "Sedulius Scottus", *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1906), 97, 104, 145. Sedulius used the following passages of Valerius: IX, 1, proem., ext. 3 and 1; IX, 1, 4; VII, 1, 2.

are very brief. He often remodeled the text in the interests of his own moralizing and contented himself with the gist of a passage rather than a strict transcription, but there is no evidence to suggest that he attempted to comment upon the text.<sup>11</sup> In his *Policraticus* John of Salisbury frequently used selections from Valerius, particularly in his chapter, *De Speciebus Somniorum et Causis Figuris et Significationibus*.<sup>12</sup> In each instance an example from Valerius was given without explanation but with some variations in readings, but, again, there is no indication of a commentary.

A commentary on Valerius was attributed to Nicholas Trivet by C. Jourdain.<sup>13</sup> However, in this writer's opinion, the authorities used by Jourdain do not present conclusive evidence that a commentary on Valerius was actually written by Nicholas,<sup>14</sup> and further my search of the catalogues failed to reveal such a commentary in existence at present.<sup>15</sup>

In addition, the commentary by Dionigi gives no indication of an earlier commentator on Valerius nor evidence of dependency upon an earlier commentary. Further, in their own commentaries Simon de Hesdin and Benvenuto da Imola make frequent use of Dionigi and refer to him by name, but at no point do they indicate knowledge of a still earlier commentary.

The evidence therefore suggests that the commentary on Valerius written by Dionigi at the beginning of the fourteenth century could be one of the earliest, if not the earliest, that remains today.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>12</sup> *Joannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis Policratici libri VIII*, ed. C. C. J. Webb (Oxford, 1949).

<sup>13</sup> "Des Commentaires Inédits de Guillaume de Conches et de Nicholas Triveth sur la Consolation de la Philosophie de Boèce", in *Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le Moyen Age* (Paris, 1888), 46.

<sup>14</sup> The following two catalogues contain the information upon which Jourdain based his statement: J. Pits, *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis tomus primus* (Paris: R. Thierry and S. Cra-moisy, 1619), 420-422; *Super Valerium ad Rufinum de uxore non ducenda. Mulier si primum habeat*. J. Quétif and J. Echard, *Scriptores Crainis Praedicatorum* (Paris: J. B. C. Ballard and N. Simart, 1719), I, 563; *Super Valerium Maximum ad Rufinum de uxore non ducenda. Pr. Mulier si primum habeat*. The three remaining works consulted by Jourdain contain no mention of a commentary by Nicholas on Valerius: C. Oudin, *Supplementum de Scriptoribus vel Scriptis Ecclesiasticis* (Paris: A. Dezallier, 1686), 573; W. Cave, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (London: R. Chiswell, 1688-1689), 1310, 9A; J. Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Britanniae catalogus* (Basel: I. Oporinus, 1557-1559), 399-400.

<sup>15</sup> No listing of this work by Nicholas, *ad Rufinum*, is contained in any of the catalogues consulted: R. L. Poole and M. Bateson, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum, John Bale's Index of British and Other Writers* (Oxford, 1902), 308-309; *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris, 1912-1920); *Catalogus Codicum Hagiographorum Latinorum Bibliothecae Nationalis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1898); *Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts* (London, 1808); H. Schenkl, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Britannica* (Vienna, 1891-1908).

## THE COMMENTARY OF DIONIGI DA BORGO SAN SEPOLCRO

Information about the life and writings of Dionigi is derived chiefly from his association with Petrarch. It is known that he was a member of the Hermits of St. Augustine<sup>16</sup> and in 1317 delivered lectures at the University of Paris<sup>17</sup> as is revealed in the colophon on a manuscript: edita a fr. Dionysio de San Sepulchro... quam finivit Parisius an. Dom. MCCCXVII die mensis Januarii.<sup>18</sup> From 1333 he became a close friend of Petrarch. Their place of meeting was undoubtedly Avignon<sup>19</sup> where, because of his reputation in the field of letters and philosophy, he was well received by the Pope in residence there. Petrarch received from Dionigi a small volume of the *Confessions* of Augustine which he carried with him on all his travels until the last years of his life<sup>20</sup> and which awakened his interest in the literature of Christian antiquity. It was probably during his sojourn in Avignon that Petrarch sent a special invitation in the form of an *epistola metrica* to Dionigi to visit him in the solitude of Vacluse.<sup>21</sup> Dionigi became the confessor of Petrarch in the matter of Laura and it is to him that Petrarch addressed his famous letter on the climbing of Mt. Ventoux in 1336.<sup>22</sup>

In 1339 Dionigi was invited by King Robert to the court of Naples where he joined the circle of Early Humanists<sup>23</sup> and apparently became a consultant in astrology for the king. He became Bishop of Monopoli on March 17, 1340 and died in 1342 before May 31.<sup>24</sup> On hearing of the death of Dionigi, Petrarch wrote a letter of consolation to King Robert in which he praised Dionigi for his fidelity, benignity, serenity, piety, modesty, intelligence, his poetic gift, and his knowledge of the stars.<sup>25</sup>

The works of Dionigi include commentaries on Valerius, Vergil, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Seneca's tragedies, and on the *Politics* and *Rhetoric* of Aristotle.<sup>26</sup> With the exception of the commentary on Valerius, the dates of these works cannot be determined. In 1317 Pope John XXII purchased for his library at Avignon 80 volumes, included among which was a manu-

<sup>16</sup> M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholischen Kirche* (Paderborn, 1933).

<sup>17</sup> H. Denifle, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris, 1891), II, 502.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 502, note 8.

<sup>19</sup> U. Mariani, *Il Petrarca e gli Agostiniani* (Rome, 1946), 35-36; E. H. Wilkins, *Life of Petrarch* (University of Chicago Press, 1961), 10.

<sup>20</sup> *Francisci Petrarcae Epistolae Selectae*, ed. A. F. Johnson (Oxford, 1923), Sen. XV, 7, 194.

<sup>21</sup> Petrarch, *Opere*, ed. Emilio Bigi (Milan, 1964), 406 (1, 4).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 730-742 (4, 1).

<sup>23</sup> W. W. Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel* (Tübingen, 1910), 38-41.

<sup>24</sup> Denifle, II, 502.

<sup>25</sup> Mariani, 47-48.

<sup>26</sup> Goetz, 39.

script of Valerius.<sup>27</sup> It may have been during this stay in Avignon that Dionigi became interested in the work of Valerius. The presence of his commentary on Valerius in the library at Avignon in the time of Clement VII is significant.<sup>28</sup> The date of this commentary must fall between 1327 and 1342 since it is dedicated to Giovanni Colonna,<sup>29</sup> who was made cardinal in 1327.<sup>30</sup> Because of certain references to places in the vicinity of Naples, it has been suggested that this commentary was written by Dionigi in the last years of his life while he was at the court of King Robert.<sup>31</sup>

Dionigi's purpose in undertaking his commentary<sup>32</sup> was the moral improvement of his readers. It was his contention that Valerius' work contained many edifying examples which, because of their condensed form, could not be fully appreciated. He proposed as commentator to interpret and expand the text for the benefit of his readers.<sup>33</sup>

In his analysis of the four *causae* which formed the basis of the work (*causa materialis*, *causa formalis* embracing both *forma tractatus* and *forma tractandi*, and *causa finalis*) he attributed to Valerius a moral final cause: *Causa finalis est ad virtutes inducere et a vitiis retrahere*. This contention that virtue was the theme of each of Valerius' books<sup>34</sup> led him to a moral

<sup>27</sup> M. Faucon, *La Librairie des papes d'Avignon (1316-1420)* (Paris, 1886), I, 25. The reference to the manuscript of Valerius is as follows: *Videlicet vendidit dictus prior... item Valerium Maximum*.

<sup>28</sup> Faucon, II, 29.

<sup>29</sup> Reverendo in Christo patri et suo domino speciali, domino Iohanni de Columna divina providentia sancti angeli dyacono cardinali Frater Dionisius de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri ordinis fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini cum omni subiectione et reverentia filiali...

<sup>30</sup> Goetz, 39.

<sup>31</sup> Mariani, 49.

<sup>32</sup> The incunabulum printed in Strasbourg by Adolph Rusch about 1471 in the Wilberforce Eames Collection of the New York Public Library was used for this study. Unpublished manuscripts of this commentary are as follows: Bibliothèque d'Avranches: 158. *Liber Valerii Maximi et ejus expositio edita a fratre Dyonisio de Burgo, fratrum heremitarum ordinis sancti Augustini sacre theologie magistro*; Munich: 3863, 1424. *Declaratio (i.e. commentarius) Val. Max. edita a fratre Dionysio de Burgo d. sepulchri ordinis fratrum herem. S. Augustini. Scripsit Thomas de Pettenpach*; Bibliothèque de Saint-Omer: 760, 761. With dedication by Dionysius de Burgo S. S. to Jean Colonna and the prologue of the commentary. XVth; Troyes, Bibl. municipale, 599. *Expositio Val. Max edita a fratre Dyonisio de Burgo Sancti, ordinis fratrum heremitarum S. Augustini, sacre theologie dignissimo magistro*. XV; Paris, Bibl. nat mss. lat. 5858-5862; Florence, Bibl. Laurenz: Plat 53, cod. 36.

<sup>33</sup> Sane librum Valerii Maximi pro sua brevitate modernis obscurum temporibus (in quo virtutum relucens exempla et quodammodo singulari prudentia ipsa refulgent) declarandum assumpsi ut legentibus clarum fiat quod difficile primum apparerebat.

<sup>34</sup> Sicut patet in prohemio intentio Valerii in hoc opere est ad virtutes quas debent homines imitari et vitia quae debent fugere antiquorum et magnorum virorum ad memoriam legentium reducere. Et licet hoc intendit in toto libro. Possumus tamen rationabiliter dicere quod in omnibus praecedentibus libris tractavit de virtutibus...

interpretation where none seems justified. Valerius' work did encompass *virtutes et vitia*, but these were not treated from a moralizing point of view. By his own admission Valerius undertook his collection of *exempla* to serve as a handbook for orators, who could document their speeches from this convenient source: *ut documenta sumere volentibus longae inquisitionis labor absit*.<sup>35</sup> Dionigi, however, assumed that by *volentibus* Valerius meant those striving to improve their lives and interpreted the passage as follows: *et se excitare ad virtutes exemplis bonorum et removere a vitiis*.

The lengthy list of authorities<sup>36</sup> cited by Dionigi might rouse the reader's suspicions; however, my examination of the authors whom he quoted or cited reveals that his reading was relatively broad.<sup>37</sup> For historical information he relied chiefly on Florus, Justinus, Josephus, Suetonius, and anonymous works referred to as *chronicae*. Livy is cited more frequently

<sup>35</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*, ed. G. Kempf (Leipzig, 1888), 1. All references will be to this edition.

<sup>36</sup> Sunt autem praedicti autores quos necessario oportuit intueri; Titus Livius principaliter et egregii doctores Augustinus, Gregorius, Ambrosius et Ieronimus, quorum dicta maxime Augustini libro de Civitate Dei, et Ieronimi in Chronicis et epistolae fuerunt plerumque necessaria. Quandoque etiam de Biblia et a magistro historiarum ac etiam de decreto et de Iohanne Christotomo aliqua pro maiore declaratione propositi sunt accepta. Praeterea hic inserta assumpta sunt de Hugone libro de sacramentis, de Isidoro libro ethymologiarum, de Papia, de Hugutione, de Pristiano, de Iosepho libro historiarum antiquarum, de Orosio, de Lactantio, de Macrobio libro de Somnio Scipionis, de Policrato, de Suetonio, de Boethio, de Sedulio, de Cassiodoro libro Variarum, de Seneca, de Tullio, de Platone, de Aristotile, de Averroi, de Avicenna libro Naturalium, de Varone, de Iuvenale, de Vegetio, de Solino, de Plinio, de Frontino, de Vita philosophorum, de rhetorica Grilli, de Computo, de Fabio historico, de Salustio, de Paulo Longobardorum historiographo, de Iustino, et de Iulio Floro. Fuit necessarium poetas inspicere, sicut Virgilium, Lucanum, Horatium, Persium, Ovidium, Iuvenalem, Eustachium, Venusinum qui sub nomine poetae introducitur, et Plautus Italiae nominatur, Iulium Caesarem et eius poetriam, Statium et Alexandri historiam tam metrica quam prosagte (sic) scriptam. Insuper oportuit chronicas intueri videlicet chronicam Helmandi, chronicam Atheniensium, Hispanorum, et Gallorum ac etiam annalia Romanorum quorum autor non habetur, et chronicam Petri Viterbiensis quae Pantheon appellatur et etiam plures alios rerum gestarum et particularum narratores.

<sup>37</sup> On the dream of Manlius and Decius (I, 7, 3) Dionigi states correctly that Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei* V, 18 refers to the Decii in the plural. To give his readers more information on the tyrant of Syracuse (I, 7, ext. 7) he described in detail the actions of the tyrant, quoting large sections of Justinus and retaining much of the language. (Justinus, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum* (Leipzig, 1886), XXI, 1, 5.) In the passage on Alcibiades (I, 7, ext. 9) Dionigi states: Credo istum Alcibiadem fuisse ducem Atheniensium de quo Frontino libro secundo et tertio eius bellica adducens multum ponit. See Frontinus, ed. C. E. Bennett (London, 1925), II, 5, 44-45; II, 7, 6; III, 2, 6; III, 6, 6; III, 9, 6; III, 12, 1. Dionigi also mentions that Boethius (*Consolatio*, III) refers to a description of Alcibiades by Aristotle, which he had been unable to find. It is interesting to note that the reading, Aristotle, has since been emended to Aristophanes by the editors. See Boethius, *Consolatio Philosophiae*, ed. and trans. H. E. Stewart and E. K. Rand (London, 1918), Prose 3, 8.

than any other author,<sup>38</sup> but since no passages are quoted nor are verbal reminiscences common (as is the case with other authors) the conclusion seems justified that Dionigi failed to mention his intermediate source, Orosius. This conclusion can be confirmed by passages in the commentary of Simon de Hesdin where he translated large sections of Dionigi's work and listed Orosius as the authority more frequently than Livy.

Evidence that Dionigi consulted authorities at first hand is revealed in his handling of Valerius I, 7, 1 where he noted that Suetonius<sup>39</sup> differed from Valerius in a point of detail: *Et ibi subdit Suetonius dicens bello tempore castris exutus vix ad Antonii cornu fuga evasit.* He checked the account in Florus<sup>40</sup> for verification: *Lucius Annaeus Florus etiam de hoc bello loquens dicit Caesaris medicus somno monitus est ut Caesar castris excederet quibus capi imminabat ut factum est.* The authority of Augustine was cited most often in support of some Christian interpretation of Valerius' *exempla*. In the story of Lucretia (VI, 1, 1) Dionigi summarizes the Livian account and adds to it Augustine's interpretation that it was her conscience that forced her to take her life.<sup>41</sup> References to commentators on the Bible are common, in particular to *Magister historiarum super Danielelem*. His mediaeval sources include commentaries on Aristotle, Boethius,<sup>42</sup> the dictionaries of Papias and Huguccio, and the *Etymologiae* of Isidore. References to Aristotle occur frequently without mention of an intermediate source. Since he himself had produced commentaries on the *Politics* and *Rhetoric* it is probable that his acquaintance with the works of Aristotle was fairly extensive.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> IV, 1, 1: *Ad cuius intelligentiam sciendum ut recitat Titus Livius secundo ab urbe condita circa principium quod post Tarquini regis expulsionem hic Valerius consul a populo factus moderatissimus fuit in tantum quod dominium minuit et multa alia fecit quae suam moderationem ostendunt. Tanta enim fuit paupertatis ut idem Titus Livius dicit et Valerius infra isto libro capitulo de paupertate...*

<sup>39</sup> Suetonius, *Vita Augusti*, ed. and trans. J. C. Rolfe (London, 1914), II, 13.

<sup>40</sup> Florus, Lucius Annaeus, *Epitome of Roman History*, ed. and trans. E. S. Forster (London, 1929), II, 17. Dionigi omitted Florus' own interpolations and included only his account of the facts.

<sup>41</sup> Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* (Leipzig, 1877), I, 19.

<sup>42</sup> Although Dionigi refers only to the works of Averroes, Avicenna, and Albertus Magnus it is highly probable that he made use of other commentaries on Aristotle, which cannot be definitely identified. (For information on the commentators of Aristotle, see J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1908). Dionigi's use of commentators on Boethius is indicated by his reference to the *expositores Boethii* (I, 7, ext. 9) but they too cannot be identified with any certainty.

<sup>43</sup> A typical reference to Aristotle occurs in I, Prohemium: *Videlicet actus virtutis, quia dare ad libertatem pertinet, et ipsa libertas, quia ex hoc quod quis alteri dat, non est minus liber, immo forte plus, sed recipiens etsi virtuose possit recipere eo ipso tam quod receperit obligatur ei a quo recipit, si non sit ingratus. Unde dicit Aristoteles 5 ethicorum quod proprium est gratiae ut pro gratia retribuatur gratia.*

Dionigi used the information from his authorities not only to expand Valerius' *exempla* but also to support his criticism of Valerius' interpretations.<sup>44</sup> The accuracy of his references to specific passages is consistent. In the majority of cases he identifies specifically his source of information. Only rarely does he use the vague generalization *alii* or refer to an author and his work in general terms.

In etymology Dionigi relied chiefly upon the work of Isidore of Seville, but included derivations from Huguccio and Papias.<sup>45</sup> His unquestioning acceptance of their authority resulted in some odd explanations: *Vates dicuntur a video, vides, quia soli prophetae futura vident*. Although he was not concerned primarily with the technicalities of grammar, he did possess a fairly accurate understanding of grammatical points, as is exemplified by his explanation of Valerius' use of *praetorium* in place of *praetorem* as *locum pro locato*. To clarify a complex indirect construction used by Valerius he explained: *est grammatica antiqua ponens infinitivum praeteriti perfecti et plusquam perfecti pro praeterito perfecto modi indicativi*. He displayed considerable interest in matters of textual criticism and aimed at providing his readers with a correct text.<sup>46</sup> This suggests the possibility that he had at least one other manuscript of Valerius' work at his disposal.<sup>47</sup>

Evidence from his commentary indicates that he possessed no knowledge of the Greek language and made no attempt to quote it. In his commentary on Book I, 7, 7 where the vision replies to Antony's question that he is an evil spirit *Κακὸν δαίμονα*, Dionigi quotes the passage omitting the Greek entirely: *Interrogatumque quisnam esset respondisse graecum est latine horror sive mors*. On the dream of Alexander, Dionigi states that

<sup>44</sup> Valerius described Metellus (VII, I) as an example of a completely fortunate man, for he had never encountered any misfortune. Dionigi contended that such a man cannot be called fortunate, because he had never been tried by adversity and supported his statement with a paraphrase of the *De Providentia* III, 14 of Seneca where the question is debated: Seneca, *Moral Essays*, ed. and trans. J. W. Basore (London, 1928).

<sup>45</sup> III, I: ... et dicebatur praetexta quia praetextabatur ei qui utebatur. Vel ut dicit Ysidorus libro 9 sic dicebatur quia iuveni praetextebatur. Et venit ut dicit Hugutio a texo, onis. Hanc vestem in aetate virili iuvenes dimittebant togam virilem assumentes ut dicit Papias.

<sup>46</sup> I, 7, 8: *Alia littera dicit lussit, sed vidit est melior*. Two readings are given for IX, 15, 5: *neque violentiae plebis religio* and *neque voluntariae plebis religio*. *Aliqua littera ubi hic dicitur voluntariae habet iudicantium videlicet senatorum eis non cessit immo petiorem et populum non curavit*. *Credo tamen quod prima littera est melior tum quia magis communiter habetur in Valeriis*.

<sup>47</sup> My study of the lemmata in Dionigi's commentary led me to conclude that the manuscript which he used most extensively belonged to the Berne or A group as given by Kempf, for example: I, Preface *diligere*, Kempf A<sup>1</sup>; I, 7, 5 *deversaret*, Kempf A<sup>2</sup>; I, 7, 8 *vidit*, Kempf A<sup>2</sup> *vidit*; III, 1 *gestus*, Kempf A<sup>2</sup> *gestus*. None of the variant readings given by Dionigi is found in the critical apparatus in Kempf's edition.



he cannot understand the Greek which he found quoted in the Alexander Romance and is forced to guess at its meaning.<sup>48</sup>

In his analysis of the text Dionigi divides each section into two parts. The first chapter of the first book, like the first chapter of the subsequent eight books, is divided into an introduction and a narrative portion: *primo prohemium ponit in quo suum propositum ostendens; secundo tractatum prosequitur...* Each section is then analyzed in accordance with the following scheme. First a summary of the story is given in the commentator's own words, followed by a running commentary on the text where whole sentences are rearranged, missing words are supplied, and difficult phrases are paraphrased. The last section is reserved for special points, generally introduced by *nota quod* or *notandum quod* and here Roman terms, customs, or historical points are explained and moral questions are raised for discussion.

The most extensive expansion of the subject matter occurs at the end of the chapter entitled *De Somniis* (I, 7) in the form of a digression on dreams. For this digression Dionigi relied chiefly on the *De Somnio Scipionis* of Macrobius but in adapting the material to his subject he goes beyond mere imitation. This digression is of particular interest because of the admiration for it expressed by the later commentators on Valerius. Many dreams, according to Dionigi, had been described in the preceding chapter, but for ease of comprehension, the three aspects of dreams should be discussed, the nature of a dream, its source and origin, and its significance. There follows a listing of the five classifications of dreams, *fantasma sive visus, insomnium, oraculum, visio, somnium*, an almost exact quotation from Macrobius<sup>49</sup> with some deletions for the sake of brevity. However, to this Dionigi adds examples of his own, either from the text of Valerius or from the Bible. A typical example is the subject of *oraculum*, which in Macrobius had required no detailed discussion, but which Dionigi defines and discusses in considerable detail.

The problem of an *oraculum* is introduced with the words: *ad quod dico quod id potest esse a deo et a bono angelo et ab homine mortuo*. There is no difficulty in the statement that oracles can be delivered by God and by good angels because that is the accepted belief. It remains to demonstrate that oracles can be delivered by the dead. Dionigi states that the soul of man is immortal and therefore oracles can be delivered by men. To prove the immortality of the soul he cites passages from Aristotle, Cicero, Augus-

<sup>48</sup> I, 7, ext. 2: *in littera ponitur sub litteris Graecis, sed tamen verisimile est quod ille versus dicebat quod somnia curari non debent...*

<sup>49</sup> Macrobius, *De Somnio Scipionis* (Leipzig, 1893), I, 3.

tine, and the Scriptures. This classification of dreams was a favorite subject among mediaeval writers, and Dionigi was no exception. Although many of his conclusions lack validity, this extensive digression exemplifies the seriousness of his effort.

In summary, the commentary by Dionigi is one of the earliest commentaries on Valerius of which any trace remains and it exerted a definite influence<sup>50</sup> on subsequent commentators on the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia*. In his commentary he emphasized the moral interpretation of the text, and although later commentators found it necessary to correct his historical and linguistic information they seldom questioned his moral views. This influence upon later commentators will be demonstrated by a discussion of the use they made of his work.

#### THE COMMENTARY OF SIMON DE HESDIN

In the catalogues of the French provincial libraries the name of Simon de Hesdin appears along with that of Nicholas de Gonesse as a translator of Valerius.<sup>51</sup> My investigation<sup>52</sup> soon revealed that the work of Simon de Hesdin consisted not only of a translation but a commentary which proved to be an interesting addition to the tradition of commentaries on Valerius.

Very little is known of the life of Simon. His name suggests that he was born in the town of Hesdin in Artois. He became a chaplain in the order of St. John of Jerusalem. It was at the suggestion of Charles V, the founder of the library of the Louvre, that he undertook his work on Valerius.<sup>53</sup>

The commentary was evidently begun about the year 1375, the date which appears in certain manuscripts at the end of Book I, and also in the incunabulum used for this present study. The sections of the commentary

<sup>50</sup> The accessibility of the commentary of Dionigi which is listed in the library at Avignon from the time of Clement VII might be one factor in its widespread influence. Note that according to J. Brunet (*Manuel du Libraire*, Paris, 1862) a German commentary printed in 1489, but translated in 1369, is an abridgement in German of Dionigi's commentary.

<sup>51</sup> Bibliothèque de Tours, 983. Valere-Maxime. Livres VI a IX, texte et traduction française de Simon de Hesdin et Nicholas de Gonesse; La librairie de Jean, duc de Berry, 124. Un livre de Valerius Maximus: Cy commence le livre de Valere-Maxime, translate de latin en francois, par religieuse personne maistre Simon de Hesdin, maistre en theologie et frere de saint Jehan de Jerusalem.

<sup>52</sup> The text of the commentary of Simon de Hesdin was provided by the incunabulum printed at Lyons by Matthieu Huss in 1489 in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress.

<sup>53</sup> G. Warner, *Miniatures of the School of Jean Fouquet from a Ms. written about 1475 A. D. for Philippe de Comines* (London, 1907), iii; J. N. Paquot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire littéraire des dix-sept provinces des pays-bas de la Principauté de Liège* (Louvain: Imprimerie Académique, 1763-1770), IV, 336-337.

completed by Simon may have been written before 1388, for certain resemblances in the commentary of Benvenuto da Imola, which was completed in that year, suggest that he had available the commentary by Simon.

The commentary of Simon ends at Book VII, chapter 4 of Valerius' text, and it remained unfinished until the year 1401 when it was completed at the request of the Duc de Berry, son of Charles V, by Nicholas de Gonesse,<sup>54</sup> master of arts and theology, who imitated as closely as possible his predecessor's style and method.

From his comments it is evident that Simon did not consider himself merely a translator. His readers are reminded that many events had occurred in the 1300 years between Valerius' day and his own. It was, therefore, his purpose to supply his reader with this additional information, derived from both classical and contemporary sources, which he included not only in his running commentary but also in lengthy supplementary passages.

The structure of Simon's commentary is simple and systematic, consisting of three distinct divisions, translation, commentary, and supplementary chapters (and to this scheme Nicholas de Gonesse strictly adhered). The actual translation of the text, prefaced by the word *Auteur*, is, by Simon's own statement, intended to be a paraphrase into French, rather than a literal translation. Interspersed with the translation is the running commentary introduced by the heading *Translateur*. The supplementary information is given at the end of each chapter under the heading *Addicions du Translateur*. (However, these *Addicions* are discontinued after Book II, 1). The commentary is concerned primarily with historical fact. No Latin text is given, and consequently there is no discussion of Latin grammar and language.

It is significant that Simon included in his commentary brief summaries of the epitomes of Valerius by Paris and Nepotianus,<sup>55</sup> for the missing portions of the text (I, ext. 4 to I, 5). He had discovered these in certain

<sup>54</sup> Laquelle (translacion) commenca tres reverend maistre Symon de Hesdin, maistre en theologie, religieux des hospitaliers de saint iehan de iherusalem qui poursuivit iusques au VII livre au chapitre des stragemens et la laissa. Des la en avant iusques en la fin du livre Je Nicolas de gonesse, maistre en ars et theologie ay poursuivui ladicte translacion au moins mal que iay peu, du commandement et ordonnance de tres excellent et puissant prince monseigneur le duc de berry et dauvergne conte de poitou, de consogne, et dauvergne a la requeste de Iaquemin Courauxx, son tresorier. Et ne doute pas que mon stille de translatter n'est pas sy beau ni sy parfait comme est celluy de devant, mais ie prie a ceux qui liront quils me pardonnent car ie ne suys pas sy expert es histoires comme il estoit. Et fut finie lan mil quatre uns et lung la vigile de monseigneur saint michel larchange.

<sup>55</sup> See M. Schanz and C. Hosius, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* (Munich, 1935), II, 591.

manuscripts and had decided to include them solely as a sample of the contents of the missing passages, without explanation, since they were not the actual work of Valerius.<sup>56</sup>

It is immediately obvious that the commentary by Dionigi provided the basis for Simon's work, even though no mention of this indebtedness occurs in the introduction. Offering the shortness of life, the variability of fortune, and the fickleness of man's will as his excuse for not undertaking a dedication, Simon begins his exposition without delay.<sup>57</sup> The account of the four *causae* that underlie the nine books of Valerius bears a marked resemblance to the corresponding passage in the introduction of Dionigi's commentary. The description of the adoption of Tiberius and Octavian is noticeably similar to Dionigi's version.<sup>58</sup> After citing an imposing list of authorities,<sup>59</sup> Simon brings his introduction to a close with a statement of his method of translation. However, in later sections of his commentary, Simon does refer at times to *maistre Denis de Bourg* or *le commentateur*, although most frequently his borrowing is without acknowledgment.

The degree of Simon's dependence upon Dionigi varies in different passages; yet Dionigi's influence is clearly discernible throughout the work. Frequently Simon used a particular passage from the earlier commentary and supplemented it with additional material derived chiefly from the sources cited by Dionigi or from his own reading. The authorities upon which he depended most heavily included Orosius, Solinus, and Justinus. In his introduction he began by following Dionigi closely, but then departed from the earlier work to include an account of the lives of Gaius and Germanicus from Justinus, and also the statement from Orosius that Tiberius, a temperate ruler in the early days of his reign, brought the news of Jesus' death to the Senate and demanded His consecration only to be refused.

Simon also included at the end of the chapter *De Somniis*, a digression

<sup>56</sup> Si comme jay dit devant ce chapitre De Dissimulee Religione nest pas en mon liure ne au commencement mais on se treuve en aucuns liures comment que a la verite il ne me semble point du stile de Valerius car il est ainsi que de plain latin et pour ce ne pense ie y faire grant exposicion.

<sup>57</sup> La briesvete et fragilite de ceste doloireuse vie temporelle, la constance et inconstance et variablete de fortune, la mutacion aussi de la voulente et de la pensee humaine sont les causes pour quoi ie nay pas put ote commencement de ce liure.

<sup>58</sup> Quia in rei veritate Octavianus filius fuit Octavii senatoris natus ut quidam scribunt de Julia sorore Julii, sive ut alii scribunt, de Accia filia sororis Julii. Cf. Simon: Car a la verite Octavien fut fils dung senateur qui avoit nom Octavius et selon aucuns fils de la seur Iule Cesar<sup>e</sup> qui avoit nom Iulia, et selon ce que austres dient fils de la fille de sa seur qui avoit nom Accia.

<sup>59</sup> Livy, Orosius, Herodotus, Suetonius, Mithatenus and Ovidius Sahachides (successors of Alexander), Polybius, Arnobius, Josephus, Sallust, Solinus, Methodius, Julius Celsus, Lucan, and Pompeius Trogus, also a few mediaeval chronicles as well as Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Isidore.

on dreams, but cited only Macrobius as his authority. A comparison of the two digressions revealed that his primary source was Dionigi, for the introduction is a paraphrase in abbreviated form. Still following Dionigi, Simon described the sources of nightmares, of oracles, and included the dream of the Pharaoh. At this point, however, he introduced some new and relevant material, including the dreams of Agamemnon and Nestor, and the description from Vergil of the gates of ivory and horn. In commenting on Book I, 7, 4, Dionigi had referred to a passage in Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (VIII, 13). Simon consulted the same passage, but gave a more detailed account.<sup>60</sup> Similarly, in his account of the dream of Alexander (I, 7, ext. 2) Dionigi commented in passing that Alexander paid a visit to the trees of the sun and moon. Simon recounted the whole dream in more detailed form, including the prophecy which the trees uttered. He reproduced the story of Lucretia (VI, 1, 1) in entirety from Dionigi, but expanded it with a wealth of information on siege tactics and the background of the events recounted by Valerius which he obtained chiefly from Orosius.

Where references were not cited by Dionigi, Simon was sometimes perplexed. In his commentary on Book III, 1, Dionigi emphasized the elements of virtue in young men and dismissed the story of Aemilius Lepidus briefly, with no mention of sources. Simon stated that he did not recall reading this story in any other author and was uncertain whether it was the same Aemilius Lepidus mentioned by Orosius in his sixth book. He then continued, as Dionigi had done, by quoting Papias on the meaning of *indoles* and *praetexta*.

In general Simon used the information in Dionigi's commentary as his starting point and then expanded it, but instances can be cited which reveal complete dependence upon the earlier commentary. His description of the Roman *castra* is an exact translation of Dionigi's version, but for his reader's sake he noted the similarity between the Roman camp and a French fortress.<sup>61</sup> The summary by Dionigi of the achievements

<sup>60</sup> Nullus vero dubitare debet illud fuisse demonum opus vel deorum falsorum. Vera dicit Augustinus... Cf. Simon: De ce ne dist plus Valerius mai saint Augustin on lieu devant allegue que le senat qui fut ebahy de si grant miracle ordonna tantost que les ieulx fussent fais de plus grans iousts que aultre fois navaient este fais, et qui est celui qui a sain engin qui ne veoit que saint Augustin dist que ses gens estoient subgetez aux mauvais dyables de la quelle subiection nest nul deliure fors pas nostre ihesucrist.

<sup>61</sup> I, 1: Ad cuius historiae intelligentiam oportet praemittere modum Romanorum in campis sive castris qui erat statim se vallare et fovea cingere; et cum bellare cum inimicis debebant castris exhibant. Cf. Simon: Pour entendre l'histoire de ce chapitre il est assavoir que les Romains eurent ceste coutume iadis quant ils estoient aux champs ils fermoient leur ost de grans fosses et palis et se logoient communement en fort lieu pour quel que paine qui ce feust et pource appelloit on leur logis castra, car ils foisoient ainsi comme une chastel.

of the three famous Scipios (I, 6, 2) was taken over directly by Simon.<sup>62</sup>

One of the most exact translations of a passage from Dionigi's commentary is contained in Simon's comments on the dream of the Greek general Alcibiades (I, 7, ext. 9). The doubts expressed by Dionigi regarding the identity of Alcibiades and his remarks concerning his inability to find the relevant passage in Aristotle<sup>63</sup> are passed on by the French commentator as his own.<sup>64</sup>

The last two books of the commentary written by Nicholas de Gonesse depend to an even greater extent upon Dionigi, for Nicholas did not share his predecessor's interest in supplying additional material. An example of this dependence occurs in the introduction to Book IX, where Dionigi's assertion that Valerius' work was dependent upon a moral theme and his moral interpretation of each of the previous eight books are dutifully transferred without change or comment into French.

Simon's choice of borrowings reveals a fundamental difference in the purpose of the two commentators. Dionigi's purpose was a moral one, and, consequently he devoted a considerable portion of his commentary to moral speculation and philosophical discussion. By contrast, Simon concentrated upon historical events and on more than one occasion dismissed scholarly disputation as unsuitable for his lay readers. Dionigi discussed at length the philosophical implications of the story of the Athenian who, as the result of a blow, had lost all knowledge he formerly possessed (I, 8, ext. 2). Simon dismissed the learned debate in Latin as irrele-

<sup>62</sup> I, 6, 2: Nota tres fuisse Scipiones famosos, Scipionem Affricanum, sic vocatum quia Affricam populo Romano subiugavit et iste fuit Scipio Affricanus prior. Secundo Scipionem Asiaticum praedicti Scipionis fratrem sic vocatum quia Asiam obtinuit et subiugavit. Tertio Scipionem Affricanum posteriorem, sic vocatum quia Affricani praecipue Carthaginem destruxit ac solo aequavit. Horum autem primus et tertius viri fuerunt valde celebres et gloriosi. Cf. Simon: Pour l'entendement de cette lettre est assavoir que entre les Romains qui eurent nom de Scipio y eut especiallement troys excellens et vaillans chevaliers. Lung fut Scipio l'Africain le premier ainsi appelle pource ce qui ce fut celui qui premier conquist Affrique et submist Carthage aux Romains. Le second fut Scipio qui fut son frere et fut appelle Scipio Asiaticus pour ce quil conquist Asie le mineur. Le tiers fut Scipio l'Africain le deuxiemes pource ce quil destruit Affrique especiallement Cartage. Et de ses troys especialment le premier et le dernier furent merueilleusement hommes de grant fait et de grant memoire.

<sup>63</sup> Notandum quod Boethius in tertio de Consolatione de Alcibiade loquens dicit sic si ut Aristotiles ait linceis oculis homines uterentur, ut eorum visus obstantia penetrarent, nonne introspectis visceribus illud Alcibiadis superficie pulcherrimum corpus turpissimum videretur. Quae verba (ubi dicat hoc Aristotiles) non inveni.

<sup>64</sup> ... Il est assavoir que Boece on tiers liure de Consolacion allegue Aristote qui deust dire que si les hommes eussent yeulx des linx si que leur penetrast tout vulture de corps de Alcibiades qui estoit si tres bel de corps par dehors il leur sembloit tres lait par dedens. Touthois ou Aristote dit ie ne scay...

vant and unprofitable.<sup>65</sup> His digression on dreams he brought to an abrupt conclusion with the words: Assez de ceste matiere pourroye parler selon Aristote et les autres philosophes mais la science est de grant difficulte pour les gens lais.

Despite Simon's extensive use of the earlier commentary, instances of his originality can be demonstrated: his use of additional source material, the correction of errors in Dionigi's work, and his more precise explanations. Dionigi defined the *pons Sublicius* (I, 1, 10) as *unus ex pontibus Tyberis*. Simon with greater precision identified it as: le pons par ou on va de la region Saint Pierre a Rome, car on appelle pas la partie ou Saint Pierre est Rome. In commenting on the epithet *Moneta* applied to Juno (I, 8, 3) Simon discussed thoroughly Dionigi's explanation that it was derived from the verb *monere* and that the epithet originated during the siege of the Capitol by the Gauls when the Capitol was saved by Juno assuming the form of a bird. To disprove this explanation Simon cited two passages, one from Livy, who claimed that the geese who gave the warning were genuine, and the other from Augustine, who stated that the Romans had strange gods who could sleep while birds maintained watch. The true explanation of the epithet was to be found in the account of the siege of Veii by Camillus and the bringing of the statue of Juno to Rome. The name *Moneta* consequently indicates the goddess of wealth, for Veii was one of the wealthiest cities in Etruria.<sup>66</sup> Simon disagreed with Dionigi's interpretation of *satiriscum* as a serpent, and by extension a malicious and venomous man. The correct derivation is *satiri* (Isidore, *Etymologiae*, Book XII), little men with goat-like characteristics. According to Isidore, it could also mean poets who wrote satires, but Simon indicated that that was not the meaning in this passage. In his comments on *De Prodigis* (I, 6, ext. 3) Simon stated that certain people (an allusion to Dionigi) had quoted Augustine as declaring Aristotle to be unequal to Plato. The full statement made by Augustine was that Aristotle was not the equal of Plato in eloquence: il dit que Aristote fut homme de excellent engin, mais il ne fut pas pareil a Platon en eloquence.

In summary, the commentary of Dionigi exerted considerable influence upon Simon. The earlier work served as a source book for the French commentator and many of its explanations were translated with little

<sup>65</sup> Il est vrai que les paroles de Valere sont doutables mais il n'appartient pas a ce propos den enquerre par subtile disputation qui peu peut prouffiter en rommant.

<sup>66</sup> La treue Juno qui estoit deese de richesses. Et pour ce par aventure la pourroit on appeller Moneta, car par monnoye on a toutes richesses. Et pource par aventure lauroyent ceulx de vcios especialement en ce nom car cestoit une tres riche cite.

change. However, Simon's exposition departed from the earlier work in two significant respects. First, it contains much additional material derived in many instances from Dionigi's sources, but also from the author's own reading knowledge. Secondly, the emphasis is shifted from moral problems to the explanation of historical points. This fundamental difference in interest was an important factor governing Simon's choice of borrowings, because, as a result, he deliberately rejected philosophical discussions as being beyond his readers' scope.

#### THE COMMENTARY OF BENVENUTO DA IMOLA

Of the commentators on Valerius under consideration, Benvenuto da Imola was undoubtedly the most notable figure of his own day. He was born of the family of the Rambaldi at Imola between 1336 and 1340.<sup>67</sup> His death at Ferrara in 1390 brought to an end a full and varied career as scholar, humanist, and diplomat.<sup>68</sup> While studying at Florence he made the acquaintance of Boccaccio to whom he refers as *venerabilis praeceptor meus*.<sup>69</sup> Petrarch, too, became one of his intimate friends. In 1365 he was dispatched to Avignon as ambassador for the Imolesi, but he failed to accomplish his mission. Between 1374 and 1377 he delivered lectures at Bologna on the *Divine Comedy*, but the political disfavor which he incurred by his unhesitating denunciations of the clergy and the morals of his age precipitated his retirement to Ferrara in 1377 under the protection of Nicholas II of Este.<sup>70</sup> To this period belong his most important works, which, in addition to his commentary on Valerius, include a compendium of Roman history, the *Romuleon*, commentaries on Lucan's *Pharsalia*, on the Latin Eclogues of Petrarch, on Seneca's tragedies, and his *Liber Augustalis*. The work for which he is best known today is his commentary on the *Divine Comedy* which, with its literal interpretations and current legends, has proved to be a valuable contribution to Dante scholarship.<sup>71</sup>

The commentary on Valerius was one of the last works undertaken by Benvenuto before his death in 1390.<sup>72</sup> Information concerning the accepted date of completion, 1388, is derived primarily from a letter written by Pier

<sup>67</sup> G. Natali in *Enciclopedia Italiana* s.v. "Benvenuto da Imola", VI, 661.

<sup>68</sup> For information on the life of Benvenuto see P. Toynbee, *Dante Studies and Researches* (London, 1902), 216-237.

<sup>69</sup> H. Hauvette, *Boccace* (Paris, 1914), 407, note 3.

<sup>70</sup> Toynbee, 223.

<sup>71</sup> Rambaldi, Benvenuto da Imola, *Commentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam*, ed. J. P. Lacaita (Florence, 1887), I, xix-xli. G. Tambrini, *Benvenuto Rambaldi da Imola* (Imola, 1885), 1.

<sup>72</sup> L. Baldisserri, *Benvenuto da Imola* (Imola, 1921), 70.



Paolo Vergerio<sup>73</sup> to Ugo da Ferrara, in which he mourned the loss of Benvenuto and inquired whether he had been able to complete his commentary on Valerius before he died.

For this study, the text of the commentary by Benvenuto was obtained from the unpublished manuscript of Poitiers 240 (135). The first page containing the courtly dedication to his patron Nicholas II of Este is missing from this manuscript and also from the Imola manuscript but is available in the Ambrosiana in Milan.<sup>74</sup> The commentary by Benvenuto is of special significance, for it was undertaken with the set purpose of correcting and supplementing the earlier commentary by Dionigi. The copyist of the Poitiers manuscript, in recognition of this close connection between the commentaries, included for purposes of comparison the complete commentary by Dionigi on Book I, omitting only a few quotations of the text. Benvenuto's commentary is then given chapter by chapter.

Although Benvenuto's commentary is briefer than Dionigi's, its method of analysis is similar. Each section begins with a concise summary of the contents of Valerius' *exempla*, followed by a running commentary in which individual words and phrases are explained. The final series of passages, which are invariably introduced by a *nota quod* or a *nota cum dicit*, direct the reader's attention to corrections of Dionigi's explanations or to additional information which had been neglected in the earlier work.

Benvenuto's commentary gives evidence of sound scholarship. His understanding of rhetorical terms is considerable and his interpretations reveal good judgment.<sup>75</sup> Each explanation is given with a minimum display of learning and with only the essential citations of authority.<sup>76</sup> In his criticism of existing practices and in his frequent allusions to customs of his own day he differs markedly from Dionigi.<sup>77</sup> Like Dionigi he had

<sup>73</sup> C. Combi and T. Luciani, "Epistole di P. P. Vergerio", in *Monumenti Storici de Storia Patria* (Venice, 1887), 1-2.

<sup>74</sup> L. Rossi-Case, *Di Maestro Benvenuto da Imola, Commentatore Dantesco* (Pergola, 1889), 90-91.

<sup>75</sup> I, 7, 4 Et ideo nota quod antiqui habebant potentiam mortis et vitae super servos. Postea fuit correctum una lege et ideo dicitur servus non a serviendo sed a servando quia servari debent et non occidi.

<sup>76</sup> I, 7, 1: Notandum quod Augustus fuit consecratus in terris. Consecratio hominis est ante mortem suam quod aliis non contingit. Unde a Romanis praenominatus est Augustus quasi iam consecratus est authenticus. Unde vide Hugutio qui dicit Augustus dicitur ab augendo, auxit imperium. Bene verum est quod auxit imperium, sed non ob id vocatus est Augustus. Immo istud nomen ante eum erat in usu apud Romanos et alios.

<sup>77</sup> Benvenuto in Book II, 1, 2 compares the behavior of Roman widows with those of his own day: Sed per totum annum non accipiebant virum. Sed erat eis annus funereus et planctus. Hodie autem et iam XX diebus post defunctum primi viri accipiunt secundum. He also noted the similarity between the *bullae* on the statue of Aemilius Lepidus (II, 1) and the charms soldiers carried

no acquaintance with the Greek language.<sup>78</sup>

There is evidence which suggests that Benvenuto was familiar with the commentary of Simon. Although the French commentator is never cited by name, Benvenuto indicated by the phrase *Dionysius et alii dicunt* that he had consulted some other work. Like Simon he cited Livy to show that Tanaquil was the wife of Tarquinius Priscus and not Ancus as Valerius had stated in the text.<sup>79</sup> In contradicting Dionigi's interpretation of *satiriscum* Benvenuto indicated no authority for his explanation that the word was connected with the half-human satyrs,<sup>80</sup> but the similarity to the French version seems more than coincidence. His account of the *tribunus plebis* (II, 2, 7) is possibly an abridged version of Simon's detailed exposition of the history of the office.

Benvenuto did not deny the contribution made by Dionigi, but was aware the usefulness of the earlier commentary was impaired by errors it contained. He, therefore, undertook his commentary to correct these errors and supply omitted information, intending his work to correct and supplement, rather than replace, Dionigi's commentary.<sup>81</sup> Benvenuto frequently praised Dionigi's interpretations of ideas, or by refraining from comment indicated his approval. In passages where Dionigi was excessively brief, Benvenuto supplied a more detailed account. Conversely, passages for which the earlier explanation seemed satisfactory were passed over quickly.

Errors in historical accuracy or in matters of language were pointed out by Benvenuto with some scorn. Frequently he offered a corrected version without stating specifically that Dionigi's commentary contained a conflicting account. Dionigi had stated in his commentary (I, 1, 2) that the

in his own day: Bulla ergo localis quod erant soliti portare triumphales in veste in qua erant inclusa quaedam remedia facientia contra invidiam ne iniret quia hodie in Balteis duces etiam portant facientia contra venenum vel incidium.

<sup>78</sup> Benvenuto transcribed the Greek phrase *κακὸν δαίμονα* (I, 7, 7) into Latin letters and gave its meaning as *malus daemonus*. He dismissed the Greek verse mentioned in the dream of Alexander (I, 7, ext. 2) briefly with the words: *graecum versum, qui tantum valet quantum somnium ne cures*. His ignorance of Greek is shown more conclusively in the absurd etymologies in his commentary on the *Divine Comedy*. (See Toynbee, 76 and 206.)

<sup>79</sup> Nota primo quod Valerius multum discordit a Tito Livio nam dicit quod Tanaquil fuit uxor Anci sed Titus Livius dicit quod fuit uxor Tarquinii Prisci.

<sup>80</sup> I, 7, ext. 7: *Dionysius et multi alii dicunt quod saturiscus est quidam serpens ex quo fit turiaca et quod voluit significare quod ipse esset sicut serpens in Sicilia sed hoc non placet quod serpens non significat potentiam sed credo intelligit deum silvanum satiricum qui habet cornua...*

<sup>81</sup> Rossi-Case stated that Benvenuto considered Dionigi's commentary to be a poor piece of work and went out of his way to contradict it. From my study I concluded instead that Benvenuto felt the chief weaknesses of the earlier work lay in individual inaccuracies in historical fact and matters of language but that he did not question the moral interpretations and philosophical discussions.

priestess whom the Romans established in office had two names, *Calcitania* and *Calliphoena*. Benvenuto insisted that *Calliphoena* was the only correct name in view of the connection of the word *calipho* with religious ceremonies. Dionigi was incorrect in his derivation of the epithet *Moneta* for the goddess had been known by the Romans as *Iuno Moneta* long before the Gauls came to Rome.<sup>82</sup> (This passage bears some similarity to the explanation given by Simon.) Benvenuto dismissed as *fabulosum* Dionigi's explanation of the twin plumes of Mars as a symbol of his double position as a god and as the father of the Romans. They more properly symbolized the god of war's courage and wisdom.<sup>83</sup> Dionigi had indicated that he had been unable to find the passage in Livy referred to by Valerius (I, 8, ext. 19). Benvenuto stated that this was not surprising since this passage was contained in one of the missing books: *Sed non est mirandum quod scripsit in libris qui non inveniuntur et est in libro de primo bello Punico*. Dionigi was not justified, according to Benvenuto, in condemning the practice of the Romans (II, 1, 2) of reclining at dinner and of having their wives dine with them. It had no base implications but was rather a sign of affection. In a section on the life of Marius (II, 2, 3) Dionigi explained the phrase *gentes devictae* as *Cimbri et Teutones*. Benvenuto demonstrated from the text that Valerius was referring instead to the Greeks. Dionigi interpreted *occentus soricis* (I, 1, 5) the interruption which occurred during Fabius Maximus' sacrifice, as some sort of noisy discussion (and this explanation was borrowed unchanged by Simon). Nothing could be further from the truth. The noise was caused by mice who were attracted by the odors emanating from the sacrifice.<sup>84</sup> Even in his own day, Benvenuto continued, mice were a problem, for they ate the *eucarista et alia divina*.

Although Benvenuto painstakingly indicated any errors which he discovered in Dionigi's commentary, he was, nevertheless, a fair critic and praised passages which he considered well interpreted. In his commentary on the story of Gnaeus Pompeius who compelled the Delphic priestess to

<sup>82</sup> I, 8, 3: Nota cum dicit Dionysius hic quod Iuno dicitur moneta quasi monens Romanos quia monuit Romanos tempore quo Roma erat obsessa a Gallis. Sed est falsum quia Camillus cepit Vehientanam civitatem antequam Galli ceperunt Romam. Iam Iuno in Roma vocabatur Iuno Moneta antequam Galli venerunt. Sed potest esse dicta moneta quia figura eius erat sculpta in moneta qua utebatur Vehientani et sic puto illo modo esse moneta.

<sup>83</sup> I, 8, 6: Dicit Dionysius quod per unam datur intelligi quod fuit deus, per aliam quod fuit pater Romanorum, quod fabulosum est. Sed datur intelligi quod homo belli casus debet esse munitus clipeo s. fortitudine corporis et sapientia animi.

<sup>84</sup> I, 1, 5: Nota quod Dionysius et alii exponunt quod per occentum soricis intendit Valerius strepitum malum quod Fabius Maximus audiverat in templo et ideo fuit privati. Sed nesciunt quod dicant. Nam fuit stridor muris nam in tabernaculo fiebat sacrificum modo ad odorem illarum carniarum occurebant mures modo cum Fabius sacrificaret, auditus est mus et privatus est.

answer his question (I, 8, 10) Benvenuto dismissed the problem with a brief reference to the corresponding section in Dionigi's work which had clearly stated why oracles were not reliable when the response was forced. Dionigi's discussion of whether it is better to have lost knowledge than never to have possessed it (I, 8, ext. 2) also called forth praise from Benvenuto: *Nota quod ista littera Valerii est fortis et pulchra et ideo Dionysius multum bene exponit eam*. This was followed by a resume of the main points in Dionigi's argument which revealed the fallacies in Valerius' account.

Where Benvenuto disagreed with Dionigi's analysis of a passage, he substituted his own, differing in content, but with marked similarities in style. The four *causae* which Dionigi stated to be the form underlying the work had, in Benvenuto's opinion, received sufficient treatment. In his introduction he indicated that the material itself required discussion, and it could best be considered under six points: author, contents, purpose, use, philosophical type, and title.<sup>85</sup>

Benvenuto's treatment of his material was determined to a large degree by his satisfaction with the explanations given by Dionigi. He set out to clarify passages in the earlier work which he felt contained omissions or lacked precision. In his commentary on Book I, 1, 3, Dionigi had made no mention of Scipio Nasica. Consequently, Benvenuto included a lengthy account of the life of this Scipio. As an additional illustration of the way in which Alexander paid no heed to warnings, Benvenuto added the story of the serpent who appeared before the king carrying in his mouth a wild herb which was to cure the wounded.<sup>86</sup> The practice of remarriage deprecated by Valerius (II, 1, 3) interested Benvenuto because of its application to the morals of his own day. Whereas Dionigi had contented himself with a brief explanation of the text, Benvenuto discussed the problem in detail and concluded with St. Paul's decree that remarriage was permissible provided a year of mourning intervened. On the subject of divorce Dionigi had merely indicated its legality in the Bible and had added some quotations from Jerome. Benvenuto enlarged the discussion to include the rejection of Caecilius from the Senate in the early days of Rome and concluded with some pertinent passages from Augustine's *De Amore Coniugali*.

<sup>85</sup> *Praemissa est materia commendatione multiplici. Nunc restat descendere ad materiam. Unde sunt quaedam precabunda. Et primo quis autor, secundo quae materia, tertio quis intentio, quarto quae utilitas, quinto cui parti philosophiae supponatur, sexto quis sit libri titulus.*

<sup>86</sup> I, 7, ext. 2: *Unde illa nocte vidit Alexander per somnium quendam serpentem adducentem sibi radiculam unius herbae et dicentem quod erat profera illis vulneribus et docuit locum herbae. Unde de die fecit inquiri herbam et sanavit omnes vulneratos et ideo arguit cum Valerius cum mortem aliorum vitare docuisset et suam vitare non potuerit.*

The concise distinction drawn by Benvenuto between *libido* and *luxuria* (IX, 1) contrasts sharply with Dionigi's circuitous definition.<sup>87</sup>

Similarly, where Dionigi's explanations are detailed and adequate, Benvenuto's comments are purposely brief. In the story of Lucretia (VI, 1, 1) Benvenuto began his account where Dionigi left off, recounting the dying words of the Roman matron and concluding with the information omitted by Dionigi that her body was carried to Rome. In his commentary on the chapter *De Somniis* (I, 7) Benvenuto did not include a digression on dreams. He merely indicated that the subject had been handled by Macrobius and others and stated that he knew of a different classification of three types of dreams, natural, bestial, and divine, which he described briefly.<sup>88</sup>

In summary, Benvenuto, a scholar of considerable renown, found much in Dionigi's work that was worthwhile, despite certain inaccuracies. In his own commentary he sought to correct these inaccuracies, and his selection of material was determined largely by his assessment of the contents of Dionigi's commentary. Moreover, he found little fault with the earlier commentator's treatment of moral problems and, in fact, praised specific passages.

However, even when Benvenuto's commentary was available, later commentators continued to refer at first hand to the work of Dionigi as is illustrated by the commentary of Johannes de Floremontis.

#### THE COMMENTARY OF JOHANNES DE FLOREMONTIS

Information concerning Johannes de Floremontis and the date of his commentary is derived from the dedication of his work to Ludovico Alidosi in the manuscript Bibliotheca Vaticana 9936. Ludovico Alidosi was a member of an important family in Imola. In 1396 he gained control of the family property and until his death in 1430 promoted humanistic studies and corresponded with the leading literary men of his day.<sup>89</sup> In the catalogue description, this manuscript is dated to the fifteenth century, but

<sup>87</sup> Notandum quod libido in plus est quam luxuria, quia libido non semper sonat in opus et actum, sed magis dicit carnalem habitum et carnis desiderium. Benvenuto recognized the fundamental difference: *Differentia est inter libidinem et luxuriam quia libido est ipse appetitus; luxuria est ipse actus et praesupponit libidinem.*

<sup>88</sup> I, 7: *Nota primo licet apud Macrobius et alios multos tractatum de materia somniorum, tamen scio quod quaedam sunt naturalia aliqua bestialia et aliqua divina. Somnia naturalia sunt quae naturaliter insunt hominibus et quae sunt vera et non falsa et de quibus Valerius loquitur. Bestialia sunt quae praecedunt a crapula et aliis immunditiis. Divina sunt quae fuerunt per revelationem dei et per revelationem intelligentiorum.*

<sup>89</sup> R. Galli in *Enciclopedia Italiana* s.v. "Alidosi, Famiglia", II, 493.

because of its dedication, it cannot be later than 1430. Another manuscript containing this commentary is Soissons 25 (27) which, however, is listed as an anonymous work because the preface is lost. My examination of it showed its contents to be identical with those of the Vatican manuscript.

The commentary of Johannes differs noticeably from the earlier commentaries by reason of its brevity, resulting from the author's emphasis on the explanation of the text with little regard for background details. No mention by name of the earlier commentators occurs. Digressions are included only at the ends of chapters and cover subjects not treated by earlier commentators, such as a discussion of fountains at the end of Book I, a discussion of the twofold aspect of *constantia* at the end of Book III, and at the end of Book VII, a long passage on the possibility of *felicitas* after death.

From my study of the commentary evidence can be cited for a dependence in both form and content upon the work of Benvenuto. (It is of interest to note the presence of a manuscript of Benvenuto's commentary in the library at Imola.) Like Benvenuto, Johannes divided his explanation of each of Valerius' *exempla* into three parts, introduction, running commentary, and general notes at the end. A phrase characteristic of Benvenuto, *per cuius intelligendum*, recurs frequently in Johannes' comments. At the beginning of Book II, Benvenuto divided the chapter into five parts and concluded with the expression *partes videbuntur*; Johannes also described the five divisions, concluding his account with the slight variation, *partes patebunt in processu*.

It is in matters of content that evidence of his borrowing from Benvenuto is most conclusive. For the meaning of the epithet *Moneta*, applied to the goddess Juno, his explanation is the same as Benvenuto's that the image of the goddess might have appeared on the town's coinage: *potest enim dici Iuno moneta quia forsan in moneta illius civitatis erat sculpta ymago*. His description of the origin of the different Roman games seems to have been derived largely from Benvenuto's account (II, 4, 1). In setting forth the basic distinction between *luxuria* and *libido* he apparently paraphrased the definition by Benvenuto: *libido est... prima cogitatio; luxuria est ipsa factio sceleris*.

However, close examination of the commentary by Johannes revealed that, in addition to the work of Benvenuto, he made even more extensive use of the earlier commentary by Dionigi, not through Benvenuto, but at first hand, as evidenced by citations from Dionigi which were not included in Benvenuto's work. He borrowed from Benvenuto's introduction the six aspects under which the *materia* of the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* should be considered, changing only the purpose assigned to Valerius, namely, to gain honor among posterity. In addition, however, he included the four *causae* for which Dionigi was responsible and which were not included in

Benvenuto's work. In other instances he adopted Dionigi's explanation even though Benvenuto had drawn attention to the error. Johannes, like Dionigi, based his explanation of the double crest of Mars (I, 8, 6) upon the tradition that he was both a god and the father of the Romans. Like Dionigi, he stated that Hamilcar was the father of Hannibal, despite Benvenuto's assertion that this was impossible since the events described took place before the Punic Wars. He complained, as Dionigi had done, that a certain passage (I, 8, ext. 19) could not be found in Livy, even though Benvenuto had explained that these books were missing: *Autor dicit quod Titus Livius narrat hoc sed tamen in Tito Livio non invenitur*. His interpretation of *satiriscum* (I, 7, ext. 7) as *ferocissimus serpens ex cuius sanguine fit tyriaca* is clearly borrowed from Dionigi. In addition, the account which follows of the tyrant's actions is an abbreviated version of Dionigi's comments on that passage. In his discussion of Croesus (I, 7, ext. 4) he, like Dionigi, stated that the Etruscans owed their origin to the Lydians: *Iste Croesus fuit rex Lydiae... a quibus habuerunt originem Tusci*. His passage on the dream of Cyrus (I, 7, ext. 5) begins as Dionigi's began with the statement that Astyages had only one daughter. In his account of Marius (II, 2, 3), particularly in his statement that he was the son of a carpenter, the similarity with Dionigi's description is evident. Again, like Dionigi and unlike Benvenuto, he dismissed the origin of the *tribunus plebis* (II, 2, 7) with a brief mention.

It can be concluded that Johannes had available and consulted the commentary by Benvenuto. However, he depended even more heavily upon the earlier commentary by Dionigi and in some instances apparently preferred the explanations of the earlier commentator. It is reasonable to assume that, among the commentators on Valerius, Dionigi had considerable prestige, and that almost one hundred years after it was written, his commentary was still considered a basic work on Valerius.

#### THE ANONYMOUS COMMENTARIES

##### 1) *Rheims 1332*

The catalogue listing of the manuscript Rheims 1332 as a commentary on Valerius by Lucas of Penna is in error. The reason for the error is that the manuscript contains the introduction and dedication to Pope Gregory from a commentary on Valerius by the mediaeval jurist, Lucas of Penna.<sup>90</sup> However, my study of the manuscript beyond the introduction

<sup>90</sup> As a result a copy of the complete commentary has not yet been located. Lucas, a contemporary of Benvenuto, was mainly interested in the interpretations of legal concepts but he was also deeply religious as is revealed in his introduction where he discusses the *exempla* of Valerius

revealed that it is undoubtedly the work of some anonymous commentator.

This anonymous commentary (Rheims 1332) is dated to the fourteenth century and is incomplete, since it comes to an end at Book VII, 2, ext. 1. In most instances it is quite brief, with many of the *externa* omitted altogether and certain passages summarily treated. Its lack of special form and the omission of the text set it apart from the earlier commentaries. In Book III, 6 the hand changes and the comments become somewhat lengthier, suggesting that the commentary is the work of more than one person.

The influence of the commentary by Dionigi is clearly discernible in the opening chapter. The anonymous author began with the interpretation of *prohemium* given by Dionigi, but added a different derivation from Lucas. The explanations of Lucas continue, identified by the words *dicit hic frater Lucas*, or *et hoc tenet hic frater Lucas*, but, nevertheless, the main source of information for the first three books was the commentary of Dionigi. Frequent references to *magister Dionysius* occur, but very often passages from the commentary of Dionigi were used without citations of his name. In the comments on the negligent Vestal Virgin (I, 1, 6), the anonymous author suggested as Dionigi had done, that she was whipped before being dismissed from the temple. The commentator offered two interpretations for the unusual epithet *Moneta* applied to Juno (I, 8, 3) *Juno dicta est moneta quia dea divitiarum dicitur vel a moneo, nes* familiar from the commentary of Dionigi. The view that Cyrus was predestined to rule, expressed by Dionigi (I, 7, ext. 5), was echoed by this commentator. Later in the same passage his reference to *magister Dionysius* confirms the borrowing.<sup>91</sup> His brief treatment of the actions of the tyrant Dionysius is clearly an abridgement of the detailed account by Dionigi as similarities of language confirm.<sup>92</sup> Dionigi's digression on dreams receives praise.<sup>93</sup> Another specific reference to Dionigi's interpretation occurs in the comments on the possibility of losing the knowledge that one formerly possessed (I, 8, ext. 2).<sup>94</sup> The remainder of

comparing them with the teachings of Jesus. For further information on Lucas see W. Ullman, *The Mediaeval Idea of Law as Represented by Lucas of Penna* (London, 1946); W. Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel* (Tubingen, 1910), 43.

<sup>91</sup> Cuius ortus ad intelligentiam huius vide Justinum li I et quod ponit magister historiae super Daniele ad finem (these sources were given in this form by Dionigi) quin etiam magister Dionysius bene hic explicat.

<sup>92</sup> Nam duo fuerunt, pater et filius in Justino libro... Cf. Dionigi: Justinus (dicit) duos fuisse Dionysios viros pessimos et lascivos, patrem videlicet et filium...

<sup>93</sup> Dionysius ponit pulchrum tractatum quod sit somnium in quo et unde generetur.

<sup>94</sup> Dionysius dicens quod in hoc miraculo duo sunt attendenda primo qualiter fieri potuerit quod ille percusso capite memoriam omnium eorum quae ante habuerant retineat et tamen scientiae memoriam perderet.



this passage consists of a summary of Dionigi's arguments, with details omitted, but much of the language retained. In the comments on Book II, 2, 3, both Lucas and Dionigi are cited with their respective explanations of the verb *acuit*.<sup>95</sup>

After Book III, 6, where the hand changes and the method alters slightly, references to Dionigi and Lucas become fewer, but the type of information given, with its precise definitions and legal terminology, suggests a strong dependence upon the work of Lucas.<sup>96</sup> However, Dionigi's commentary was still consulted as the definition of *felicitas* as distinguished from *bona fortuna* (VII, 1) suggests.<sup>97</sup> Not only is the similarity in language noticeable, but the information is included which Dionigi had stressed that Seneca had contradicted Valerius on the subject of the *felicitas* of Metellus. In his comments on Book III, 8, ext. 6 Dionigi had been purposely brief because the story had been covered by Justinus and because the passage in Valerius required little explanation: *littera tota clara est*. The anonymous commentator similarly mentioned that the story was recounted by Justinus and stated: *littera tota clara est de hoc Alexandro*.

My study of the manuscript Rheims 1332 suggests that Dionigi's commentary was regarded as a primary source on Valerius, particularly in the interpretation of philosophical questions. In this anonymous commentary the borrowings from both Dionigi and Lucas were numerous, but they were selected carefully for their suitability to the material.

## 2) Rheims 1333-1334

The manuscripts Rheims 1333, 1334 are catalogued incorrectly as a commentary in two parts on Valerius by Dionigi. The error can be attributed to the introduction which opens with the words: *Incipit primi libri Valerii Maximii prohemium quod secundum Dionysium de Burgo Sancti Sepulchri huius libri expositorem...* The remainder of the introduction from Dionigi's commentary is included with some slight variations. However, my study of the two manuscripts revealed that this is the work of one

<sup>95</sup> 'Acuit' dicit frater Lucas ex hoc quod iste Molo videtur fuisse magister Ciceronis. Magister Dionysius exponit hoc verbum acuit ianuam patefecit forte orationibus et eloquentiae suae.

<sup>96</sup> IV, 1: Dicit frater Lucas quod censuria prius biennio durabat. Populus, quia potestas in se magna erat, nam senatores eligere et remove ob vitia poterant censores, et quia maior ex diuturnitate fiebat eam redduxit ad annum.

<sup>97</sup> Felicitas duplex est una verax et perfecta. hoc est status omnium bonorum congregatione perfectus... non autem circa cognitionem veritatis et contemplationem divinorum et de hac facta hic Valerius agit. Cf. Dionigi: Bona fortuna non beatitudo quae dicitur status omnium beatorum aggregatione perfectus... est intentio auctoris non de illa quae consistit in speculatione primae veritatis et cognitione divinorum.

or more anonymous commentators and is based chiefly upon the commentary of Simon and Rheims 1332.

This commentary (Rheims 1333, 1334) can be dated to the early part of the fifteenth century for two reasons. It is necessarily later than Rheims 1332, and there is evidence which indicates that for the last two books the work of Nicholas (who completed the commentary of Simon in 1401) was used.<sup>98</sup>

This anonymous work consists mainly of a translation of Simon's comments into Latin, in combination with material from Rheims 1332. Rheims 1334 is simply a continuation of Rheims 1333. In addition, several distinct hands are discernible in the two manuscripts. The first hand continues up to Book I, 6, 6, and in this section references are made to Dionigi and to Simon with the explanation that he translated the text of Valerius into French. The epitomes for the missing portions of Valerius' text are included as well as Simon's reasons for including these passages. In addition, Simon's supplementary passages, *Additions du Traducteur*, are included, headed in each case by the word *Adduco*.

From Book I, 6 to the end the hand changes at least three times. Up to the middle of Book VII the commentary is virtually a translation of Simon's work. Early in this section a curious reference occurs to *magister Dionysius qui translationem Valerii in gallicam incepit*. References to Lucas occur, but these are taken directly from corresponding passages in Rheims 1332.

The author of Rheims 1334 continued to make use of the work of Simon. Borrowings from Rheims 1332 also were continued. The commentator's method of combining the material from his two sources can be illustrated by his comments on Book VI, 1. The explanation contained in Rheims 1332 included only Quintilian's definition of *pudicitia* and Jerome's views on Lucretia from his *Contra Jovinianum*, but with none of the details of the story. This information is presented with little change but to it is added a full account of the story of Lucretia derived from Simon, including even the references to Livy and Augustine. The summary treatment which the last two books receive indicates that the commentator had at his disposal only the work of Nicholas.

In view of its lack of originality and its generally confused state, the commentary contained in Rheims 1333 and 1334 contributes little to the tradition of commentaries on Valerius. The references to Dionigi in the first section suggest that his authority as commentator on Valerius was recognized, even when his work was not consulted at first hand.

<sup>98</sup> IX, 3: *Magister Nicolas addit quaedam quae bona sunt et moralia sed magis dici debent remedia contra iram.*

From this study it can be seen that the tradition of commentaries on Valerius begun by Dionigi in the early part of the fourteenth century continued through this century and on into the next. By the second half of the fifteenth century, however, a new group of commentaries had come into existence which based their interpretations on newly available sources of information and on the spreading knowledge of the Greek language.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> For information on the spread of the knowledge of the Greek language in Italy the following works proved most useful: L. R. Loomis, "The Greek Renaissance in Italy", *American Historical Review* 13 (1908), 246-258; J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Cambridge, 1908), II, 59-66. Typical of this development are the commentaries on Valerius by Omnibonus Leonicensis, his pupil Oliverius Arzignanensis, and Jodocus Bodius Ascensius. The incunabulum containing Omnibonus' commentary used in this study is located in the Yale University Library: Impressum Venetiis... MCCCCLXXXV. The incunabulum containing the commentary of Oliverius (and with it is bound the work of Ascensius) is located in the Library of Congress: Impressum Mediolani ... MCCCXIII.

I wish to express my gratitude to Prof. E. T. Silk for his helpful suggestions and to the Department of Classical Languages of Yale University for their assistance in renting microfilms of the manuscripts used in this study.

THE *DIT DOU BLEU CHEVALIER* :  
FROISSART'S IMITATION OF CHAUCER

James I. Wimsatt

THE very fact that Chaucer wrote and orally presented his poetry in the English language testifies to the contemporary use and acceptance of the native vernacular even at Edward III's court. Yet scholars sometimes ignore this obvious indicator in referring to the status of English among fourteenth-century men of letters. Recently, Normand Cartier, in denying Froissart's use of Chaucer's work, has implied that prevailing linguistic attitudes would have inhibited English influence on French poetry, especially love poetry: "Froissart, diteur de Philippa de Valenciennes à la cour d'Angleterre où la noblesse s'exprimait encore en français, et qui ne reconnaissait que le français comme langue de l'amour courtois, Froissart ne s'est jamais inspiré de la poésie anglaise pour composer ses dittiers".<sup>1</sup> At the same time that this emphatic statement implicitly underrates the acceptance of English, it also overrates the value placed on French. French, after all, in the minds of most literate men was inferior to Latin. And among the vernaculars of Europe it was not unrivalled as a medium of love poetry; Dante had good reason for thinking Provençal and Italian superior to the *langue d'oïl* for verse.<sup>2</sup>

Fourteenth-century linguistic prejudice, then, provides no substantial argument against the thesis of this essay, which is that Froissart in the *Dit dou Bleu Chevalier* imitated the narrative of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*. Demonstration of such imitation, of course, is important not only for showing the tolerant attitude of the time toward English. It also has broad relevance to the literary history of England and France, and it is significant for understanding the creative processes of Froissart, Chaucer, and their contemporaries.

<sup>1</sup> "Le Bleu Chevalier de Froissart et Le Livre de la Duchesse de Chaucer", *Romania*, 88 (1967), 236.

<sup>2</sup> *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Ch. 10.

The *Bleu Chevalier* was for a long time a neglected poem. The editor of Froissart's poetry, Auguste Scheler, introduces it in a paragraph;<sup>3</sup> the biographers, Kervyn de Lettenhove, Mary Darmesteter, and F. S. Shears ignore it; and B. J. Whiting devotes but a perfunctory summary to it in his survey of Froissart's verse.<sup>4</sup> Cartier's two essays on the poem have, however, remedied the neglect and have effectively pointed out the poem's considerable literary merits.<sup>5</sup> His second essay furthermore has established quite surely that the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Bleu Chevalier* are very near relatives: one of the poets clearly has made use of the other's narrative. The primary similarities between the stories are found in the garden settings, the love longing of the poet-narrators, the knights' lonely complaints, the unnoticed approach of the poets, the swooning of the knights, the poets' provocative questions and their anxiousness to help, the themes of consolation, and the abrupt departures of the knights.<sup>6</sup>

Surprisingly, no scholar mentioned the close relationship between the two poems until 1938. E. G. Sandras perhaps had Chaucer's elegy in the back of his mind when he mistakenly asserted a "perfect resemblance" between the *Complaint of the Black Knight* and the *Bleu Chevalier*,<sup>7</sup> but Wolfgang Clemen was the first to refer explicitly to the kinship of the *Duchess* to Froissart's poem.<sup>8</sup> Since then the fact of the influence has proved easier to agree upon than the line of influence. Professor Clemen postulates that Froissart is the imitator, though on what grounds he does not say. In my recent study of the sources of the *Book of the Duchess* I likewise suppose that Chaucer's poem influenced the *Bleu Chevalier*, and I support my conjecture with brief reference to the poets' borrowing habits.<sup>9</sup> Normand Cartier, however, as has been mentioned, asserts the opposite point of view in arguing the question at great length. Yet substantial evidence remains to be brought out which points unequivocally to the line of influence assumed by Clemen and myself. That evidence provides the substance of this essay.

Since the *Book of the Duchess* was surely written shortly after Blanche

<sup>3</sup> Ed. *Œuvres de Froissart: Poésies*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1870-72), 1, xxxiii-xxxiv. Citations of Froissart's poems herein, except for *Méliador*, are to this edition.

<sup>4</sup> Kervyn, *Œuvres de Froissart: Chroniques*, I, Pt. I (Brussels, 1870); Darmesteter, *Froissart* (Paris, 1894); Shears, *Froissart: Chronicler and Poet* (London, 1930); Whiting, "Froissart as Poet", *Mediaeval Studies*, 8 (1946), 201.

<sup>5</sup> "Le *Bleu Chevalier*", *Romania*, 87 (1966), 289-314; and *Romania*, 88 (1967), 232-252 (cited above).

<sup>6</sup> *Romania*, 88 (1967), 252.

<sup>7</sup> *Étude sur Chaucer* (Paris, 1859), 80.

<sup>8</sup> *Der Junge Chaucer* (Bochum-Langendreer, 1938), 56.

<sup>9</sup> *Chaucer and the French Love Poets*, U.N.C. Studies in Comparative Literature (Chapel Hill, 1968), 129-133.

of Lancaster's death in 1369, any information which serves to fix the date of Froissart's poem has great value for determining priority of composition. For that reason, consideration of the chronology of Froissart's work and the probable occasion of the *Bleu Chevalier* will form an important part of this essay. But first I wish to consider in some detail the affinities of the poems as they relate particularly to the borrowing habits of the poets; these provide, I think, very strong evidence of the priority of Chaucer's poem.

The *Bleu Chevalier* and the *Book of the Duchess* draw heavily on the same three works of Machaut: the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, *Remede de Fortune*, and the *Dit de la Fonteinne amoureuse*.<sup>10</sup> This coincidence of sources could not be a matter of chance, since the poets not only use many of the same narrative elements from the three stories of Machaut, but also they often recombine them identically. For example, in both the *Duchess* and the *Bleu Chevalier* the narrators eavesdrop in the woods on complaints of swooning lovers. This part of both narratives finds its ultimate model in the *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*. Then in the sequence which immediately follows, when the narrators approach the complaining knights and try to advise and comfort them, the narrative pattern for both is provided by the *Dit de la Fonteinne amoureuse* as well as *Behaingne*.<sup>11</sup> Such parallel employment of source material shows the complexity of the relationship between the poems of Froissart and Chaucer, though neither the direct correspondences between the works nor the similarity in the employment of sources indicate which poet is the imitator.

The *differences* between the poets' use of the same sources, however, throw considerable light on this problem. These differences show up mostly in wording. While the phraseology of the *Bleu Chevalier* is not notably like that of Machaut, that of the *Duchess* is heavily indebted to its models. To cite but one example, when the Dreamer in Chaucer's poem asks the Black Knight to tell his story, his words correspond remarkably to those of the knight in Machaut's *Behaingne* when he asks the dejected lady to explain her troubles to him (I italicize and assign corresponding numbers to phrases in the two passages which are particularly close):

But certes, sire, (1) *yif that yee*  
*Wolde ought discure me youre woo,*  
 I wolde, as wys God helpe me soo,

<sup>10</sup> References herein to these three works of Machaut are to Ernest Hoepffner, ed. *Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, Société des anciens textes français, 3 vols. (1908-21).

<sup>11</sup> For the line-by-line indebtedness of the *Duchess* to its sources, see the chart of borrowings in *Chaucer and the French Love Poets*, 155-162, and the article of George L. Kittredge, "Guillaume de Machaut and *The Book of the Duchess*", *PMLA*, 30 (1915), 1-24.

(2) *Amende hyt, yif I kan or may.*  
 Ye mowe preve hyt be assay;  
 For (3) *by my trouthe, to make yow hool,*  
 (4) *I wol do al my power hool*". (ll. 548-554)<sup>12</sup>

"Mai je vous jur et promet (3) *par ma foy,*  
 (1) *S'a moy volez descouvrir vostre anoy,*  
 Que (4) *je feray tout le pooir de moy*  
 De (2) *l'adrecier*". (ll. 89-92)

Chaucer translates nearly every word of the French passage. When the narrator in the *Bleu Chevalier* comparably asks the Knight to tell his story, however, his phrasing is quite different from Machaut's (and from Chaucer's) and the suggestion that he might bring comfort is not made:

"Mès, s'il vous plest, ciers sires, dittes moi  
 Pourquoi ensi une heure en esbanoi,  
 L'autre en dolour,  
 Avés vous hui perseveré le jour;  
 Je vous ai bien poursievi sans sejour,  
 Mes onques voir n'oc merveille grignour  
 Com de cesti". (ll. 202-208)

Not all of the parallels between the *Duchess* and the *Bleu Chevalier* find a source in Machaut. Some, such as the distinctive color of the knights' clothing, exist independent of other works; and one of the most striking correspondences originates with the *Romance of the Rose*. When in both poems the knights seem ready to despair, and the narrators tell them to follow the example of Socrates by ignoring the changes of Fortune, their words recall the passage in the *Rose* when Raison, advising the lover to leave the service of the God of Love, tells him to be firm like Socrates in the face of adversity:

"Le deu lairas qui ci t'a mis,  
 E ne priseras une prune  
 Toute la roe de Fortune.  
 A Socratès seras semblables,  
 Qui tant fu forz e tant estables". (ll. 5844-48)<sup>13</sup>

In the *Duchess* the Dreamer further warns the Black Knight against despair, which might lead him foolishly to kill himself, as Medea killed herself for the love of Jason, Phyllis for Demophon, Dido for Aeneas, Echo for Narcissus, and Samson for Delilah (ll. 717-739). Froissart's narrator,

<sup>12</sup> Citations of the *Book of the Duchess* herein are to F. N. Robinson, ed. *The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 2nd ed. (Boston, 1957).

<sup>13</sup> Citations of the *Rose* herein are to Ernest Langois, ed. *Le Roman de la Rose*, Société des anciens textes français, 5 vols. (Paris, 1914-24).

using different classical examples, likewise tells the Blue Knight to have courage like Socrates in the face of Fortune; do not be like Píramus, he advises, who murdered himself for the love of Thisbe, nor like Leander, who drowned himself for Hero (ll. 240-256).

For the whole passage in the *Duchess* Chaucer draws detail as well as general inspiration from the *Romance of the Rose*. Besides the fact that his narrator says that Socrates did not care *three straws* for Fortune's powers, which obviously is related to Raison's saying that Socrates would not give a *prune* for all the wheel of Fortune, Chaucer's examples of suicides are all drawn from the *Rose* — from Jean de Meun's version of the suicides of Medea, Phyllis, and Dido (ll. 13174-262), and from the references to the sad fates of Echo and Samson (ll. 1444-56, 9203-06). On the other hand, despite the strong general parallel between the passages in the *Bleu Chevalier* and the *Duchess*, there are no important correspondences beyond the name *Socrates* between Froissart's wording and that of either the *Duchess* or the *Rose*, nor are Froissart's examples found in either poem.

Chaucer's wording in the *Book of the Duchess* is everywhere much nearer to the ultimate sources than is the phraseology of the *Bleu Chevalier*. This fact would not be a strong indicator of the precedence of the *Duchess* if there were comparable parallels in wording between the *Bleu Chevalier* and Chaucer's poem. But Chaucer's phraseology is consistently different from Froissart's even at the points of closest narrative correspondence. Consequently, to posit that Chaucer's elegy followed the *Bleu Chevalier* is to posit that he employed the work in a manner entirely different from that in which he used the other five major sources of the *Duchess*. Besides the three poems of Machaut that have been mentioned and the *Romance of the Rose*, all of which contributed at the same time to the narrative and wording of the elegy, Chaucer used Froissart's own *Paradys d'Amours*, as the model particularly for the dream frame. With that poem, too, the diction of the *Duchess* corresponds where the stories correspond.<sup>14</sup> The relationship of the sources, including the *Paradys*, to the *Duchess* contrasts sharply with the relationship of the *Bleu Chevalier* to Chaucer's poem.

Throughout his career Chaucer was to use simultaneously the narratives, the details, and the diction of his sources. When he adopted the story or general plan of another work he invariably made significant use of the wording. Froissart, on the other hand, did not employ the phraseology or many of the smaller details of the works — usually Machaut's *dits* — that provided his narrative patterns. *Paradys d'Amours*, for example, is based

<sup>14</sup> See *Chaucer and the French Love Poets*, 120-124, for a summary and for a discussion of the literary relations of *Paradys d'Amours*.



largely on Machaut's *Remede de Fortune*, yet there are few significant similarities in diction between these poems. Thus, while the correspondence of the *Bleu Chevalier* to the *Duchess* is not at all that provided by Chaucer's typical source, it is quite like the correspondence which exists between Froissart's works and their models. The poets have virtually left their fingerprints; their borrowing habits indicate very strongly that, though Chaucer used Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours* for the *Duchess*, Froissart in turn used the *Duchess* for the *Bleu Chevalier*.

Two of Normand Cartier's arguments, nevertheless, which would place the composition of the *Bleu Chevalier* early in Froissart's career, particularly require discussion to substantiate the priority of the *Book of the Duchess*. In the first place, Cartier, like Anthime Fourrier, believes that the single manuscript in which the *Bleu Chevalier* appears presents Froissart's works in order of composition.<sup>15</sup> This would date the *Bleu Chevalier* before 1365. Secondly, he argues that the poem was written specifically for Louis of Anjou when he was a prisoner in England in the early 1360's. This also would place Froissart's poem substantially before Chaucer's. Neither contention, however, stands scrutiny; the manuscript can be shown conclusively to have a non-chronological order, and one can bring forward a much more likely subject for the poem than Louis. We will consider first the chronology of Froissart's works, then the occasion of the *Bleu Chevalier*.

There exist two important manuscript collections of Froissart's poems, B.N., fr. 830 and 831. These were made respectively in 1393 and 1394 in the same workshop,<sup>16</sup> perhaps under the supervision of Froissart himself — which might argue for the chronological ordering of the manuscripts, even though several poems which appear in Ms 830 are missing from Ms 831, and two major works, the *Espinette amoureuse* and the *Prison amoureuse*, appear in a different sequence. A stronger argument for chronological order for Ms 830 lies in the fact that the times of composition which up to now have been settled on for Froissart's poems all fit in with the manuscript order. The works in the manuscript appear as follows; accepted times of composition are in parentheses:<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Anthime Fourrier, ed. *L'Espinette amoureuse* (Paris, 1963), 31; Cartier, *Romania*, 87 (1966), 313-314, and 88 (1967), 238.

<sup>16</sup> For a recent description of the manuscripts, see Fourrier, 7-12.

<sup>17</sup> The assigned times of composition are based on the following: (a) The *Joli Buisson de Jonece* purportedly commemorates the poet's vision of November 30, 1373 (ll. 855-860), so was probably written shortly after that date. In this poem Froissart mentions (ll. 443-452) four of his major works in order of composition: *Paradys d'Amours*, *Orloge amoureuse*, *Espinette amoureuse*, and *Prison amoureuse*. (b) *Paradys d'Amours*, since it influenced the *Book of the Duchess*, was written before 1369. (c) The *Débat dou Cheval et dou Levrier* commemorates the trip to Scotland that Froissart made in

- 1) *Paradys d'Amours* (1362-69)
- 2) *Temple d'Onnour*
- 3) *Joli Mois de May*
- 4) *Orloge amoureuse* (before *Espinette amoureuse*)
- 5) *Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite*
- 6) *Dit dou Bleu Chevalier*
- 7) *Débat dou Cheval et dou Levrier* (1365)
- 8) *Espinette amoureuse* (c. 1370, before *Prison amoureuse*)
- 9) *Prison amoureuse* (1371-72)
- 10) Lyric poetry (1362-93)
- 11) *Joli Buisson de Jonece* (1373)
- 12) *Dit dou Florin* (1389)
- 13) *Plaidorie de la Rose et de la Violette* (1392)

Except for the lyric poetry (item 10), which though composed early and late is collected in a single section,<sup>18</sup> the accepted dates support the inference that the manuscript is arranged chronologically. However, an inspection of the *Temple d'Onnour*, the second item, whose dating has not been previously fixed, destroys this illusion of order, for that work could not have been composed before 1369.

Though no year has been accepted by scholars, those who have discussed the *Temple d'Onnour* have thought it late. The poem ostensibly celebrates the wedding of Desir, son of Onnour, to Plaisance, daughter of Courtoisie; the bulk of the work consists of a moral lecture by Onnour to his son and new daughter-in-law. Both Scheler and Kervyn de Lettenhove guess that Onnour is meant to represent Guy of Blois, an important patron of Froissart, and that the poem commemorates the 1386 wedding of Guy's son, Louis of Châtillon, to Marie, the daughter of the Duke of Berry.<sup>19</sup> The heavy mora-

1365. (d) Anthime Fourier, the most recent editor of *Espinette amoureuse*, proposes 1370 or shortly before as the probable time of composition for that poem (pp. 30-32). (e) *Prison amoureuse* rather certainly is addressed to Wenceslas of Brabant while he was a prisoner of war in 1371-72. (f) A rubric in Ms 831 states that the poems contained in it were composed between 1362 and 1394, which provides a *terminus a quo* of 1362 for the *Paradys* and two *termini* for the lyrics. (g) The *Dit dou Florin* was written following Froissart's visit to the Count of Foix in 1388-89, and (h) the names mentioned in the *Plaidorie de la Rose et de la Violette* place its writing in 1392. See Scheler's Introduction, 1, xvi-l, for various supplementary details.

<sup>18</sup> The segregation of the lyrics is to be expected. If a chronological order is to be assumed for the manuscript, however, one might look for each classification of lyric likewise to be arranged by date of composition. The *pastourelles*, at least, are not. See the discussion of the seven dateable *pastourelles* in Whiting, 210-212.

<sup>19</sup> Scheler, 1, xlvi-xlviii; Kervyn, *Chroniques*, I, Pt. I, 298-299. Froissart's Pastourelle XIII explicitly celebrates the wedding of Marie and Louis.

listic content of the poem, suggestive of a writer well beyond his youth, agrees with such late dating. Happily, there is more positive evidence that the work is not as early as its place in the manuscript might seem to indicate.

Shortly before *Onnour* begins his extensive lecture in the *Temple d'Onnour*, the poet pauses to make a personal comment about the sumptuousness of the wedding celebration. He says that even though his experience in royal company is very considerable, he has never seen anything quite so elaborate. In the course of this aside he states,

J'ai de jadis  
Veü des rois jusques à dis  
E un empereur à Rome. (ll. 295-297)

Though he saw the kings of France, Scotland, and Cyprus at the English court in the 1360's, it is most doubtful that Froissart could number ten kings in his acquaintanceship before the next decade. In any event his first and only chance to see "an emperor at Rome" came in 1369. After participating in the wedding of Lionel of Clarence at Milan in 1368, Froissart continued on through Italy to Rome,<sup>20</sup> there he could see Emperor Charles IV, who in the latter part of 1368 and the first months of 1369 was in Italy at the invitation of Pope Urban V. The *Temple d'Onnour*, then, was certainly composed after the *Débat dou Cheval et dou Levrier*, which is the seventh item in the manuscript and whose dating in 1365 is quite solid.

It is also most probable that the poem placed fifth in the manuscript, the *Dittié de la Flour de la Margherite*, is out of chronological order. This work, one of several French poems celebrating the Margherite, apparently was influenced by Guillaume de Machaut's *Dit de la Marguerite*, as John L. Lowes postulated.<sup>21</sup> The *Dit* was written only after Pierre of Cyprus' attack on Alexandria late in 1365,<sup>22</sup> so that Froissart could not have known it before 1366. The *Dittié* too, therefore, seems to have been written after 1365, though it precedes the *Débat dou Cheval et dou Levrier* in the manuscript. With two poems out of order, one must conclude that the sequence of the first part of Ms 830 has little significance for dating the works.

The place of the *Bleu Chevalier* in the manuscript thus does not suggest

<sup>20</sup> See Shears, 28.

<sup>21</sup> "The Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* as Related to the French *Marguerite* Poems and the *Filostrato*", *PMLA*, 19 (1904), 597-598.

<sup>22</sup> For the association of the poem with Pierre, see Lowes, 594-596, and James I. Wimsatt, *The Marguerite Poetry of Guillaume de Machaut*, U.N.C. Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures (Chapel Hill, 1970), 41-50. Since the narrator of the *Dit de la Marguerite* depicts himself as overseas (*Œuvres de Guillaume de Machaut*, ed. Prosper Tarbé [Paris, 1849], 124), and Machaut did not know Pierre before 1364, the poem must have been written after Pierre's tour of Europe in 1362-65, which ended when he sailed for Alexandria.

a date before 1369. Nor do the events and figures of the 1360's that M. Cartier suggests provide its probable occasion of composition. Cartier's theory, very briefly, is that just as Machaut's *Dit de la Fonteinne amoureuse* was written to console the newly-wed Duke of Berry on his imprisonment in England (1360-65) in accord with the terms of the Treaty of Brétigny, so the *Bleu Chevalier*, which imitates at many points the *Fonteinne amoureuse*, was written to console Louis of Anjou, younger brother of the Duke of Berry, who was held in England at the same time.<sup>23</sup>

To support his contention Cartier relies in the first place on the analogies which the situation of the Blue Knight has to that of Louis. Both men are young and of very high rank, and both are enduring captivity to uphold the honor of their lords, being thereby separated from their ladies. Furthermore, Cartier claims, the Blue Knight's impatience in his captivity is particularly appropriate to Louis, who complained forcefully of his continuing captivity and in 1363 returned home, breaking his word.<sup>24</sup>

Of course, says Cartier, when Froissart wrote the poem in 1362, Louis would not have appreciated it; rather he probably received it with a "froideur glaciale ou un dédain cuisant". He would not have liked that "un vilain, rimailleur hainuyer dans la dépendance de la reine d'Angleterre" pictured him as crying, complaining, sighing, and weeping under the eyes of his detested jailers.<sup>25</sup> In Cartier's view Froissart's later attitude toward Louis, evidenced in his picturing of him in the *Chronicles* as a proud, malicious man, and in his failure to name Louis in the long lists of his benefactors, is related to Louis' rejection of the *Bleu Chevalier*. For this reason, too, Cartier states, Froissart eliminated the work from the list of his poems in the *Joli Buisson de Jonece*, and this moreover explains the "suppression" of the poem in the manuscript of 1394. Louis' seizure in 1381 of a manuscript of Froissart's *Chronicles*, destined for the English court, simply corroborates the supposition of a personal enmity.<sup>26</sup>

Cartier's whole case for seeing Louis as the Blue Knight, built as it is on a series of conjectures and on facts that support his contention only negatively, seems extremely weak. Though the narrative of the poem ostensibly fits Louis' captivity, the whole situation envisaged evokes questions that appear to me unanswerable. How could Louis, however difficult, have been enraged at being depicted as a weeping lover when his chivalric contemporaries everywhere, as manly and brave as he, cultivated the pose? How could the circumspect Froissart, a man who for many years of war

<sup>23</sup> *Romania*, 87, 293-303.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 303-308.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 306-307.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 310-314.

and uneasy peace moved easily between courts variously sympathetic to the French and English, and who was on intimate terms with partisans of both sides of the highest rank, so misjudge Louis that he would with good intentions write a poem in his honor that infuriated him?

Is it not clear, furthermore, that fourteenth-century court poets of the status of Machaut, Froissart, and Chaucer did not address works to noblemen on speculation? Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, written for John of Luxembourg, Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, written for John of Gaunt, and Froissart's own *Prison amoureuse*, composed for Wenceslas of Brabant, were not primarily attempts by the poets to ingratiate themselves with prospective patrons. Rather, the poets were writing for benefactors whom they knew to be well-disposed toward their efforts. The chances that Froissart, the tactful secretary of the English Queen, would have essayed addressing a *dit* to an ill-disposed and bad-tempered young French duke, when there were so many receptive and high-ranking lovers of poetry around him at the time — the Duke of Berry, Guy of Blois, the Queen, John of Gaunt, and so on — seem virtually nil. He had better ways to spend his time.<sup>27</sup>

There is at least one more telling objection to Cartier's thesis. Froissart in the 1370's was to write a second, much longer story of a "bleu chevalier" — *Méliador*, a poem which we shall discuss shortly. If Froissart was trying to efface the memory of his earlier work, creating a new Blue Knight was surely no way to do it.

Numerous factors, then, suggest that Louis of Anjou was not a likely subject for Froissart's poem. A much more probable candidate is Duke Wenceslas of Brabant, whose capture by the Duke of Julers at the Battle of Bastweiler in 1371 evoked Froissart's lengthy *Prison amoureuse*, and could equally well have provided the occasion for the *Bleu Chevalier*. Wenceslas was himself a poet and for many years a patron and great benefactor of Froissart, and without question he would have prized literary works written for him. At first blush there are apparent biographical problems in seeing the Blue Knight as a representative of Wenceslas: the Blue Knight in the poem is a youthful lover who worries about wasting his early years in captivity before he has made his reputation as a knight, whereas Wenceslas was a well-established ruler of thirty-four at the time of his capture.<sup>28</sup> But this discrepancy presents a problem more apparent than real, for the Blue Knight is first of all a literary creation. Though he is in addition

<sup>27</sup> Cartier's suggestion (*ibid.*, 308-311) that Froissart might even have written the poem with an intention "nettement satirique" after Louis broke his captivity in 1364 seems to me not possible. It is not that Froissart lacked a sense of irony, but rather that the *Bleu Chevalier* and poems like it, while they accommodate light humor very well, would make very poor satire.

<sup>28</sup> Cartier recognizes some of the compelling reasons for seeing the Blue Knight as Wenceslas, but he is stumped by these "détails biographiques". See *Romania*, 87, 290.

a surrogate of a real person, he is an idealized one, just as the Black Knight in the *Book of the Duchess* is an idealized representative of Chaucer's patron. In medieval terms especially the ideal lover is very young. Therefore the handsome, well-built Black Knight is said to be lightly-bearded and five years younger than his real-life counterpart, John of Gaunt, who in 1369 was twenty-nine:

Than found I sitte even upryght  
 A wonder wel-farynge knyght —  
 By the maner me thoghte so —  
 Of good mochel, and ryght yong therto,  
 Of the age of foure and twenty yer,  
 Upon hys berd but lytel her,  
 And he was clothed al in blak. (ll. 451-457)

In the same way the Blue Knight, despite differences of age and accomplishment, may be seen as a literary stand-in for the older Wenceslas of Brabant.

The romance of *Méliador* seems to substantiate this identification. Froissart avowedly composed *Méliador* at the request of Wenceslas and inserted in the romance all of the love poems which Wenceslas wrote.<sup>29</sup> Even though the Duke never saw the final finished version of the poem, we may assume that Froissart began writing it long before Wenceslas' death in 1383, whether in the 1360's as the editor Auguste Longnon asserts, or after 1373 as Mr. Kittredge claims.<sup>30</sup> We may also assume that the hero *Méliador*, though only eighteen at the beginning of Froissart's story and but five years older at the end, is in some sense a surrogate of Wenceslas, for not only did the poet write the story at the Duke's request and assign many of the Duke's own love poems to *Méliador*, but also he outfitted *Méliador*

<sup>29</sup> In the *Dit dou Florin*, he states of *Méliador*:

Dedens ce romanc sont encloses  
 Toutes les chançons que jadis,  
 Dont l'ame soit en paradys,  
 Que fist le bon duc de Braibant,  
 Wincelaus dont on parla tant;  
 Car uns princes fu amoureux,  
 Gracious et chevalerous;  
 Et le livre me fist jà faire  
 Par très grant amoureux affaire,  
 Comment qu'il ne le veïst onques. ((ll. 298-307)

Froissart also says in the *Chronicles* that he wrote *Méliador* at Wenceslas' request to show his regard for the Duke, and he reiterates that the romance contains all the "chansons, ballades, rondeaux et virelais" which Wenceslas wrote. *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn, XI, 85.

<sup>30</sup> George L. Kittredge, "Chaucer and Froissart", *Englische Studien*, 26 (1899), 321-336; Longnon, ed. *Méliador*, Société des anciens textes français, 3 vols. (Paris, 1895-99), I, xliii-lii; 3, 363-369. References herein to *Méliador* are to this edition.

in Wenceslas' heraldic colors, blue and gold. His clothes all of blue and his shield painted with a golden sun, Méliador is called alternately "le chevalier du soleil d'or" and "li bleus chevaliers".<sup>31</sup> The latter appellation connects Méliador directly, and Wenceslas by association, with the hero of the *Bleu Chevalier*.

The supposition that Froissart wrote the *Bleu Chevalier* for Wenceslas fits in well with the details of the poem. The Blue Knight's desperate longing for his lady suits perfectly the poetic pose of Wenceslas in the verses of his that were intercalated in *Méliador*. And the Blue Knight's statement that he is enduring captivity for his honor and his lord, which Cartier thought especially appropriate for Louis of Anjou, also is quite appropriate for Wenceslas:

Et se je prenc ores ci mon sejour,  
C'est en gardant ma foy et mon honnour,  
Et si est pour mon naturel signour. (ll. 121-123)

Were Louis the Blue Knight his *signour* would be his father, John the Good. But Wenceslas too had a "natural lord", his brother Emperor Charles IV, a man twenty years his senior.

It was Charles who made Wenceslas a duke and to whom Wenceslas looked for help in captivity; and it was from Charles that help finally came. In Froissart's other poem written for Wenceslas while he was a prisoner, the *Prison amoureuse*, the captive lover in a *complainte* asks that the eagle, who is above all other noble birds, be summoned to help him:

Dont li requier  
Qu'il me delivre dou dangier  
Où je me voi.  
Bien le puet faire et de legier,  
Car tout oisel qu'on doit prisier,  
Soient loiriet ou à loirier,  
Sont desous soi. (ll. 3123-29)

The eagle who is to aid him clearly is the Roman eagle, the Holy Roman emperor.

The *Dit dou Bleu Chevalier* may even have been designed by Froissart as a plea to Charles on Wenceslas' behalf, for toward the close of the *Dit* the Blue Knight asks the narrator to compose a poem telling about their meeting and then to have it recited in many places so that his lady will hear about his sufferings in one place or another (ll. 424-448). This request could have helped make appropriate the recitation of the poem before the Emperor.

<sup>31</sup> "Knight of the sun of gold" is more frequent (See, e.g., ll. 3418, 3817, 3885); but "blue knight" comes first and is also common (e.g., "li bleus errans", 3295; "li bleus chevaliers", 3581, 10800; "le chevalier bleu", 7006-07).

The narrator in any event seems quite earnest about doing as he is asked:

Or me couvient, ensi li ai prommis,  
Qu'en pluseurs lieus soit recordés et dis. (ll. 481-482)

Whatever the role of the poem in the liberation of Wenceslas, it was Charles, as Froissart tells us in the *Chronicles*, who brought it about: "Depuis fu li dus de Braibant delivrez de le prison le duc de Jullers par le puis-sanche le roy Carle d'Allemagne et empereur de Rome, son frère".<sup>32</sup>

In the joyous Pastourelle VI, celebrating the liberation of the Duke, Froissart again credits the Emperor's power and goodness:

"Par le puissance le ravons  
L'empereour, qui tant est bons,  
Son frere...". (ll. 42-44)

Froissart's close association with Wenceslas and his two other poems occasioned by his captivity; the connections between the Blue Knight, Méliador, and Wenceslas; and the aptness of the details of the poem to the situation all indicate that Wenceslas' imprisonment, which followed by two years Chaucer's composition of the *Book of the Duchess*, supplied the subject of the *Bleu Chevalier*. Thus, internal evidence provided by the text of the works and external indications supplied by history and by Froissart's other writings combine to suggest powerfully that Froissart borrowed from Chaucer for the *Bleu Chevalier*. He had perhaps obtained a copy of the elegy to Blanche when Richard Stury, his friend and an associate of Chaucer, visited Wenceslas' court in 1371.<sup>33</sup> The poem which he subsequently modelled on Chaucer's work thence became one of the first French poems to be importantly influenced by a poem in English.

Froissart, as I have previously argued, was not the only French poet of the time to be inspired by the *Duchess*. Two *complaintes* by Granson, probably written between 1372 and 1374,<sup>34</sup> use its central situation; and the anonymous *Songe vert* is related to it in several important ways.<sup>35</sup> These three works also testify to the familiarity of fourteenth-century French poets with Chaucer's poem and to their willingness to use an English model. Chaucer, whom Deschamps called *grand translateur*, also provided materials to "translators"; and Froissart was the most prominent of these.

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<sup>32</sup> *Chroniques*, ed. Siméon Luce, 8, Pt. II, 275.

<sup>33</sup> See Shears, 32.

<sup>34</sup> Both Cartier and I have concluded that Granson's *complaintes* postdate the *Book of the Duchess*. See *Romania*, 88, 233-235; and *Chaucer and the French Love Poets*, 143-146.

<sup>35</sup> A dating after 1369 for the *Songe vert* also seems indicated. See Ethel Scaton, "Le *Songe Vert*: Its Occasion of Writing and its Author", *Medium Aevum*, 19 (1950), 1-16; and *Chaucer and the French Love Poets*, 137-142.



## THE STRUCTURE AND SOURCES OF *PATIENCE*

William Vantuono

THAT *Patience*<sup>1</sup> was constructed as a formal homily has been open to debate. Ordelle Hill has stated, "*Patience* is first of all a poem".<sup>2</sup>

In maintaining that its structural background was the twelfth-and-thirteenth-century rhetoric manuals of men like Matthew of Vendôme, who wrote *Ars Versificatoria*, c. 1175, and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, who wrote *Poetria Nova*, 1208-13, *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, and *Summa de coloribus rhetoricis*,<sup>3</sup> Hill disagreed with Charles Moorman's belief that *Patience* belongs structurally to the homily group with its divisions of theme, ante-theme, dilation, exemplum, peroration, and closing formula.<sup>4</sup>

It would appear that Moorman's conviction is correct, if one is to speak of structure alone. Hill himself points out, "The rhetoricians did not spend much of their time talking about the structure (*dispositio*) of a poem. They

<sup>1</sup> *Patience* is the third of four poems in the unique Cotton MS, Nero A. x. Art. 3 in the British Museum. The others are *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. All four poems were written in the latter half of the fourteenth century; they are usually ascribed to one author. The manuscript was reproduced in facsimile with an introduction by Sir Israel Gollancz, *Early English Text Society*, 162 (London, 1923). *Patience* has been edited by Richard Morris in *Early English Alliterative Poems*, *Early English Text Society*, 1 (London, 1864); second edition, 1869 — Hartley Bateson, (Manchester University Press, 1912); second edition, 1918 — Sir Israel Gollancz in Volume 1 of *Select Early English Poems*, (London, 1913); second edition, 1924 — J. J. Anderson, (Manchester University Press, 1969) — William Vantuono, (unpublished New York University Doctoral Dissertation, 1969).

<sup>2</sup> "*Patience*: Style, Background, Meaning, and Relationship to *Cleanness*", (unpublished Illinois University Doctoral Dissertation, 1965), 47.

<sup>3</sup> These texts have been edited by Edmond Faral in *Les Arts Poétiques du XII<sup>e</sup> et du XIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle* (Paris, 1924).

<sup>4</sup> "The Role of the Narrator in *Patience*", *Modern Philology*, 61 (1963), 90. Moorman writes: "While I would of course like to be able to establish beyond any sort of doubt that the poem deliberately echoes the composition and structure of the medieval sermon, the great variations in pulpit oratory in the period make such a case nearly impossible to prove to everyone's satisfaction, though I myself am convinced that the poet is consciously making use of sermon form".

were concerned largely with the ornaments of style or colors of rhetoric".<sup>5</sup> I do not disagree with Hill's primary thesis that *Patience* should be studied as a poem, for within the bare structural outline is the work of a highly creative artist who knew all of the techniques of versification which were taught by the rhetoricians, but the poet was also a moralist. He composed what may be described as a poetic sermon. He must have known the methodology of the art of preaching, and though he reshapes this art to suit his own needs in accordance with his poetic leanings, the *artes praedicandi* do seem to be the background from which he drew.

The following study will examine the structure of *Patience* and analyze its sources in an attempt to classify it as a formal homily. Viewed simply as a poem, the 531 alliterative lines of *Patience* may be divided into a 60-line Prologue, an exemplum of 467 lines, and a brief Epilogue of 4 lines. Its main source is "The Prophecy of Jonas" in the Vulgate, but there is ample evidence that the poet used the eight Beatitudes from the gospel of Matthew (V, 3-10), verses 8 and 9 of psalm 93, perhaps verses 2 to 5 of psalm 6, *Eiusdem de Iona Propheta*, once ascribed to Tertullian, *Naufragium Jonae Prophetiae* by the twelfth-century French Bishop Marbod of Rennes, the "Hymnus Ieiunantium" in Prudentius' *Liber Cathemerinon*, Jerome's Commentary on "The Prophecy of Jonas", and Tertullian's *Liber de Patientia*.

For many of the ideas presented in this study, I am indebted to G. R. Owst's *Preaching in Medieval England*.<sup>6</sup> Owst mentions, among others, two influential Dominican preachers of the fourteenth century, John de Bromyard, who wrote *Summa Predicantium*, and Thomas Walleys, who wrote *Ars Predicandi*. Owst talks of the blotting out of all "valid distinctions between treatise and poem and sermon proper".<sup>7</sup> It is possible to detect resemblances in the techniques advocated by the preachers and those devices taught by the rhetoricians. This is not surprising when one considers that both moral discourse and poetic composition are forms of communicating meaning, and, in the medieval period, both were usually intended for recitation.

There were three sermon-types in this period. The first was based on the text and narrative of the Bible and was treated in a straightforward manner. This was the older type, and the poet of *Patience* was most indebted to it.

<sup>5</sup> Dissertation, p. 17. Hill notes, "According to the rhetoricians, there were eight ways of amplifying a poem: description, apostrophe, personification, repetition, periphrasis, contrast, comparison, and digression" (p. 22). Of these eight, the poet uses five especially to motivate the character of Jonas and to develop his theme within the structure. These five are: description, repetition, periphrasis, contrast, and comparison.

<sup>6</sup> Cambridge University Press, 1926.

<sup>7</sup> Owst, 277.

The second type was more modern; it was related to the method of the university schools and the coming of the friars into the Church. This method involved logical distinctions and formalities which were associated with the fourfold level of Biblical exegesis. Something of this system may be detected in *Patience*, but it does not keep the work from being a straightforward homily. The third type involved anecdote, fable, entertaining legend, and marvel. *Patience* is least indebted to this type, though, in a sense, the homily includes it in relating the miracle of Jonas in the whale's belly.

The poet of *Patience* constructed his sermon within the framework of five divisions of the *artes praedicandi*: *theme*, *ante-theme*, *dilation*, *exemplum*, and *peroration*. In *Patience*, however, one division does not necessarily end where the next begins. The poet composed in an intricate manner. The parts are sometimes interwoven and harmonize with the whole. For example, the *theme* of *Patience* is stated explicitly in the first line, and the *ante-theme*, which introduces it, comprises lines 2 to 60. The *dilation*, which is an expansion of the *theme*, actually begins at line 2 and continues throughout the entire work, excluding the *peroration*. Since the poet begins to expand his idea from line 2, one may consider the *ante-theme* as part of the *dilation*; the major phase of the *dilation* starts with the *exemplum* at line 61. The *exemplum* concludes at line 527. The *peroration* consists of lines 528 to 531.

*Patience* begins:

Pacience is a poynt, þa3 hit displese ofte.  
 When heuy herttes ben hurt wyth hepyng oþer elles,  
 Suffraunce may aswagen hem and þe swelme leþe,  
 For ho quelles vche a qued and quenches malyce;  
 ffor quoso suffer cowþe syt, sele wolde folþe,  
 And quo for þro may noȝt þole, þe pikker he sufferes.  
 Þen is better to abyde þe bur vmbestoundes,  
 Þen ay þrow forth my þro, þaȝ me þynk ylle.<sup>8</sup> (1-8)

After the *theme* is stated in its simplest terms in the first line, its *dilation* begins immediately with the *ante-theme*. The preachers advocated the citing of a Biblical passage which contained the *theme*. It is making a petty distinction to say that *Patience* does not do this, because the Beatitudes are paraphrased in lines 13 to 28, and the first and eighth Beatitudes are integral to an understanding of the lesson presented in *Patience*. Since the construction of a medieval sermon was not always subject to rigid principles, the fact that the homilist cites his Biblical passage in what has been designated as the *ante-theme* need not be considered an aberration.

<sup>8</sup> Citations from *Patience* in my text are to *Patience: An Edition* by William Vantuono, (unpublished New York University Doctoral Dissertation, 1969). I have omitted the underlining of letters which denote the expansion of contracted forms in the manuscript.

Thay arn happen þat han in hert pouerte,  
 For hores is þe heuenryche to holde foreuer.  
 Þay ar happen also þat haunte mekenesse,  
 ffor þay schal welde þis worlde and alle her wyllle haue.  
 Thay ar happen also þat for her harme wepes,  
 For þay schal comfort encroche in kythes ful mony.  
 Þay ar happen also þat hungeres after ryȝt,  
 For þay schal frely be refete ful of alle gode.  
 Thay ar happen also þat han in hert rauþe,  
 For mercy in alle maneres her mede schal worþe.  
 Þay ar happen also þat arn of hert clene,  
 For þay her Sauyours in sete schal se wyth her yȝen.  
 Thay ar happen also þat halden her pese,  
 For þay þe gracious Godes sunes schal godly be called.  
 Þay ar happen also þat con her hert stere,  
 ffor hors is þe heuenryche, as I er sayde. (13-28)

Compare the Vulgate:

Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.  
 Beati mites, quoniam ipsi possidebunt terram.  
 Beati qui lugent, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.  
 Beati qui esuriunt et sitiunt iustitiam, quoniam ipsi saturabuntur.  
 Beati misericordes quoniam ipsi misericordiam consequentur.  
 Beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.  
 Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur.  
 Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam,  
 quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum.<sup>9</sup>

The poet's periphrastic method in the employment of his sources is evident in his paraphrase of the Beatitudes. This passage not only illuminates the theme of *Patience*, but it demonstrates how the poet used the Biblical passage to interweave theme and structure so effectively. The first and eighth Beatitudes are harmonized to provide the basis for the poet's discourse. They are personified as "Dame Pouert"<sup>10</sup> (31) and "Dame Pacyence" (33), and "Hit arn fettled in on forme, þe forme and þe laste" (38).

The poet blends the *theme* and the *ante-theme* in the first sixty lines, for the statement of his topic and its introduction and explanation are part of the whole. Prayer and invocation were important elements of the *ante-*

<sup>9</sup> Matthew V, 3-10. Citations from the Vulgate in my text are to *Biblia Sacra: Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V Pontificis Maximi Iussu Recognita et Clementis VIII Auctoritate Editæ, Editiones Paulinæ* (Rome, 1957).

<sup>10</sup> "Pouert" signifies the "pauperes spiritu" of the first Beatitude. The word therefore denotes "poverty of spirit" or "humility" throughout this homily. For a fuller explanation of this connotation of "pouerte" in *Patience*, see the Introduction to my edition, 10-12, Charles Moorman's analysis in *The Pearl-Poet*, Twayne's English Authors Series 64 (New York, 1968), 72-73, and Ordelle Hill's "The Audience of *Patience*", *Modern Philology*, 66 (1968), 104.

*theme*. This phase enters into *Patience* in the lines immediately following the paraphrase of the Beatitudes. "These arn þe happes alle aȝt þat vus bihyȝt weren,/If we þyse ladyes wolde lof in lyknyng of þewes" (29-30).

That the remainder of the Prologue may still be considered part of the *ante-theme* derives its authority from the following passage: "Robert Rypon's manuscript possesses many homilies where the ante-theme, which is here regularly marked 'Ante-thema' or 'Prologus' in the margins,<sup>11</sup> has often some message of its own in keeping with the chosen 'theme'".<sup>12</sup> The poet of *Patience* does give a message of his own in lines 34 to 56, and this message is in keeping with his chosen theme. It is a message that is like a miniature sermon in itself, and, as such, it forms a perfect parallel to the following *exemplum*, revealing the poet's talent for devising parallel constructions involving foreshadowing and repetition in a harmonious frame.

After saying that it is better to praise the virtues of patience and humility than to struggle against them, the poet observes that it is better to carry out the wishes of his earthly master.

Oþer ȝif my lege lorde lyst on lyue me to bidde,  
Oþer to ryde oþer to renne to Rome in his ernde,  
What grayped me þe grychchyng, bot grame more seche  
Much, ȝif he me ne made, maugref my chekes. (51-54)

There could not be a better passage to foreshadow the coming *exemplum* in which Jonas will disobey God's command to preach to the Ninevites, find himself in more trouble as a result, and then have to fulfill that command anyway. Just as the poet-narrator speaks of being ordered to a distant city, Rome, by his earthly master, Jonas will be ordered to Nineveh by God. Thus the *Prologus*, as it applies to the poet's audience and perhaps to the poet himself on an earthly level, will have its lesson enforced in the *exemplum* by the story of Jonas on a more sublime and spiritual level. The *ante-theme*, or *Prologus* as it is better called in *Patience*, is brought to a conclusion in lines 57 to 60 when the poet introduces the story of Jonas. The major *dilation of theme* begins here.

The *exemplum* extends from line 61 to line 527. It is divided into four parts, according to the illuminated letters of the manuscript, which appear at the beginning of lines 61, 245, 305, and 409. These parts correspond, for the most part, to the four chapter divisions of "The Prophecy of Jonas"

<sup>11</sup> Owst's note reads: "The word 'Prologus' is here preferred where the preacher is long-winded; 'ante-thema' for the shorter openings, sometimes only of a line or two". The poet of *Patience* was certainly not long-winded, but this reference to Rypon does show that his Prologue corresponds to the longer type of *ante-theme* that was used in the sermons of the period.

<sup>12</sup> Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England*, 318.

in the Vulgate. The following chart reveals the parallel verses between *Patience* and its primary source.

<i>PATIENCE</i>	<i>VULGATE</i>
<i>Part I</i>	<i>Chapter I</i>
61-88	1-2
89-128	3
129-152	4
153-204	5-8
205-224	9-13
225-244	14-16
<i>Part II</i>	<i>Chapter II</i>
245-304	1-2
<i>Part III</i>	
305-336	3-10
337-344	11
	<i>Chapter III</i>
345-350	1-2
351-370	3-4
371-376	5
377-384	6
385-404	7-9
405-408	10
<i>Part IV</i>	<i>Chapter IV</i>
409-412	1 and part of 2
413-428	remainder of 2-3
429-432	4
433-464	5-6
465-488	7-8
489-494	9
495-516	10-11

In *Patience*, the first section depicts Jonas disobeying God's command, attempting to escape, being caught up in the storm at sea, and then being cast into the sea to be swallowed by the whale. It ends at line 244. The opening of the next section describes, in a flashback, Jonas being seized by the whale. The prophet is then shown inside the whale's belly before he makes his first prayer to God. This part ends at line 304. The third section, lines 305-408, opens with Jonas' second prayer to God. He is then released from the whale's belly and goes to Nineveh to fulfill God's command to preach there. The Ninevites are repentant, and God, in his mercy, forgives them and does not destroy the city. The fourth and last section deals with Jonas under the "wodbynde" and the fact that he was sinning again in being displeased that God had had mercy on the people. Within the main structure of the *exemplum* is an intricate set of parallel structures,

comparisons, contrasts, foreshadowings, and repetitions, created by the use of imagery and other rhetorical devices, including number symbolism. The most significant feature is that the *exemplum* recalls the *Prologus*. The theme is illuminated in both.

Though the main source of *Patience* is "The Prophecy of Jonas", the poet elaborates greatly on this source, turning its 48 verses into 467 lines. Many of these elaborations derive from other sources, which the poet employed for imagery, characterization, and the formulation of various ideas. Each of these sources will be analyzed in turn on the following pages.

### THE PROPHECY OF JONAS

"The Prophecy of Jonas" is a bare narrative. It is only the starting point for the *exemplum* in *Patience*. The poet manipulates this source in a variety of ways, availing himself of the entire Biblical account. Most often his approach is periphrastic. Sometimes he gives a close rendering of the Vulgate verses, usually at the beginning of a passage which precedes an extended elaboration based on other sources. Like a musician composing variations on one theme, he paraphrases and dilates, but never strays from the basic outline, using it like a skeleton, which he fills in according to his own design.

The Vulgate story opens directly. "Et factum est verbum Domini ad Ionam filium Amathi dicens" (I, 1). The poet of *Patience* does not match this direct statement until the third line of his *exemplum*, and then the second half of the line is an addition, which comments on the prophet's reaction. "Goddes glam to hym glod, pat hym vnglad made" (63). The Vulgate does not give such interpretations. When the poet translates closely, the Middle English word or phrase sometimes corresponds to the Latin. The Vulgate refers to the "malitia" (I, 2) of the Ninevites. *Patience* reads: "'Her malys is so much'" (70).

The first extended elaboration, based on only the first two verses of "The Prophecy of Jonas", motivates the prophet's flight, depicting his fear of martyrdom, an idea that does not enter into the Vulgate account. It ends at line 88. The Scripture employs only verse 3 to tell that Jonas took a ship to Tarshish. The poet expands to line 128 with much descriptive detail of how the ship was made ready to sail and introspection dealing with Jonas' inner conflict. He then goes into a long elaborative passage, the storm at sea (129-152), which is factually and briefly stated in the following manner in the source. "Dominus autem misit ventum magnum in mare, et facta est tempestas magna in mari, et navis periclitabatur conteri" (I, 4). The poet personifies the winds with names from ancient mythology, "Ewrus and Aquiloun" (133), and he describes the gear of

the vessel being destroyed (148-152). The remainder of Part I of *Patience* paraphrases much, but does not contain any lengthy additions.

The poet sometimes changes the order of events for a more effective dramatic development. In the Vulgate, the mariners first cry to their god, and then they cast forth the wares that were in the ship (I, 5). In *Patience*, when this order is reversed, the crying to the gods (163-168) has more impact because the mariners are in a more desperate plight, having seen that lightening the vessel was of no benefit to them. In the Scripture, Jonas is first awakened (I, 6), and then the sailors decide to cast lots (I, 7). In *Patience* (173), one wise mariner makes the decision to cast lots, and then Jonas is pulled out of the bottom of the boat, where he had "slypped vpon a sloumbe selepe" (186).

The language of *Patience* is often colloquial. It suits the character, the mood, or the situation. The language of the Vulgate is more stable. For example, the mariners question Jonas after the lot has fallen upon him. "Indica nobis cuius causa malum istud sit nobis" (I, 8). *Patience* reads: "'What þe deuel hatz þou don, doted wrech'" (196)? For other occasions, the language of *Patience* has an emotional tone which parallels the Vulgate. This is noticeable especially in the prayer Jonas says when he is in the belly of the whale (305-336).

The portrayal of Jonas inside the whale reveals the methods the poet adopted in working with his main source. The paraphrase is usually periphrastic, and it often ceases to be paraphrase and becomes a long elaboration with the addition of new scenes. For example, the Vulgate reads: "Et praeparavit Dominus piscem grandem ut deglutiret Ionam. Et erat Ionas in ventre piscis tribus diebus et tribus noctibus" (II, 1). The poet of *Patience* composes an entire section to describe Jonas in the whale (Part II, 245-304). He pictures the filthy details. He probes the character of the prophet, depicting his anguish and sorrow. He even adds a short prayer (282-288) that is not in his source.

The poet then switches to his other method, that of closer paraphrasing, which sometimes becomes exact translation. This is witnessed in a comparison of "The Prophecy of Jonas" (II, 3-10) with *Patience* (Part III, 305-336). The Scripture begins: "Clamavi de tribulatione mea ad Dominum et exaudivit me; de ventre inferi clamavi, et exaudisti vocem meam" (II, 3). *Patience* begins:

"Lorde, to þe haf I cleped in careȝ ful stronge;  
Out of þe hole þou me herde of hellen wombe.  
I calde and þou knew myn vncler steuen". (305-307)

Parallel passages such as these continue to the end of the prayer. The Vulgate reads: "Qui custodiunt vanitates frustra misericordiam suam dere-



linquunt" (II, 9). *Patience* refers to the foolish men "Pat affyen hym in vanyte and in vayne pynges,/For þink þat mountes to noȝt, her mercy forsaken" (331-332). In the Vulgate, when the prayer is ended, verse 11 merely states Jonas was vomited out on dry land. The poet, with his flair for realistic detail, pictures the prophet first being spit out into the water, and then being swept to shore (337-344).

The remainder of Part III of *Patience* (345-408) follows the Biblical narrative (III, 1-10) quite closely. Normand Berlin is of the opinion that after line 349, the poet paraphrases with only a few added touches. "He seems to have spent himself in presenting Jonah's motivations, the storm, and the whale incident".<sup>13</sup> However, the conclusion of *Patience* (Part IV, 409-531) does add a great deal which illuminates Jonas' character and enforces the poet's message.

Most significant is the creation of descriptive detail in both the growing of the vine and its destruction. The poet bases forty-six lines (443-488) on only three verses of the Vulgate (IV, 6-8). "The Prophecy of Jonas" utilizes only verse 6 to tell of the growing of the vine and then plunges immediately into a description of its destruction. There is the following brief statement in between: "Et laetatus est Ionas super hedera laetitia magna" (IV, 6). The poet of *Patience*, instead, writes twenty lines (445-464), depicting the beauty of the vine and the joy and comfort of Jonas as he dwells beneath it. By heightening Jonas' joy now, he will be able to contrast better the prophet's despair later when the vine is ruined in a scene which increases the details of the burning heat (471-480) to make it appear more plausible that Jonas would lament so.

"The Prophecy of Jonas" breaks off abruptly with the mention of the many beasts, "iumenta multa" (IV, 11), in Nineveh. *Patience* does not end at this point. "And als þer ben doumbe bestez in þe burȝ monȝ" (516). The poet continues God's monologue for eleven more lines before he concludes the homily with the *peroration*. In these eleven lines, the Lord directs forceful speech toward Jonas to teach the value of charity and its twin offspring, patience and humility.

It is clear that the poet of *Patience* used "The Prophecy of Jonas" in the Vulgate as a frame within which he created an artistic *exemplum* with deep characterization. In constructing his 467 lines on a foundation of only 48 verses from Scripture, he availed himself of other sources, which he also manipulated with ingenuity.

<sup>13</sup> "Patience: A Study in Poetic Elaboration", *Studia Neophilologica*, 33 (1961), 84.

## THE PSALMS

When the poet interjects his own statement to portray Jonas' senseless flight away from God, he draws upon verses 8-9 of psalm 93.

Intelligite, insipientes in populo,  
et, stulti, aliquando sapite.  
Qui plantavit aurem non audiet?  
aut qui finxit oculum non considerat?

Compare *Patience*:

"O ffolez in folk, felez oþer whyle,  
And vnderstondeþ vmbestounde. Þaȝ he be stape fole,  
Hope ȝe þat he heres not þat eres alle made?  
Hit may not be þat he is blynde þat bigged vche yȝe". (121-124)

The extra-Biblical prayer (282-288) may be original, but it has the emotional tone of the psalms. Jonas utters it when he is inside the whale's belly, seeking God's mercy. If the poet did not paraphrase any one psalm in particular, he composed in this tradition. Note especially the first penitential psalm 6, verses 2 to 5:

Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me  
neque in ira tua corripas me.  
Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum:  
sana me, Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea,  
et anima mea turbata est valde;  
sed tu, Domine, usquequo?  
Convertere, Domine, et eripe animam meam,  
salvum me fac propter misericordiam tuam.

Compare *Patience*:

"Now, Prynce, of þy prophete pite þou haue!  
Þaȝ I be fol and fykel, and falce of my hert,  
Dewoyde now þy vengauce þurȝ vertu of rauthe.  
Thaȝ I be gulty of gyle, as gaule of prophetes,  
Þou art God, and alle gowdeȝ ar graypely þyn owen.  
Haf now mercy of þy man and his mysdedes,  
And preue þe lyȝtly a Lorde in londe and in water". (282-288)

By inserting this prayer before the longer one beginning at line 305, which is in "The Prophecy of Jonas", the poet again displays his artistic insight, for the prophet begins that longer prayer in the past tense, and this reveals he had previously prayed to the Lord. The use of the past tense in the Vulgate only implies that he had previously prayed to the Lord.

## THREE LATIN POEMS

Of the three Latin poems the poet seems to have known, two of them, *Eiusdem de Iona Propheta* and Marbod's *Naufragium Jonae Prophetae*, deal specifically with Jonas. The third by Prudentius recounts the history of the Biblical narrative in the seventh "Hymnus Ieiunantium" of the *Liber Cathemerinon* to delineate the benefits of fasting. Various analogues between *Patience* and each of the three poems indicate the poet's familiarity with them. Prudentius and Marbod were influential in the Middle Ages. Marbod wrote *De Gemmis*, a well-known lapidary, and Prudentius was the author of *Psychomachia*, which concludes with a description of the New Jerusalem from "The Apocalypse". Both elements enter into the writing of *Pearl*. Since *De Iona* was formerly attributed to Tertullian, it is reasonable to assume the poet may have come across the work in a manuscript containing writings by Tertullian.

He utilizes the three Latin poems for descriptive detail in his expansions of the Vulgate. There is sufficient evidence that he used all three, but an image sometimes appears in *Patience* that is found in more than one of the other poems. In such instances, it cannot be determined with certainty which was the poet's direct source.

Emerson was the first to point out the connection between *Patience* and *De Iona*, a fragment in hexameters with a tendency toward rhyme, including internal rhyme.<sup>14</sup> Bateson agreed that the Latin work was a definite source for *Patience*.<sup>15</sup> Scholars who have attempted to disprove the theory are S. B. Liljegren and J. J. Anderson.<sup>16</sup> Hill's recent analysis favors the view that Emerson's original statement was correct.<sup>17</sup> Moorman, who establishes no other source for *Patience* other than the Vulgate, believes the poet "may have had before him a short poem of Tertullian's, *De Jona et Ninive*; but the influence of the Latin poem, if indeed he did use it, is almost negligible".<sup>18</sup>

The following analogues between *Patience* and *De Iona* are most significant. *De Iona* reads: "Paruula nam subito maculauerat aera nubes/,uellere

<sup>14</sup> "A Parallel between the Middle English Poem *Patience* and an Early Latin Poem Attributed to Tertullian", *PMLA*, 10 (1895), 242-248.

<sup>15</sup> See [the Introduction to Bateson's second edition of *Patience*, (Manchester U. Press, 1918), pp. xli-xlvi.

<sup>16</sup> See Liljegren's "Has the Poet of *Patience* Read *De Jona*?" *Englische Studien*, 48 (1914), 337-341. Anderson, in his edition of *Patience* (1969), 6, agrees with Liljegren.

<sup>17</sup> "The Late-Latin *De Jona* as a Source for *Patience*", *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 66 (1967), 21-25.

<sup>18</sup> *The Pearl-Poet*, 66.

sulpureo de semine conscia uenti" (28-29).<sup>19</sup> Compare *Patience*: "Ro3 rakkes þer ros wyth rudnyng anvnder" (139).

*De Iona* describes the storm at sea in the following manner:

fit speculum caeli pelagus; niger ambitus undas  
inficit, in tenebras ruit aether et mare surgit,  
nequiquam medios fluctus dum nubila tangunt,  
gloria uentorum quos omnis turbine miscet.  
diuersus furor in profugum frendebat Ionam;  
una ratis certamen erat caeloque fretoque. (32-37)

*Patience* reads:

Þe see souzed ful sore, gret selly to here.  
Þe wyndes on þe wonne water so wrastel togeder,  
Þat þe wawes ful wode waltered so hize,  
And efte busched to þe abyne, þat breed fysches  
Durst nowhere, for ro3, arest at þe bothem.  
When þe breth and þe brok and þe bote metten,  
Hit wat3 a joyles gyn þat Jonas wat3 inne. (140-146)

In *De Iona*, the sailors cast forth their wares before they pray to their gods. This reverses the order of events in the Vulgate. The same switching of the order of events occurs in *Patience*. In the Biblical narrative, Jonas sleeps (I, 5), but no mention is made of his snoring. *De Iona* reads: "Nescius haec, reus ipse cauo sub fornice puppis/stertens inflata resonabat nare soporem" (53-54). In *Patience*, Jonas lies on a plank, "Slypped vpon a sloumbe selepe, and sloberande he routes" (186).

The whale is pictured as rolling forth in line 86 of *De Iona* — "euoluens corporis agmen". The beast is described as a "wylde walterande whale" in line 247 of *Patience*. The Vulgate merely says Jonas was cast into the sea (I, 15). Both *De Iona* and *Patience* relate how the prophet was pulled by the whale from the boat.

praedam sponte petens, quam celsae puppis ab arce  
prouoluentem auide limosis faucibus hausit,  
uiuentemque dapem longam percepit in aluum. (88-90)

*Patience* 251 reads: "Þe folk zet haldande his fete, þe fysch hym tyd hentes". Jonas is later shown rolling forth into the whale's belly.

He glydes in by þe giles þur3 glaymande glette,  
Relande in by a rop, a rode þat hym þo3t,  
Ay hele ouer hed, hourlande aboute. (269-271)

<sup>19</sup> Citations from *De Iona* in my text are to *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, ed. R. Peiper, 23 (Vienna, 1891), 221-226.

In *De Iona*, the whale is compared to a vessel in which the prophet sails. "Nauigat et uates alio susceptus Ionas/ nauigium fluctus secat, et sub Fluctibus imis" (98-99). The same image appears in *Patience*. "Ande as sayled þe segge, ay sykerly he herde/ Ðe bygge borne on his bak and bete on his sydes" (301-302). In both poems, imagery inside the whale is similar.

Iona defertur anima spirante ferina.  
conclusus neque tinctus aquis, maris intimus exter,  
inter semesas carnes resolutaque putri  
corpora digestu iam iam sua funera discens. (100-103)

Compare *Patience*: "And stod vp in his stomak þat stank as þe deuel, / Ðer in saym and in sorþe þat sauoured as helle" (274-275). Jonas can find nowhere, "No rest ne recouerer, bot ramel ande myre" (279).

*De Iona* breaks off at line 105 with the Latin poet noting that Jonas was to be at some future time a sign of the Lord. It may be, since the poem is fragmentary, that he had used more imagery revealing Jonas as a prefiguration of Christ. The poet of *Patience* develops such imagery in lines 274-275.

Hill mentions *Naufragium Jonae Prophetæ*,<sup>20</sup> but he draws only a few parallels between it and *Patience*. The following resemblances between Marbod's poem and the Middle English work are significant. Fear of persecution is the motivation for Jonas' flight in *Naufragium Jonae Prophetæ*. Marbod combines classical dactylic hexameter with internal rhyme, the old style and the new in Latin prosody. One may compare the combination of alliteration and rhyme in *Pearl*, the old style and the new in the English poetic tradition.

Nam quia portaret quod plebis corda gravaret,  
Nuntius interitus, satis foret undique tritus,  
Vel gladio stratus, vel forsitan igne crematus.<sup>21</sup> (34-36)

*Patience* reads:

"I com wyth þose tyþynges, þay ta me bylyue,  
Pynez me in a prysoun, put me in stokkes,  
Wryþe me in a warlok, wrast out myn yþen". (78-80)

The descriptions of torture, in accordance with the time and place of composition, are different in the Latin poem and in *Patience*, but the idea is the same.

Marbod, by making it appear that Jonas really thought he could escape from God, portrays him as less a prophet, and more a human being. "Dimittit littus, quasi plus sic in æquore tutus" (52). *Patience* reads:

<sup>20</sup> "The Late-Latin *De Jona* as a Source for *Patience*", 23-24.

<sup>21</sup> Citations from Marbod in my text are to *Patrologia Latina*, 171, 1675-78.

"He wende wel þat þat Wyȝ þat al þe world planted/Hade no maȝt in þat mere no man for to greue" (111-112). Marbod employs a similar technique earlier in his poem. "O animum vatis mirandae simplicitatis !/Si procul esse putat Dominum sibi, dum loca mutat" (27-28). Compare *Patience*: "Hit watȝ a wenyng vnwar þat welt in his mynde,/Þaȝ he were soȝt fro Samarye, þat God seȝ no fyrre" (115-116).

In the storm scene, there are not the parallels that appear between *Patience* and *De Iona*, but Marbod does describe flashes of lightning: "Fulgura crebra micant" (64). In *De Iona*, no specific gods are mentioned. In *Patience*, a number of them are cited, and one "Nepturne" (166) also appears as "Neptuni" in *Naufragium Jonae Prophetæ* (85). However, in Marbod's poem, this reference has nothing to do with the sailors praying to pagan gods, for Jonas has already been cast into the sea, and "Neptuni" is in the line only as an equation with the sea.

When the sailors cast their cargo overboard, they are still in danger, because the ship is burdened by the prophet's sin, not by its cargo. This idea is expressed in these exact terms in both poems. "Crimine namque gravis manet, et non pondere, navis" (78). In *Patience*, the wisest mariner speaks: "'Lo ! Al synkes in his synne, and for his sake marres'" (172).

Marbod writes:

Nauta sed accessit, pulsum pede voce lacessit,  
Surge, quid est quod agis ? multis dignissime plagis  
Dormis securus, cum postmodo sis periturus. (68-70)

Jonas is not awakened by a kick in any of the other known sources. In *Patience*, however, "Þe freke hym frunt wyth his fot and bede hym ferk vp" (187). The sailor then, "Arayned hym ful runyschly what raysoun he hade/In such slaȝtes of sorȝe to slepe so faste" (191-192). Marbod's "lacessit" of line 68 is significant. It could mean an attack of any kind, but it literally denotes hurling words in this context. The poet of *Patience* also uses action verbs to denote a character speaking. Compare "lance" (350) and "kest" (415), for example. The analogues between *Patience* and *Naufragium Jonae Prophetæ* are not the same as those between *Patience* and *De Iona*. It seems that the Middle English poet took from *De Iona* what he needed for descriptive elaboration. From Marbod, he may have learned techniques of prosody as well.

Marbod's poem, comprising 154 lines, is not a fragment, but it ends when the Ninevites are granted forgiveness by God; it does not deal with Chapter IV of the Biblical narrative. There are a few more parallels between lines in Part III of *Patience* and some of the concluding verses in Marbod's work. "Dum genitrix luget, nullus puer ubera suget" (142). Compare *Patience*: "'Seseȝ childer of her sok, soghe hem so neuer'" (391). The meaning is

slightly different in the two poems. The poet of *Patience* refers to the children who would be bothered by not being fed. Marbod writes about the mourning mother; but the reference to children sucking at the breast is the same, and it is not in the Biblical account.

The description of the Ninevites crying out to the Lord is in "The Prophecy of Jonas" in the Vulgate (III, 8), but the elaborate phrasing is similar in the Latin poem and in *Patience*. "Vox a jejunis resonabit stridula curis" (143). *Patience* reads: "Al schal crye forclemmed, wyth alle oure clere strenþe./Ðe rurd schal ryse to hym þat rawþe schal haue" (395-396). Compare especially Marbod's "resonabit stridula curis" to "crye forclemmed".

Prudentius' "Hymnus Ieiunantium", the seventh hymn in his *Liber Cathemerinon*, has been noted as a source for *Patience* by Ellin Kelly.<sup>22</sup> Kelly draws parallels between Prudentius' work and *Patience* in the scenes dealing with the repentance of the Ninevites, but there is another analogue that is more noteworthy because there is no common source for it in the Vulgate.

transmissa raptim praeda cassos dentium  
eludit ictus incruentam transvolans  
inpune linguam, ne retentam mordicus  
offam molares dissecarent uidi,  
os omne transit, et palatum praeterit.  
ternis dierum ac noctium processibus  
mansit ferino devoratus guttere;  
errabat illic per latebras viscerum,  
ventris meandros circumibat tortiles  
anhelus extis intus aestuantibus.<sup>23</sup> (116-125)

In *Patience*, Jonas is shown entering the whale's mouth in the following manner: "Wythouten towche of any tothe, he tult in his prote" (252). A similar description occurs in a flashback. "And þrwe in at hit prote, wythouten pret more" (267). Then the prophet is portrayed inside the whale's belly.

And þenne he lurkkes and laytes where wat3 le best,  
In vche a nok of his nauel, bot nowhere he fynde3  
No rest ne recouerer, bot ramel ande myre,  
In wych gut soeuer he got3; bot euer is God swete. (277-280)

The appearance of scenes involving the whale incident in both *De Iona* and Prudentius' work does not necessarily disprove that either one poem

<sup>22</sup> "Parallels between the Middle English *Patience* and 'Hymnus Ieiunantium' of Prudentius", *English Language Notes* (Colorado U.), 4 (1967), 244-247.

<sup>23</sup> This citation from the "Hymnus Ieiunantium" is to Prudentius, trans. H. J. Thomson, Loeb edition, 1 (London, 1949), 64.

or the other was a source for *Patience* because there are significant details that are found only in *De Iona* and *Patience*, and others that occur only in the "Hymnus Ieiunantium" and *Patience*. For example, a comparison of the passages noted above with those discussed earlier in this study dealing with *De Iona* reveals the following facts. *De Iona* does not mention the teeth of the beast or the fact that these teeth could have been dangerous to the prophet. Neither does the earlier Latin poem describe Jonas wandering in the intestines of the whale. These analogues are common only to Prudentius' poem and *Patience*. On the other hand, the "Hymnus Ieiunantium" does not reveal the prophet being seized by the whale right from the vessel. Nor does the later Latin poem create the metaphor of Jonas sailing inside the whale in the midst of filth. These analogues are common only to *De Iona* and *Patience*.

One may question if the poet of *Patience* knew and used all three Latin poems, since there is what can be called an overlapping of analogues in a few instances, and there is always the possibility that other parallels may be due to coincidence. However, there are enough resemblances common only to *Patience* and to each of the three other poems viewed singly to warrant belief in the fact that the poet did employ all of them as sources. He was a man of learning and genius, who read widely, and one can be quite sure he availed himself of all the literature on the subject that he could amass before he began to compose his homily. Like his contemporary Chaucer, he was a master at manipulating his sources to create an original work of art.

#### JEROME'S COMMENTARY ON THE PROPHECY OF JONAS

Since the three Latin poems do not deal with Chapter IV of the Biblical account, and since the poet of *Patience* draws much from Jerome's Commentary on "The Prophecy of Jonas" to formulate the fourth part of his *exemplum*, it is clear that he usually had at least one extra-Biblical source before him to fit his verses into the structural frame of his homily. That the poet utilized Jerome's Commentary may be deduced chiefly from the fact that he apparently knew Jerome's Latin translation of the Septuagint; this translation was included in the Commentary. Substantial evidence to support this view appears near the conclusion of *Patience*.

##### *Patience*

Muche sorze penne sattede vpon segge Jonas.  
He wex as wroth as þe wynde towards oure Lorde. (409-410)

##### *Vulgate*

Et ad afflictus est Ionas afflictione magna et iratus est. (IV, 1)



*Septuagint*

Et contristatus est Jonas tristitia grandi, et confusus est.<sup>24</sup>

The Vulgate reveals Jonas in a troubled state, but the chief stress is on his anger, "iratus". The Septuagint stresses the prophet's sorrow, employing the word "contristatus" instead of "iratus". This reading, which depicts the feelings of Jonas in a different way, occurs again in verses 4 and 9 of Chapter IV of the Septuagint. Jerome himself gives the reason for this apparent discrepancy:

Verbum Hebraicum "aralac", "et iratus es tu", et "contristatus es tu", transferri potest: quod utrumque et prophetae, et Domini personae convenit, quod vel iratus sit, ne videretur apud Ninivitas fuisse mentitus, vel contristatus, intelligens Israel esse peritum.<sup>25</sup>

Throughout these passages in *Patience*, the poet exhibits a knowledge of Jerome's translation of the Septuagint by developing the emotion of sorrow in Jonas. He reveals his protagonist's great conflict by portraying the prophet's grief in union with his displeasure. It is a double emotion, with the stress on anguish rather than on anger alone. After the Lord upbraids him, "Jonas, al joyles and janglande, vp ryses, / And haldez out on est half of þe hyze place" (433-434). Later, when the vine is destroyed,

Þe man marred on þe molde þat mozt hym not hyde.  
His wodbynde watȝ away. He weped for sorȝe.  
With hatel anger and hot, heterly he calleȝ. (479-481)

Knowing what was not taken from Jerome's Commentary also provides the reader with a key for understanding the poet's intent. By abandoning the historical interpretation and stressing the tropological, he makes it possible for one to identify himself with Jonas. In *Patience*, the prophet does not carry out God's command to preach to the Ninevites because he fears persecution.

"Oure Syre syttes", he says, "on sege so hyȝe  
In his glowande glorie and gloumbes ful lyttel,  
Þaȝ I be nummen in Nunniue and naked dispoyled,  
On rode rwly torent wyth rybaudes mony". (93-96)

Jerome, instead, writes:

Scit propheta, sancto sibi Spiritu suggerente, quod poenitentia gentium, ruina sit Judaeorum. Idcirco amator patriae suae, non tam saluti invidet Ninive, quam non vult perire populum suum.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> PL 25, 1144.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.* 1146.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.* 1121.

Love of his countrymen and of his land was the motive for Jonas' flight, not fear for his life, but the poet does not develop this idea; his aim was not to ennoble the prophet, but to humanize him, even to degrade him, and the best way to do this was to portray in him the human emotion of fear for one's life.

In the dramatic development of *Patience*, the poet shows that, under the proper stimuli, Jonas overcomes his fear in order to serve the Lord and preach to the Ninevites, but he can not as easily overcome his lack of patience and humility. When Nineveh is not destroyed, the poet stresses Jonas' pride in the following lament: "For me were swetter to swelt as swybe as me bynk,/Pen lede lenger þi lore þat þus me les makeȝ" (427-428).

This humanizing process is noted again in the way the poet handles the incident concerning the destruction of the vine. In Jerome's Commentary, the vine is a vast symbol of Israel.

Antequam oriretur sol justitiae, virens erat umbraculum, et non arebat Israel: postquam ille surrexit, et tenebrae Niniviticæ ejus luce discussæ sunt, paratus vermis in crastinum ascensione diluculi (de quo vicesimus primus psalmus inscribitur: "Pro assumptione matutina"; et qui absque ullo semine de terra oritur, et dicit: "Ego sum vermis et non homo" (Ps. XXI, 7); percussit umbraculum, quod desertum auxilio Dei omnem virorem perdidit.<sup>27</sup>

Jonas' anguish, because of the destruction of the vine, was deeply motivated, according to the historical interpretation. His mood did not stem from concern for his own well-being. In *Patience*, however, the prophet is shown as a man upset because of his own discomfort.

"I keuered me a cumfort, þat now is caȝt fro me,  
My wodbynde so wlonk, þat wered my heued;  
Bot now I se þou art sette my solace to reue.  
Why ne dyȝtteȝ þou me to diȝe? I dure to longe". (485-488)

#### TERTULLIAN'S LIBER DE PATIENTIA

Not only is the thought in *Patience* embodied in Tertullian's *Liber de Patientia*, but, in the following instance, the method is the same. After the poet paraphrases the eight Beatitudes, he couples the first and the last, which relate to humility and patience, saying, "In myn vpynyoun, hit arn of on kynde" (40). Later, he writes: "Thus Pouerte and Pacyence arn nedes playferes" (45). In Chapter 11 of *Liber de Patientia*, Tertullian cites

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* 1149.

the Beatitudes and associates the virtue of patience with them.<sup>28</sup> Concerning the first Beatitude, he writes:

Nullus profecto spiritu pauper, nisi humilis; quis enim humilis, nisi patiens?  
quia nemo subicere sese potest, sine prima patientia subjectionis ipsius.<sup>29</sup>

The conclusion of the homily delineates the patience of the Lord in contrast to the prophet's impatience. When God spares the Ninevites, the great virtue of charity is extolled in his words to Jonas.

"Wer I as hastif as pou heere, were harme lumpen.  
Coupe I not pole, bot as pou, þer pryued ful fewe.  
I may not be so malicious and mylde be halden,  
For malyse is noȝ to mayntyne boutte mercy wythinne". (520-523)

In Chapter 12 of *Liber de Patientia*, Tertullian writes:

Nam dilectio summum fidei sacramentum, Christiani nominis thesaurus, quam Apostolus totis viribus Sancti Spiritus commendat, cujus nisi patientiae disciplinis eruditur?<sup>30</sup>

He then discusses "The First Epistle of Saint Paul to the Corinthians", concerning charity (XIII, 4-13),<sup>31</sup> and he concludes with the following words:

Merito ergo nunquam excidet; nam cætera evacuabuntur, consummabuntur. Exhauriuntur linguæ, scientiæ, prophetiæ; permanent fides, spes, dilectio: fides, quam Christi patientia induxit: spes, quam hominis patientia expectat; dilectio, quam, Deo magistro, patientia comitatur.<sup>32</sup>

The *exemplum* in *Patience* is completed when the Lord's monologue ends with the following advice to Jonas:

"Be noȝt so gryndel, god man, bot go forth þy wayes.  
Be preue and be pacient in payne and in joye,  
For he þat is to rakel to renden his clopez,  
Mot efte sitte wyth more vnsounde to sewe hem togeder". (524-527)

The *peroration* denotes the final summation in the *artes praedicandi*. In *Patience*, this corresponds to the four-line Epilogue. The poet, who had already begun to work back to his *theme* as he moved toward the climax of his homily, states that *theme* more forcefully in the Epilogue, which echoes the Prologue. His last line repeats the first, with the addition of the word

<sup>28</sup> This was first pointed out by Emerson in PMLA, 10 (1895), 246-247.

<sup>29</sup> PL 1, 1267.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. 1268.

<sup>31</sup> Compare especially the relation of verse 4 to *Patience*: "Caritas patiens est, benigna est; caritas non aemulatur, non agit perperam, non inflatur".

<sup>32</sup> PL 1, 1269.

"noble" for emphasis. He works in a perfect circle in his movement from the general *theme* to its particularizing aspects and back to the general *theme*.

Forþy when pouerte me enpreceȝ and payneȝ innoȝe,  
fful softly wyth suffraunce saȝttel me bihoueȝ,  
For þy penaunce and payne, to preue hit in syȝt  
Þat pacience is a noble poynt, þaȝ hit displese ofte. Amen. (528-531)

The Epilogue may be viewed as a poetic device, but, in having an affinity to the *peroration*, it also fits a specific division of the *artes praedicandi*. As Owst points out, "'Ad quem nos perducatur, qui sine fine vivit et regnat. Amen'". could be an effective yet simple conclusion, but "dignified and more polished speakers on the other hand may indulge in a more stylish peroration with some final reference to their original text, and the chief points of discourse".<sup>33</sup> The poet of *Patience* did not present a detailed summary, but his restatement of *theme* accords with a "final reference" to the "original text".

While it has been the purpose of this study to relate *Patience* to the form of the medieval sermon and to analyze its sources, it was not my intention to lose sight of the fact that *Patience* is a poem, and one that is cast in an intricate rhetoric. Considering the work from a poetic standpoint, the three-part division of Prologue, exemplum, and Epilogue is a valid one. Nevertheless, medieval sermons could be composed in verse. Most of the extant records show these to be rhymed verse, but the alliterative homily was in existence, too.<sup>34</sup>

The formal divisions of the *artes praedicandi* are clearly recognizable in *Patience*. There is the *theme* at one end, stated in the first line, and the *peroration* at the other end, developed in the last four lines. These represent the initial and final divisions of the *artes praedicandi*. Between these two poles are the *ante-theme* or *Prologus*, ending at line 60, and the *exemplum*, comprising the remainder of the homily. The *dilation*, since it is merely an expansion of the *theme* and an illustration of it, need not be thought of as a separate entity; it is really that which lies between the two poles of *theme* and *peroration*. It falls into two distinct parts, a minor and a major. The minor *dilation*, the expansion of *theme*, equals the sum total of the *ante-theme*. The major *dilation*, the illustration of *theme*, may be equated with the *exemplum*.

Knowledge of the sources aids one in understanding the structure and the meaning of *Patience*. The citation of the Beatitudes in the *Prologus* helped

<sup>33</sup> *Preaching in Medieval England*, 330.

<sup>34</sup> Owst, for example, notes (277) the sermon of a Dan John Gaytrige, "which Skeat was apparently the first to recognize as imperfect alliterative verse, in spite of its being written in prose form in the manuscripts".

to introduce the *theme*, and "The Prophecy of Jonas" was employed as a frame for the *exemplum*. The utilization of a portion of psalm 93 pointed out the foolishness of Jonas or of any man who tries to escape the eyes of God. The possible use of a part of psalm 6 added an emotional appeal to the characterization of the prophet. Passages from the three Latin poems, *Eiusdem de Iona Propheta*, *Naufragium Jonae Prophetae*, and the "Hymnus Ieiunantium", were chosen judiciously to fill in the bare narrative of the Biblical story. The poet's familiarity with Jerome's Commentary on "The Prophecy of Jonas" and the way in which he reshaped Biblical exegesis on the subject made it possible for him to humanize the characterization of his protagonist. Finally, knowledge of the *Liber de Patientia* was important to the poet because of the similar ideology contained in both Tertullian's work and the Middle English work.

The poet's purpose was to teach, not only the lesson of patience, but that of humility, which is the companion of patience, and not only the lessons of patience and humility, but that of charity, which necessarily derives from the exercise of these twin virtues. The poet demonstrates the difficulty of learning these lessons; he shows that when one, like Jonas, finds that he must be patient in the face of adversity, he will triumph only if he accepts the will of God.

That the poet of *Patience* succeeds in making an emotional appeal to his audience cannot be debated. To make such an appeal was an accepted mode of the *artes praedicandi*. The fourteenth-century Dominican preacher, Thomas Walleys, who was a champion of the formal theory of sermon construction, was one who advocated paying attention to the emotional element in sacred oratory. His following statement may be considered a revelation of the purpose and method of the poet of *Patience*. "The preacher's task is not only to stir the intelligence towards what is true by means of the inevitable conclusions of arguments, but also, by means of narrative and likely persuasion, to stir the emotions to piety".<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Owst, 333. Translated from Walley's *Ars Predicandi* in MS. Harl. 635, fol. 11.

## CAPGRAVE'S *LIFE OF ST. NORBERT*: DICTION, DIALECT AND SPELLING<sup>1</sup>

*Edmund Colledge, O.S.A. and Cyril Smetana, O.S.A.*

ALL Capgrave's published works, some of them now more than a century old, require re-editing in the light of modern scholarship.<sup>2</sup> But one of the English verse compositions, *The Life of St. Norbert*, contained in MS Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, HM 55, is still unedited.<sup>3</sup> The identity of the scribe of HM 55 is disputed. Peter Lucas is the most recent of numerous authorities who maintain that the whole manuscript is a Capgrave autograph;<sup>4</sup> but since Lucas wrote Edmund Colledge has questioned this, and suggested that HM 55 is in the hand of Capgrave's principal secretary, with, however, numerous interlinear and marginal corrections by Capgrave himself.<sup>5</sup> But all who have written on the corpus of Capgrave's works agree that several of the manuscripts — including *The Life of St. Augustine* (*Aug*), the *Universal Chronicle* (*Chron*), *The Life of St. Gilbert* (*Gilb*), *The Solace of Pilgrims* (*Sol*) and *Norbert* — are in the same hand, and that they display many marks of having been produced in King's Lynn, under Capgrave's personal supervision.

<sup>1</sup> The writers are most grateful to Miss Joyce Bazire and Mr. N. F. Blake for their helpful criticisms of this article.

<sup>2</sup> The published English works are *The Chronicle of England*, (ed. F. C. Hingeston, London, 1858), *The Life of St. Katharine of Alexandria*, (ed. C. Horstman, London, 1893), *The Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham, and a Sermon*, (ed. J. J. Munro, London, 1910), *Ye Solace of Pilgrims*, (ed. C. A. Mills, London, 1911). Citations in this article will use the abbreviations *Aug*, *Chron*, *Gilb*, *Serm*, *Sol*.

<sup>3</sup> Such an edition has been prepared by Cyril Smetana, and will soon be at press. The *Norbert* text will be cited in this article by the line-numbers of this edition.

<sup>4</sup> Peter J. Lucas: "John Capgrave, O.S.A. (1393-1464), Scribe and 'Publisher'" (*Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 5 i, 1969, pp. 1-35). See also Lucas's article, "Sense-Units and the Use of Punctuation-Markers in John Capgrave's *Chronicle*", (*Archivum Linguisticum* NS 2, 1971, pp. 1-24).

<sup>5</sup> "Huntington MS HM 55 — "*The Capgrave Autographs*" (forthcoming).

They therefore have valuable evidence to contribute to our knowledge of the English spoken and written in that town in the first half of the fifteenth century. In this matter, uniquely important is the *Promptorium Parvulorum*,<sup>6</sup> the Latin-English dictionary compiled in 1440 by "Galfridus Grammaticus", a Norfolk-born Dominican friar living enclosed as a recluse in his Order's house in Lynn. Next is the celebrated *Book of Margery Kempe*.<sup>7</sup> However close the extant manuscript of this may be to the first copy made from Margery Kempe's dictation, whoever the scribe may have been who signs himself "Thesu mercy quod Salthows" (Meech writes: "The scribe's family, no doubt, derived its name from the village of Salthouse on the north central coast of Norfolk",<sup>8</sup>) the text, compared with these other examples, shows that we have in it much evidence of Lynn English c. A.D. 1450. Next, for their rich variety of vocabulary and style, we may rank Capgrave's works. Then there are the Lynn gild ordinances of 1389.<sup>9</sup> Informative though less valuable, since they consist largely of collections of material useful for the study of the proper name, notoriously *sui generis*, are such documents as the local Lay Subsidy rolls.

*The Life of St. Norbert* consists of 4109 lines, constituting 587 stanzas in rhyme royal. It is for the most part a careful rendering of Capgrave's source, the anonymous "Vita B",<sup>10</sup> with the *additamenta* by members of the Premonstratensian community at Cappenberg which are translated in the last 234 lines before the envoy. The prologue and epilogue are original, but there are few other additions, apart from short moral reflections and pious interjections.

In treating of *Norbert*, as we shall, as an example of the Lynn dialect, we do well to bear in mind certain considerations. Capgrave himself states that he was born in Lynn, he entered the monastery there, and spent many years in the house, serving as its prior before his first election as English provincial in 1453; but he had many contacts and activities outside the town. C. 1417, he was sent to the house of general studies in London, where he seems to have been active until 1422, when he went for three years to Cambridge. In both places he must have worked with many English friars of origins, language and interests different from his. In 1450 he visited

<sup>6</sup> Ed. A. L. Mayhew, EETS ES 102, London, 1908; cited here as *Prompt. Parv.*

<sup>7</sup> Ed. S. B. Meech and Hope Emily Allen, EETS OS 212, London, 1940, repr. 1961; cited here as *BMK*.

<sup>8</sup> *BMK*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>9</sup> *English Gilds*, ed. Toulmin Smith with Lucy Toulmin Smith and Lujo Brentano, EETS OS 40, London, 1870, repr. 1963, pp. 45-109.

<sup>10</sup> PL 170 coll. 1257-1344.

Rome for the jubilee year;<sup>11</sup> and Francis Roth has remarked upon the lively humanist sympathies which are shown by the collections of documents which he then made.<sup>12</sup> Aubrey Gwynn has called him "by common consent the most learned Englishman of his day".<sup>13</sup> We may therefore reasonably expect his language to reflect concerns and knowledge which he had acquired outside his own monastery and his native town.

None the less, we shall see that, with certain modifications, *Norbert* records the English of a South-East Midlander of the early 15th century. Such modifications seem to reflect Capgrave's own speech-habits, but a few call into question dialect criteria which have in the past been accepted.

The data for this present study are from an *index verborum* produced from a computer programme devised by Professor James Mason of York University, Toronto. Because of the length of the text and the limited computer-storage available, it was not possible to record every word of the poem. Recurring articles, prepositions, adverbs and some common nouns were scanned only in its first pages; but all unusual and variant forms were recorded. Generally, nouns, verbs and their inflected forms and proper names were scanned. The index itself prints only thirty occurrences of each form, although the punch-cards (4109, one for each line of verse) and the "computer print-out" record all the scanned material of the text. It is considered that this selection does provide an adequate conspectus of the linguistic characteristics of the poem.

As we may expect of any writer of narrative verse after Chaucer who is following a strict and complex rhyming-scheme, Capgrave often uses polysyllabic Latin or pseudo-Latin borrowings for the sake of their rhymes, giving an "aureate" effect, sometimes when a commoner synonym will elsewhere be used:

*decaluacion* "hair cutting"/*occasion* 1144;  
*dyuorcyoun* "separation"/*deuocyoun*/*mocyoun* 1194, *extorcyoun*/*porcyoun* 2559;  
*edificacioun* "building"/*mansioun* 1716;  
*exorziacioun* "exorcising"/*deuocyoun* 2044,  
*exorziacyoun*/*temptacyoun* 1860; and cf. *exorcismes* 2446;  
*fundament* "foundation"/*testament*/*entent* 768; and cf. *fundacioun* 3864, 3920;  
*fundement* "backside"/*obedient*/*pament* 1201;  
*innouacyoun* "renewal (of consecration)"/*dedicacyoun* 1792;  
*intricacioun* "ensnaring"/*adoun* 225; and cf. *snaris* 2417, 2513, 2660;

<sup>11</sup> For the chief facts of Capgrave's biography, cf. A. de Meijer, O.S.A.: "John Capgrave, O.E. S.A. (Lynn, 21 April 1393-Lynn, 12 August 1464)" (*Augustiniana* 5, 1955, pp. 400-440; 7, 1957, pp. 118-148, 531-575).

<sup>12</sup> F. Roth, O.S.A.: *The English Austin Friars, 1249-1538: I: History*, (New York, 1966), pp. 111-116.

<sup>13</sup> A. Gwynn, S. J.: *The English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif*, (London, 1940), p. 280.



*predicacyoun* "preaching"/*uxacioun* 2415; and cf. *preching* 315 etc. (7x), *prechyng* 423;  
*preiudicioun* "prejudice"/*institucioun*/*prohibicioun* 1346.

Often we encounter terms, seldom recorded in the sense in which Capgrave uses them, which may have been familiar to him as parts of the technical vocabulary of monastic life. Some such are *cheseris* 2901, etc., "electors" (MED 7×;<sup>14</sup> *conchanones* 207, "fellow canons" (MED 2×); *fasteres* "those who fast" (MED 6×); *lauatory* 291, "sacrarium" (MED 2×); *obediensere* 3798, "obedientarius" (NED 2× ante 1500); *president* 1805, "religious superior" (NED sb. 2b: 2× ante 1500); *souereyn* 3128, *souereynes* 3420, "religious superior(s)" (NED sb. 3b: 2× ante 1500); *subiectes*, 3526, *subiectis*, 1338 "religious inferiors" (NED sb. 2b: 3× ante 1500).

Sometimes we shall find Capgrave using, as do many poets, for the sake of his rhyme a word which is unusual, either because of its etymology or because it does not conform with his normal dialect usage. Thus we read *basse* "low"/*gras* 2196; *crook* "cross"/*book* 980, and cf. *crosse* (6×), *crouched* (3×); *lalle* "say"/*alle*/*falle* 1159 (not in NED; MED 3×); *launches* "grows"/*braunches* 2352 (MED 9×); *serk* "shirt"/*werk* 2383, and cf. *schert*/*astert*/*hert* 1566; *werch* "work"/*cherch* 3692, and cf. *werk* 7 etc. (20×).

There is probably little dialectal significance in the inflexion of nouns. Most weak nouns have acquired strong plurals, as we might expect: e.g. *ankeris* 1261 (though in OE there is a strong *āncor* as well as a weak *āncra*). Such plurals as *bretherin* 3018 etc., *calueryn* 2640, *childir* 3954, *childern* 2718 etc., are in ME so common and widespread as to be unremarkable.

In a number of cases we find Capgrave employing Northern or Scandinavian synonyms, but his use of these seems to be dictated by literary considerations. In *Aug* we find *cause* 10×, *skil* 1× (in a marginal substitution for *cause* which may be by Capgrave himself), in *Gilb* *cause* 5×, *skil* 1×. In either case *skil* seems to be used to provide variety, in the context in *Aug* because *cause* has already been used several times in one short passage. In *Norbert* we find *cause*, 39, etc. (23×); and where *skil* appears, 1335, it rhymes with *wil*/*fil*, and has the modern specialized meaning of "expertise, skill". In *Aug* we often find *cherch*, but *kirk* only 2×, in both cases in the abstract sense. In *Norbert* *cherch* is used, 2895 etc., with either abstract or concrete meaning; but *kirk*, 1666, refers to a building and not to the institution. But with respect to *tyl* and *to*, Capgrave's usage seems to be consistent; in *Gilb* 71, 121 (the second case a substitution for *to*, perhaps written by Capgrave), in *Chron* 60 and in *Norbert* 216 etc. (9×), *tyl* is reserved for time and never used of place. *Tome* "empty" occurs once in *Norbert*, 2499;

<sup>14</sup> Examples from *Norbert* cited in MED are not excluded from such counts.

but although NED calls this Scandinavian borrowing "only Scottish and northern dialects", it is also recorded in *Prompt. Parv.* as a synonym of *voyde* to translate "vacuus". More difficult to account for is *þerknesse* "darkness", 2764, as against *derk* 587 etc. (9×), *derknes* 902, *derknesse* 2767. In NED, where *therk* is recorded 5× ante 1500, it is called "a notable variant... with rare substitution". Even less satisfactorily, MED in its discussion of *derk* calls *þerk* an "error". But its occurrences are too frequent to admit of this explanation; and the entries in *Prompt. Parv.*, "*Therk or derk, Tenebrosus ... Therknesse, Tenebre, -arum, Caligo...*" show that it was a variant familiar in the speech of Lynn. It may well be that the initial consonant-change is under the influence of *thester*; cf. NED sb. a and v. In recent discussions, S.R.T.O. d'Ardenne also has suggested a blend *thester-derk*; and E. J. Dobson and M. Eccles have pointed to *therk*'s frequency in North Norfolk documents.<sup>15</sup>

The dialect criteria established by the phonetic changes to be observed from the vowels and consonants of Old English<sup>16</sup> show *Norbert* usually conforming with what we should expect.

OE *ā* followed by a nasal consonant invariably appears as "o/oo": *anon*, *agoo(n)*, *alone*, *boon*, *gon*, *hoom*, *ilkon*, *igoo*, *ones*, *non*, *schoon* (< *scān*). Followed by other consonants, it occasionally appears as "a": *aliwatir* (1×, the loss of initial "h" probably mere scribal error), *gast* (1×), *gaast* (1×), but *gost*, 1×, *goostly* (17×), *goost* (8×), *gostely* (1×), *haliday* (1×), *haliwatir* (2×), *halowid* (1× — here probably the effect of vowel-shortening in a closed syllable or of following "w"), but *holi*, *holynesse*. But in most cases *ā* appears as "o/oo": *also*, *abode*, *both*, *brothirhod*, *clothes*, *foos*, *goot*, *grope(d)*, *hood*, *hool*, *hoot* (adj.), *loo*, *lord*, *lordschep*, *manhod*, *mo*, *more*, *no* (*þing*), *roos* (< *rās*), *schroof*, *snow*, *so*.

Words which in OE had OE *al* + consonant are: *behold* (-e, -eth, -et3), *bold(e)* (adj.), *boldly*, *calueryn* (acc. pl.), *cold* (n. and adj.), *eld(e)* (adj. - 14×), *old(e)* (5×), *fold(e)* (n. and adv.), *half* (n.), *halp(e)* (pret.), *holde* (inf. and past part.), *telde* (pret. - 5×), *tolde* (12×). This accords well with the evidence of contemporary Lynn documents and with the standard descriptions of such developments: followed by a lengthening combination such as -ld-, a Midland preponderance of -ol-forms, some Northern -al-infiltration

<sup>15</sup> S. R. T. O. d'Ardenne: *De Lißlade and the Passiun of Seinte Iuliene*, (EETS 248, London, 1961), p. 148; E. J. Dobson: "The Etymology and Meaning of *Boy*" (*Medium Ævum*, 9, 1940), pp. 152-153; M. Eccles: "*Ludus Coventriae*: Lincoln or Norfolk"? (*ibid.* 40, 1971), p. 137.

<sup>16</sup> Such criteria are here examined in the order used by Joyce Bazire in "The Dialects of the Manuscripts of 'The Chastising of God's Children'" (*English and Germanic Studies*, 6, (1957), pp. 64-78).

where there was no lengthening, and -el-forms, not rare but local everywhere in the non-Northern areas. *Telde* is probably to be regarded as a new analogical formation on the present stem. It is also found in *Sol*; and *seld* as preterite of *selle* occurs in *Gilb* 76, *Chron* 145 (2×), 146, 184. Two other curious occurrences of such weak formations are found in this group of manuscripts: "There schone or ellys schyned" (*Gilb* 83), "Othir lordis he cacchid or caute" (*Chron* 189). Both cases may have originated as marginalia, questioning or supplying such neologisms, in a first draft, which a scribe has then incorporated into the text of the fair copy. In *BMK* and *Prompt. Parv.*, as in *Norbert*, *elde* is more common than *olde* as adj.; the explanation may be the influence of OE *\*aldiz*, n., and *\*aldjan*, v.; cf. NED *eld* sb<sup>2</sup> and v<sup>1</sup>.

Stem-vowels which may descend from OE *ȳ* are: *besy(nesse)* (3 ×), *bisy* (1 ×), *bysi* (6 ×), *bysily* (3 ×), *bysy* (8 ×), *byryd* (1 ×), *byryng* (1 ×), *cherch* (1 ×), *euel(e)* (n., adj., adv.) (16 ×), *kynde* (4 ×), *kynrod* (5 ×), *kyngdam* (2 ×), *kynne* (1 ×), *mech* (29 ×), *mechil* (3 ×), *mykyl* (1 ×), *mery* (6 ×), *myry* (2 ×), *mirthes* (1 ×), *such* (2 ×), *swech(e)* 31 ×, *thristid* (2 ×), *þrist* (1 ×). The dubious phonological history and etymology of many of these words are notorious. All that this evidence can be said to point to is an area in which [y] has been unrounded to [i], and this [i], falling together with OE *i*, has often been lowered — precisely what one would expect of an Eastern document of the early fifteenth century.

The 3 sing. pres. indic. forms give the following count: *-ith* 124 ×, *-eth* 60 ×, *-yth* 34 ×, *-th* 31 ×. Included in this count are 40 spellings with *-et3*, *-it3*, *-t3*; the probability is that these are no more than [θ] graphies, and this is supported by other Lynn evidence; e.g. *witz* (*Gilb* 2 ×). Exceptional in *Norbert* are the assimilated *schent* 1014, *stant* (12 × — often rhyming, very common in other manuscripts of this group), *vdirstant* 492 (certainly, despite its context, 3 sing. pres. indic); but contrast *bendith* (989). *Dwellis* (707) and *myngis* (1228) have been introduced by Capgrave for the sake of rhyme. In *tellet not* (1991) we may have the effect of a following nasal, but, more probably, scribal error. The sum of this evidence agrees with Moore, Meech and Whitehall, whose *-es/-eth* isogloss runs to the coast north of King's Lynn.

But the *Norbert* evidence for the suffixes of the 2 sing. pres. indic. does no accord with that of Oakden, illustrated by isogloss n° 4 in MED Map 7; that would place Lynn in the *-es* area, well north of the *-es/-est* boundary. The facts revealed by a count are: *-est* 20 ×, *-st* 20 ×, *-ist* 10 ×, *-yst* 2 ×, but only *abides* 2745, *beres* 2585. Excluded is *bringis*, 530, used for the sake of rhyme. It should be observed that Meech records only *-est*, *-st*, *-ist*, *-yst* forms in *BMK*, and states that in this respect his text agrees with the other Lynn documents which he examined.

An analysis of the plural pres. indic. forms (which are not very frequent) shows that they all derive from the *-en* ending; and the spellings suggest that this ending has, in equal proportions, survived stressed, been reduced to *e* — *forzete*, *make*, *telle* — or has been wholly lost through apocope — *do*, *know*, *may*. The examples retaining stressed endings, *sayn* 908, *seyn* 301 etc., are usually employed for their rhymes.

The forms of the pres. plural indic. of "to be" show *are* 15 ×, *be* 1 ×. There are no *er(e)* or other forms.

Of the recorded plural imperative forms, 25 have the suffix *-e*: *arise* 2 ×, *arme*, *barre*, *beholde*, *bere*, *drede*, *lete* 7 ×, *loke*, *make*, *pore*, *pursewe*, *spere*, *take* 2 ×, *throwe*, *prowe* 2 ×. In 10 such instances there are apocopated forms: *affray*, *be*, *behold*, *do*, *fet*, *help* 3 ×, *se*, *wondir*. But there are 8 "*-eth*" plural imperatives: *assayleth*, *beholdeth*, *beholdet*<sup>3</sup>, *hereth*, *leuyth* 2 ×, *museth*, *taketh*. The distinction implied here and elsewhere between "*-e*" and "apocopated" forms may be unreal; the only difference may be of spelling. In this respect, English in Capgrave's age seems to have resembled modern Dutch, in which final unstressed [ə] will or will not be pronounced according to the usage of individuals, though in the judgment of educated speakers of the language, always to pronounce it sounds literary and artificial, never to pronounce it gives a slipshod effect.

With regard to the *-eth* forms, once (*museth* 1102) a rhyme is needed, and in the other cases Capgrave may be employing the 2 or 3-syllabled forms for the sake of his metre. But in general Lynn and the adjacent South East Midland areas seem to have used it more often than he does; in MSS T R A P H and B of the *Chastising* it is predominant or invariable; and a count of A - D in *BMK* shows *-eth*, *-yth*, *-ith* 11 ×, *-en* nil, *-e* 1 ×, and one "apocopated" *amend*. One criterion used by Joyce Bazire in examining the occurrence of *-e* plural imperative forms — their frequency before personal pronouns — does not apply to *Norbert*; though three such forms are followed by a hortatory *felawis* 2 ×, *men* 1 ×, Capgrave never here so uses the personal pronoun.

The recorded forms of the pres. participle give this count: *-ing* (*-yng*, *-inge* included) 120 ×; *beleuand* 1962, *folowand* 3851. Again, this agrees closely with *BMK* (which has no *-and* forms) and with MSS T R A P H B of the *Chastising*. The evidence of *Norbert* and *BMK* suggests that the isogloss in MED Map 4 should be redrawn so as to clear the south-eastern coast of the Wash, though it should be observed that the instances of *-and*, *-end* forms in other manuscripts of the Capgrave group are somewhat more numerous: *Aug keþand* 30, *leuand*; *Gilb comand* 124, *herand* 76, *ioynend* 108, *seand* 76, *stodiand* 111; *Chron folowand* 222.

The 3 plural personal pronoun in *Norbert* is as follows: nom. *thei* 30 ×, *þei* 30 ×, *they* 13 ×, *þey* 2 ×, *thay* 1 ×, *þay* 1 ×, *þai* 4 ×; gen. *here* 20 ×, *her*

7×; acc. and dat. *hem* 33×; reflex. *hem-selue* 3×. This corresponds with *BMK*, where a nom. plural *he* and a gen. plural *ther* occur each only once, and with such East Midland *Chastising* manuscripts as T R A H and B.

The fem. nom. sing. personal pronoun is invariably *sche*, as is to be expected in the South East Midlands.

MED Map 7 suggests that in *Norbert* we should find stressed syllables < OE -*and* unchanged (at least, it is implied, in spelling); but this is not the case. Prescinding from the 8 examples of *band*, *bande*, *bond*, *bondes*, *bondis* which represent nouns < ON *bandi*, we find: *bonde* (< OE *bindan*/*band*) 2003, *fond* (< OE *findan*/*fand*) 477 etc. (4×), *fonde* 2713 etc. (4×), *hand* 124 etc. (18×), *hande* 1438 etc. (5×), *handis* 274 etc. (5×), *land* 828 etc. (4×), *lond* 1022, *londes* 3017, 3865, *londys* 4036, 4060, *sonde* (< OE *sande*) 524, *sondes* 195, 3867, *stand* 859 etc. (8×), *stande* 1273 etc. (5×), *standist* 3210, *standith* 2881, *standyng* 2732, *stant* 85 etc. (12×), *sondyng* 477. In 15 instances, these words rhyme with *band* < *bandi*, suggesting that this borrowing does not in the South East Midland dialects differ in its phonetic development from native -*and* words, or with others listed; 1639, *stande* rhymes with *comande*, n., which elsewhere is written “comaunde, comawnde”. The evidence shows that in this as in other instances, it would be rash to draw conclusions about nuances of pronunciation from spellings, especially of vowels.

According to MED Map 7, the strong past participle forms should be of the “broken”, not “ibroke” type; but the evidence does not show this clearly: *aknowe* 1191, *begunne* 947, 1569, 1865, *bounde* 281 etc. (5×), *bounden* 1270, *bownde* 2058, 2448, *chose* 806 etc. (10×), *chosen* 143 etc. (4×), *come* 211 etc. (13×), *comen* 915, 2450, *drawyn* 3851, *fallen* 3981, *forsake* 1416, *grauen* 837, *hold* 3868, *holde* 2005, *ifalle* 513, 2895, *ifounde* 283, 2989, *irunne* 950, *isene* 824, *isowyn* 1017, *iwonne* 1571, *seyn* (< OE *sezen*) 3727, 3785, *slayn* 4059, *sprongen* 1032, *wrytin* 3532. Even when such forms are employed for rhymes, the suffixes may have been reduced or apocopated: *isowyn*/*growyn* (inf.)/*throwyn* (inf.), *begunne* (947)/*irunne* (inf.)/*sunne* (n.), (1569)/*iwonne* (past. part.), *bounde* (281)/*ifounde* (past part.), (573)/*grounde* (n.), *chose*/*suppose* (pres. plural indic. -5×), *come*/*custome* (n.), *ifalle*/*calle* (inf.)/*halle* (n.), *isene*/*þirtene* (adj.). In only one case, *slayn*/*agayn* (adv.), is there clear indication of a lack of reduction. As to the requirements of metrical regularity, it is a commonplace how subjective and fallible modern judgments on this matter may be.<sup>17</sup>

*Norbert* does not correspond with what is suggested, MED Map 7, with

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Rosemary Woolf, *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1968), p. 3 and n. 1.

regard to stressed *-lich* and unstressed *-li* adjectival and adverbial formations. 38 such are recorded, many recurring several times, and invariably they end in “-ly”. Of them two only, *wrongfully* 3090, and *stedefastly* 3767, are employed as rhymes. The suffix is frequently appended to stems not of OE derivation: *lowly* 154, *platly* 558, *veryly* 865; in all, 29 such hybrid formations occur, two only rhyming, all ending in “-ly”.

The developments in *Norbert* of OE *-ht-* are as follows: OE *briht*: *brith* 1068 etc. (6×), and cf. *Sol* 50, *brithnesse* 3786, *britz* 584, *bryth* 2760 etc. (3×), *brytz* 1371; OE *-boht-*: *boute* 2836, *bowt* 600 etc. (5×), *ibowt* 3778, and cf. *BMK bowte*; OE *brōht-*: *brout* 1282 etc. (3×), and cf. *Sol* 99, *broute* 2651 etc. (4×), *broutz* 779 etc. (10×), *browt* 482e etc. (4×); OE *cniht*: *knyth* 425, and cf. *BMK knygtys*; OE *diht-*: *ditz* 1900, and cf. *Chron dite* 168; OE *dohter*: *doutyr* 1035, and cf. *BMK dowtyr*; OE *feoht-*, *feht-*: *fith* 2652, *fyth* 424; OE *flyght*: *flith* 1231; OE *liht-*: *lith* 17 etc. (13×), and cf. *Aug* 9 etc., *Gilb* 85, *Sol* 56; *lithly* 849 etc. (4×), *lithnesse* 2190, and cf. *BMK lygth*, *lyth*, *lyte*; OE *-meaht-*, *-miht-*: *almyth* 2762, 3768, *almyty* 1552, *mith* 690 etc. (12×), *myth* 110 etc. (30×), and cf. *Sol* 75, 95, *mytz* 910 etc. (5×), *myty* 1462 etc. (6×), and cf. *BMK almygthy*, *almygty*, *almyty*, *myth*, *mygty*, *myty*; OE *nā-wiht*: *nawt* 115 etc. (2×), *noute* 250, *noutz* 609 etc. (5×), *nowt* 27 etc. (22×), and cf. *BMK nawt*; OE *niht*: *nyte* 2664, *nyth* 422 etc. (19×), and cf. *Sol* 87, *nytz* 1173, and cf. *Aug* 10, etc., *Gilb* 76 etc. (*nith*), *BMK nygth*, *nytys*; OE *pliht*: *plith* 878, and cf. *BMK plyte*; OE *reaht-*: *rawt* 1918; OE *riht*: *rith* 29 etc. (20×), and cf. *Aug* 30, *Sol* 50, *rithful(l)* 630 etc. (4×), *rithfully* 757 etc. (2×), *rithfulness* 1945, *rithwisnesse* 3068, *ritz* 586 etc. (6×), *ryte* 1405, *ryth* 4052, and cf. *BMK rytful*, *rytfulness*; OE *siht*: *sith* 1670 etc. (7×), and cf. *Sol* 84 etc., *BMK sygthe*, *sygth*, *syztys*; OE *sleaht-*, *slaht-*: *manslaut* 562; OE *-soht-*: *isoutz* 1620, *soutz* 309 etc. (5×), *sowt* 3071 etc. (6×), and cf. *BMK*; OE *-þōht-*: *beþoutz* 876, *beþowt* 84, *thoutz* 605 etc. (12×), and cf. *Sol* *þouthful* 37, *thowt* 599, and cf. *BMK*, *þoute* 1668, *þoutz* 324 etc. (27×); OE *wiht*: *whith* 3771; OE *-wroht-*: *iwroutz* 872 etc. (2×), *wrout* 1819 etc. (2×), *wroutz* 561, *wrowt* 1131 etc. (2×), and cf. *BMK*. This evidence shows clearly that *-h-* between a back vowel and *-t* represents [u], but that after a front vowel *-ht-* represents [θ].

Although Meech suggests that in *BMK* the developments of OE final *-h* are “not represented in spelling”, the examples cited from that text such as *jnow*, *thow* (< *þēah*), *thorw*, compared with those from *Norbert*, show that after a back vowel a final semi-vowel has been formed, whereas front diphthongs have been monophthongized and combined with *-h* to form new diphthongs: *bow* (< OE *bog*, *boh*) 1279, *hey*, *hie*, *hy*, *hye* (< OE *hēah*) 1846 etc. (26×), *inow* (< OE *genōh*) 1633 etc. (4×), *ny* (< OE *nēah*) 42 etc. (19×), *plow* (< OE *plōh*) 773 etc. (2×), *sey* (< OE *seah*) 480 etc. (12×), *thorw*, *þorw* (< OE *þurh*) 763 etc. (9×).

The "gūd/gōd" isogloss in MED Map 7 shows Lynn within the "gōd" area. The evidence of *Norbert* confirms this without exception: e.g. *blood*, *brothir*, *flood*, *nontyde*, *soothly*, *wood* (< OE *wōd*). The scribe's practice in the use of "oo" and "o" spellings is discussed next.

The index shows the following examples of the scribe's use of double vowel-symbols to indicate a long or lengthened vowel, and his lack of consistency in this matter: *faas* (< OFr *face*) 3253, but *face* 266 etc. (11×); *feer* (< OE *fēr*) 258, but *fere* 136 etc. (16× — noun only); *gaast* (< OE *gāst*) 2581, but *gast* 3028; *geest* (< OFr *geste*) 3619; *goost* (< OE *gāst*) 114 etc. (8×), but *gost* 1239; *goot* (< OE *gāt*) 2520 etc. (3×); *graas* (< OFr *grace*) 1330 etc. (3×), but *grace* 1 etc. (30×); *haast* (< OFr *haste*) 2578, but *hast* 130 etc. (10× — noun only); *heed* (n. < OE *hēdan*) 491 etc. (17×), but *hede* 2325; *hood* (< OE *hād*) 966 etc. (3×); *hool* (< OE *hāl*) 1955 etc. (5×), but *hole* 1400 etc. (2×); *hoom* (< OE *hām*) 3358, but *hom* 139 etc. (15×); *hoost* (< OFr *hoste*) 116 etc. (3×); *hoot* (< OE *hāt*) 1423; *ioon* (< *Ioannem*) 3210, but *ion* 377 etc. (5×); *laat* (< OE *læt*) 339 etc. (2×), but *late* 428 etc. (11×); *maad* (< OE *macode*) 2810, but *made* 17 etc. (30×); *meek* (cf. ON *miuk-r*) 3822, but *meke* 114 etc. (12×); *paas* (< OFr *pace*) 1454, but *pace* 1062 etc. (2× — noun only); *pees* (< OFr *pais*) 1 etc. (23×); *plaas* (< OFr *place*) 3901, but *place* 18 etc. (30×); *seed* (< OE *sād*) 779 etc. (4×), but *sedis* 1800; *seek* (< OE *sēc*) 450 etc. (7×), but *seke* 459 etc. (3×), *sekenesse* 2814 etc. (2×), *sekenesse* 3597 etc. (3×); *seel* (< OE *sāl*) 1459 etc. (3×); *sees* (< OFr *cesser*) 654 etc. (2× — verb only), but *sese* 2816; *took* (< ON *tók*) 190 etc. (30×), but *toke* 491 etc. (3×); *waas* (< OE *wæs*) 255, 3903, rhyming and therefore stressed, but *was* (in first 100 lines 8×, not rhyming); *waast* (< ONFr *waste*) 2580, rhyming with *haast* above.

This account prescind from such already common spellings as "good", "too", "toon" (< OE *tā(n)*), which had for long commended themselves as distinguishing from the descendants of OE *god*, etc. It shows the scribe sporadically employing the double symbol, but only in closed monosyllables; yet much more often he prefers to give the syllable an open appearance, indicating its length or stress by a merely graphic "e". To examine only one other example of his orthography, his copy of the *Solace* in MS Bodley 423, is to see the same principles in use. The following are the words written there with both double and single vowel symbols: *blood/blod*, *book/boke*, *brood* (adj.)/*brod*, *deed* (adj.)/*ded*, *deep/dep*, *doo/do*, *feest/fest*, *goo/go*, *heed* (n.)/*hed*, *hool* (adj.)/*hol*, *hole*, *hoom/hom*, *hoot* (adj.)/*hot*, *leed* (n.)/*led*, *moo/mo*, *preest/prest*, *reed* (adj.)/*red*, *roof/rof*, *roop/rop*, *see* (n.)/*se*, *soo/so*, *stoon/ston*, *stones*, *too* (< OE *twā*)/*to*, *too* (< OE *tō*)/*to*, *took/tok*, *toke*, *tree/tre*, *poo/tho*, *weel* (adv.)/*wel*. But it will be seen that in one respect the practice in *Sol* differs from that in *Norbert*, where the double symbol is never used in open

syllables, whereas in *Sol* we find *doo*, *goo*, *moo* etc. In another respect both texts agree: there is no attempt to distinguish graphically between [i] and [i:], whatever their origins, with the exceptions of *Norbert* 2481 *myis* (< OE *mys*), 2479 *avyis* (< OFr *avis*), 2587 *pyin* (< OE *pīn*). (We have of course already seen that [i] will very often be lowered to [e], a South East Midland characteristic). The early 15th century is marked by the increased use of the spelling "ij" to show the diphthong [ei] < [i:], a spelling perhaps popularized by writers familiar with Dutch and German practice; but even in Capgrave's time it does not yet seem to have been adopted by scribes in the Lynn area.

One tendency which this manuscript shares with other Lynn documents is to write [ʃ] with "ch" occasionally: *felauchep* 1763, *felauchip* 1608, and cf. *Sol* 5 etc., 4 ×, *felauchep* 1542, *lordchep* 2909 and cf. *Sol* 50, *maystirchep* 2117, *punch* 3803 and cf. *Sol* 91, *Prompt. Parv. punchyn*, *punchynge*, *punched* 3079 and cf. *BMK* 10, *Sol* 94, *puniched* 1389, *worchep* 791 and cf. *Sol* (5 ×).

Most often the scribe writes [ʃ] as "sch" or "ssch"; initially, all entries in the computer-index from *shadow* 2391 to *schynnyng* 523, medially e.g. *bisschop* 88 etc. (30 ×), *busschis* 770, and finally *asch* 2696, *dich* 416, *englisch* 286, *fisch* 414, *flesh* 414. [tʃ] is invariably written "ch"; initially, index *chaf* 3049 to *choys* 3374, medially e.g. *crouched* 2740 etc. (3 ×), and finally e.g. *ech*, *eche* 1960 etc. (3 ×). This suggests that spellings such as "felauchep" have no relation to pronunciation; and the *Norbert* spelling "puniched" also suggests that syncope does not account for *punched*, as Meech suggests for its occurrence in *BMK*.

A count of "th", "p" and "t3" spellings gives these results: initially, "th" 60 ×, "p" 73 ×, "t3" nil; there is however no principle of meaning, etymology or sound dictating the use of "th" rather than "p" — e.g. *than*, *pan*. Medially, "th" 157 ×, "p" 62 ×, "t3" nil. Finally, "th" 400 ×, "p" nil, "t3" 164 ×. Only one "t3" spelling has been observed in *Sol*: "what sche was pat hit3 him so grete pingis" (37). In *Norbert*, final "th" and "t3" are used indifferently: *about3* 1847 (< OE *-būtan*), *brith* 1806 etc. (< OE *beorht*), *brit3* 584, *bryth* 2706, etc., *bryt3* 1371, *brout3* 779 (< OE *brōht*), *habit3* 339 (< OFr (*h*)*abite*), *habite* 208 etc., *isout3* 1620 (< OE *ge-sōht*), *lith* 17 etc. (< OE *lēoht* n.), *myth* 110 etc. (< OE *meahte*), *myt3* 910 etc., *nyt3* 1173 (< OE *niht*), *parfith* 68 etc. (< OFr *parfite*), *parfit3* 1872, *rith* 29 etc. (< OE *riht*), *rit3* 586 etc., *spirith* (< OFr (*e*)*spirite*), *spirit3* 2313, *thout3* 605 etc. (< OE (*ge*)*þōht*), *whith* 3771 (< OE *wiht*), *whit3* 1372 (< OE *hwīt*). Some of these may show a tendency for the plosive [t] to become an affricative [θ], especially when following the affricative [x]; but they may equally well be no more than a muddled attempt to write [xt] with a transposition of the letters "3t". The scribe, like many others, is capable



of such inverted spelling-errors; in *Aug* we have "kilned" for "likned" (MS B. M. Add. 36704, f. 5v), in *Sol* there is "delues" for "deules" (87).

[s] in the initial position is invariably written "sch": index, *shadow* 2391 to *schulde* 1088 etc. This practice is followed in the other manuscripts of this group, as also in *Prompt. Parv.* In *BMK* "x" is a frequent alternative spelling to "sch", as also in the Lynn Gild Returns; and it is found in MSS B. M. Arundel 20, 168, 395, and Bodley Rawl. poet. 118 of Capgrave's *St. Katherine*, none of these the work of the *Norbert* scribe.<sup>18</sup> In addition to frequent examples of the Romance *ex*-prefix, we find in *Norbert* "x" spellings only in Romance and other borrowings, and representing the development of OE [hs]: *buxumnesse*, *crucifixe*, *frixlare*, *onbuxum*, *vexacioun*, *vexe*, *unbuxum*, *wexe*.

OE [kw] is written "qu" or "qw": *quake* 1180 (<*cwacian*), *qwek* 1127 (? < *cwacian*), *qwene* 3505 (<*cwēn*), *qwook* (<*cwōc*). *Whik* 836, "alive", is probably no exception, deriving not from OE *cwic* but from ON *vik-r*; cf. *BMK*, where *qwyk* is found 2 ×, but, 60, "whyk and dede". "Wick", "alive", is still common in some Northern English dialects.

One recurring spelling in *Norbert* is "who" < OE *hū*. Against 4 recordings of "how" (424, 1218, 1371, 1654) there are 26 of "who" (224 etc.). OE *hwā* and its several cases and compounds are written "who" 23 ×, and in no other way. The same idiosyncrasy is found elsewhere in this scribe's work: *Aug* 5, 11, 15 (2 ×), 22 (3 ×), etc.; *Gilb* 65 (2 ×), 70 (2 ×), 76, etc.; *Sol* 78, 79, 80, 84 (2 ×), etc.; *Chron* 134. Under *Hou*, MED also lists the following "wh-" spellings: *Castle of Perseverance* "whou, whov", Ellis, *Original Letters* "whow", *Ludus Coventriae* "whov, whow", *Oseney Register* "who", *Palladius* "whow", *Paston Letters* "who", *Prompt. Parv.* "whow" (6 ×), *Piers Plowman's Creed* "whou, whouz (2 ×)"; and Dobson reports the spelling also in the Dibgy *Mary Magdalene*.<sup>19</sup> It is Dobson's contention that this is one of the linguistic features which mark the *Ludus Coventriae* and *Mary Magdalene* as written in the Norfolk dialect; and several other of these texts cited by MED have East Anglian characteristics, as has recently been demonstrated for, i.a., *The Castle of Perseverance*.<sup>20</sup>

From the evidence which has been described, it can be seen that *Norbert* corresponds in the main to the criteria for recognizing early 15th-century South East Midland English, although even some of the most recent studies fail to allow that in some respects Lynn was on the border between different

<sup>18</sup> On "x" spellings in other contemporary East Anglian texts, see E. J. Dobson, "The Etymology and Meaning of *Boy*", p. 153.

<sup>19</sup> "The Etymology and Meaning of *Boy*", p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> M. Eccles, "*Ludus Coventriae*: Lincoln or Norfolk?", pp. 137-138.

dialect areas. Against this, it must be remembered that the poem is the work of a skilled versifier, often using for literary purposes words and forms which were not part of the daily speech of his fellow townsmen. He was a much travelled man, necessarily familiar with the spoken and written English of other regions, and so himself more than usually susceptible to linguistic change. Yet even the common vocabulary of the poem, compared with the written forms of, e.g., *BMK*, shows that manuscripts produced in the same place at the same time will not invariably use identical spellings. Professional scribes, by reason of their callings, tended to move from district to district more often than most of the population. This was outstandingly true of Capgrave himself; but we cannot be sure that he was the *Norbert* scribe. If he wrote only the interlinear and marginal corrections in this manuscript and the others of its group, which were otherwise the work of his amanuensis, we can be even less sure that they, although probably produced in Lynn, show us in every respect the spellings, still less the speech of a native of that town.

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# THE PRACTICE AND PROBLEMS OF A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH BISHOP: THE EPISCOPATE OF WILLIAM GRAY\*

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THE English Church of the fifteenth century was by no means homogeneous. Its topographical pattern was far from the regularity of Pope Gregory I's initial plan.<sup>1</sup> There were two provinces, the southern-Canterbury, much the larger, and York. These were as distinct from one another as any other two adjacent provinces of the western church. Within their borders lay seventeen English dioceses, only three of them in the northern province.<sup>2</sup> The Canterbury province comprised the remainder,<sup>3</sup> and it was to Canterbury that bishops of the four Welsh sees owed obedience.<sup>4</sup>

A further irregularity was that the thrones of seven bishops were in Benedictine churches,<sup>5</sup> and an equal number in churches of secular canons —

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<sup>1</sup> The scheme was for two metropolitan sees each with twelve subordinate dioceses. F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 1947), pp. 108-9; Gregory, Epist. XI, 65: J.-P. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* LXXVII, cols. 1200-1. For English bishoprics in general, and their occupants, see the relevant sections of F. M. Powicke and E. B. Fryde, *Handbook of British Chronology*, Roy. Hist. Soc. 2nd ed. (London, 1961). R. I. Page has produced a revised list of Anglo-Saxon bishops in *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* IX, 1965, pp. 71-95; X 1966, pp. 2-24.

<sup>2</sup> York itself, Durham and Carlisle.

<sup>3</sup> Bath-and-Wells, Canterbury, Chichester, Coventry-and-Lichfield, Ely, Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Rochester, Salisbury, Winchester and Worcester.

<sup>4</sup> They were: St. David's, St. Asaph, Llandaff and Bangor.

<sup>5</sup> Canterbury itself, Durham, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester and Worcester. Monastic cathedrals are discussed by D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 129-34, 318-30, 619-31.

the usual arrangement on the European continent,<sup>6</sup> while two dioceses, Bath-and-Wells and Coventry-and-Lichfield, compromised by having both secular and regular chapters. The seat of the bishop of Carlisle, whose see was the last to be created before the Reformation,<sup>7</sup> was uniquely located in a house of Augustinian canons regular.

There were enormous variations in the size of dioceses. Unwieldy Lincoln, with eight archdeaconries, stretched from the Humber in the north to the Thames on the south, a distance of some 160 miles as the crow flies.<sup>8</sup> Had it not been for the late formation of Ely diocese (about 1109),<sup>9</sup> Lincoln would have embraced both mediaeval universities — Cambridge, as well as Oxford. At the other extreme stood Rochester, in the shadow of Canterbury, with a single archdeaconry. It was only about twenty-five miles from north to south and some twenty to thirty miles across.<sup>10</sup>

Other features might vary from one diocese to another: the relationship of the bishop to his cathedral chapter,<sup>11</sup> the number and size of areas of jurisdiction exempt from diocesan control, the scope of the powers exercised by the 'local administration' of archdeacon and rural dean, the character and composition of the bishop's 'central administration',<sup>12</sup> the distribution of patronage, the pattern of monastic settlement<sup>13</sup> — to mention only some.<sup>14</sup>

An aura of gloom has been cast over the fifteenth-century episcopate. Professor Knowles in his magisterial survey of English bishops takes for his

<sup>6</sup> Some exceptions are noted by Knowles, *op. cit.*, p. 619, n. 1 (cf. p. 323).

<sup>7</sup> Founded in 1133, its continuous existence dates from the 13th century. See A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1947), p. 40.

<sup>8</sup> York diocese was larger, but less populous. In any case the archdeaconry of Richmond comprised a substantial area in the north and west which was almost entirely extra-diocesan.

<sup>9</sup> See Henry Wharton's edition of the 'Historia de conversione Abbatiae Eliensis in Episcopatum' (Richard, monk of Ely), *Anglia Sacra*, (London, 1691), I, pp. 678-81.

<sup>10</sup> Diocesan boundaries are marked on the Ordnance Survey *Map of Monastic Britain* (north and south sheets) (London, 1950).

<sup>11</sup> For secular chapters, see K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1967), chap. 2; for monastic ones, Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 318-30. Jurisdictional conflict was common, but by the later mediaeval period points at issue had usually been settled by composition.

<sup>12</sup> I use these terms in *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the first half of the Fourteenth Century*, S.P.C.K., (London, 1965), chaps. 2, 3. [Cited hereafter as *Worcester Administration*].

<sup>13</sup> Apart from the *Map of Monastic Britain*, see A. M. Ryan, *A Map of Old English Monasteries*, Cornell Studies in English XXVIII (New York and London, 1939), and also D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953).

<sup>14</sup> Much work needs to be done on individual dioceses to establish their particularities more precisely and to map those overall changes taking place during the later Middle Ages. R. L. Storey in *Diocesan Administration in the Fifteenth Century*, St. Anthony's Hall Pubns., 16 (York, 1959), ranges less widely than his title would suggest.

third and final division the period from about 1350 to the Reformation, remarking that it was by then "frankly realised that a bishop would not be able or would not wish to perform all his episcopal duties".<sup>15</sup> But he declined to end on a melancholy note: "Despite the progressive mechanization of all diocesan activities in the later middle ages, and the presence of worldly, ambitious and irregular prelates in all periods, the English episcopate was on the whole a very notable one, and must have compared very favourably with that of any other regional church".<sup>16</sup> All the same, the fifteenth century seemingly makes a poor showing — there were no saints, no scholars of the eminence of Anselm, Grosseteste or Bradwardine, only men of ordinary stature.<sup>17</sup> But, of course, the giants have always lived a long time ago.

The manner of episcopal appointment has been made the scapegoat of this state of affairs.<sup>18</sup> Professor Hamilton Thompson's analysis of the late mediæval episcopate was mainly in terms of the interaction of royal and papal authority.<sup>19</sup> More recently the emphasis has been on the internal political situation.<sup>20</sup> Henry IV (1399-1413), it is argued, largely deter-

<sup>15</sup> I suspect that realisation had in fact come earlier. The example of "Moses and his co-operators" is cited by more than one bishop of the earlier 14th century who wished to delegate functions. Canon Law recognised the need for such assessors: *Extra* 1, 31, c. 15. In any case, the development of the episcopal curia made some delegation practicable and indeed commendable, particularly in larger dioceses. In the previous century Cardinal Ottobon (Council of London 1268, c. 21) had enjoined bishops to be resident, as Cardinal Otto (Council of London 1237, c. 22) had done before him. *Councils and Synods 1205-1313*, ed. F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney (Oxford, 1964), pp. 255, 769-70.

<sup>16</sup> 'The English Bishops, 1070-1532': *Medieval Studies presented to Aubrey Gwynn*, S. J., ed. J. A. Watt, J. B. Morrall, F. X. Martin (Dublin, 1961), pp. 283-96, esp. 288-91, 296.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. E. F. Jacob, 'Archbishop John Stafford', *Essays in Later Medieval History* (Manchester and New York, 1968), p. 35: "They seem, like their registers, too concerned with ecclesiastical routine, too governmental and orthodox for any that might still expect to find elements of heroism in the later mediæval Church". For some antidote see A. Judd, *The Life of Thomas Bekynton* (Chichester, 1961), p. 109.

<sup>18</sup> But this was an old problem. Despite King John's concession of freedom of election in 1214 (*Councils and Synods 1205-1313*, pp. 38-41; *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III*, ed. C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple (London, 1953), pp. 199-201 — a reissue of 1215), political forces continued to operate. Free capitular elections were few at any time, particularly in the greater sees. Papal provision further diminished the number.

<sup>19</sup> *English Clergy*, chap. 1. "The appointment of bishops is the test question by which the relations between the English Church and the Apostolic See in the fifteenth century can be put to the proof..." (*ibid.*, p. 30).

<sup>20</sup> For much of what follows: R. J. Knecht, 'The Episcopate and the Wars of the Roses', *University of Birmingham Historical Journal*, VI (1958), pp. 108-31; Lita-Rose Betcherman, 'The Making of Bishops in the Lancastrian Period', *Speculum*, XLI (1966), pp. 397-419. The latter is marred by an extraordinary conglomeration of verbal infelicities.

mined the personnel of the episcopal bench, choosing his own clerks.<sup>21</sup> His son, Henry V (1413-22), likewise kept a firm hold on such promotions, rewarding those active in continental diplomacy. But with Martin V's election in 1417, the papacy became a force to be reckoned with. During Henry VI's minority (1422-37) the Gloucester-Beaufort factions disputed episcopal appointments, a situation of which Martin V sought to take advantage. Even when the king came of age conciliar pressures often proved more influential than the royal will. Edward IV (1461-83) resumed firm control and was able to leave a bench of bishops so inured to royal domination that it did virtually nothing to oppose Richard III.<sup>22</sup> As might be expected, Henry VII (1485-1509) showed marked skill in manipulating vacancies, but was not given to the selection of spiritual men — John Fisher being a notable oversight.

But when all is said, the manner of an appointment and the political factors which may have determined it do not provide an altogether reliable prognostication of a bishop's performance in his see. It also remains an open question whether a markedly different episcopate could have been elected at this time — by the cathedral chapters, for instance. It is arguable that the bench is a fair reflection of the age; an era of administrators, lawyers rather than theologians,<sup>23</sup> university graduates,<sup>24</sup> noblemen and social upstarts,<sup>25</sup> of men who understood the complexities of government or diplomacy, who were at home in the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, or

<sup>21</sup> See also: E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 271-2; J. L. Kirby, 'Councils and Councillors of Henry IV, 1399-1413', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., XIV (1964), pp. 35-65.

<sup>22</sup> "The fortunate coincidence of a reinvigorated monarchy, a complaisant papacy and a high episcopal mortality enabled Edward IV to go a long way towards establishing an episcopate which owed little to the aristocracy and much to the crown"; "That only three bishops opposed Richard III is symptomatic of the degree of subservience which resulted from Edward IV's firm yet flexible control of episcopal appointments". Knecht, *art. cit.*, pp. 120, 122.

<sup>23</sup> Knecht, *art. cit.*, p. 109, comments on "the trend towards a legalistic rather than a theological episcopate". A like tendency is observable during Edward II's reign, thanks it would seem to the lawyer-pope John XXII: K. Edwards, 'The Political Importance of the English Bishops during the reign of Edward II', *English Historical Review*, LIX (1944), p. 212. Whether a lawyer (here a canon lawyer) or a theologian was of more profit to the regimen of the Church had been a point of scholastic debate: R. J. Long, 'Utrum iurista vel theologus plus proficiat ad regimen ecclesie', *Mediaeval Studies*, XXX (1968), pp. 134-62.

<sup>24</sup> Very few fifteenth-century bishops do not figure in A. B. Emden's lists: *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1957-9); *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500*, (Cambridge 1963). [Hereafter cited as *Biog. Oxon.* and *Biog. Cantab.*].

<sup>25</sup> The structure of mediaeval society had less rigidity than is sometimes suggested. T. F. Tout comments ('Literature and Learning in the English Civil Service in the Fourteenth Century', *Speculum*, IV (1929), p. 388): "Even the lay official could find opportunities for his kin, hardly surpassed by the direct avenue to power and position afforded by the church".

amid the bustle of town life — perhaps accustomed to all of these.<sup>26</sup> Categorisation of bishops may be as hazardous for the fifteenth as for the fourteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

By their very nature spiritual men have always been reluctant to assume the onus of office. That quality of pious withdrawal exhibited by Thomas Spoffard, bishop of Hereford (1422-48), may have been rare among his colleagues, but he was not so exceptional in giving attention to diocesan affairs as has been stated.<sup>28</sup> The truth is, we do not yet know enough about such activity during the century. To a degree this arises from the preoccupation of historians with other matters: at one time the examination of the 'abuses' of the Church which were thought to lead inevitably to the Reformation, at another the conflict of those too readily assumed entities 'Church' and 'State',<sup>29</sup> or again, the relationship between the English

<sup>26</sup> John Carpenter, who was a royal clerk but not a 'professional civil servant', had been provost of Oriel College, Oxford, was a Doctor of Theology, and in contact with Bristol and London citizens. See the writer's 'Aspects of the Episcopate of John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester 1440-1476', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, XIX (1968), pp. 11-40.

<sup>27</sup> Many (most?) bishops would fit more than one of the six categories — civil servants, scholars, religious, officials of the Roman curia, diocesan administrators and cathedral clergy, aristocrats — which are enumerated by W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Notre Dame, 1963), pp. 9-26. Analyses for the reigns of Edward II and Edward III are noted in *Worcester Administration*, p. 76, n. 1; cf. Knowles, *art. cit.*, p. 283, n. 1. Among more recent studies of 14th-15th-century bishops are: M. Aston, *Thomas Arundel* (Oxford, 1967); J. Dahmus, *William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-1396* (Pennsylvania/London, 1966); R. M. Haines, 'Wolstan de Bransford, Prior and Bishop of Worcester, c. 1280-1349', *Birmingham Historical Journal*, VIII (1962), pp. 97-113; *idem*, '... John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester 1440-1476'; E. F. Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele* (London, 1967); *idem*, 'Reynold Pecock, Bishop of Chichester' and 'Archbishop John Stafford', reprinted as chaps. 1 and 2 of *Essays in Later Medieval History*; *idem*, 'Thomas Brouns, Bishop of Norwich 1436-45', *Essays in British History presented to Sir Keith Feiling*, ed. H. R. Trevor-Roper (New York, 1965), pp. 61-83; A. Judd, *The Life of Thomas Bekynton*; R. L. Storey, *Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham 1406-1437* (London, 1961); W. L. Warren, 'A Reappraisal of Simon Sudbury, bishop of London (1361-75) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1375-81)', *J.E.H.*, X (1959), pp. 139-52.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. Betcherman, *art. cit.*, p. 406. Spoffard was a Benedictine monk and it is worth noting that two other Benedictines, Boulers (1451-3) and Milling (1474-92), and the Carmelite friars, Mascall (1404-16) and Stanbury (1453-74), were to hold the see of Hereford. Such a preponderance of regulars — between them they ruled for almost 80 years — was highly unusual.

<sup>29</sup> There was much lay-ecclesiastical friction in the days of Archbishops Pecham, Winchelsey and Stratford, but, as K. B. McFarlane remarked, "by the reign of Edward III centuries of mutual accommodation had greatly reduced the area of possible dispute between the claims of church and state" (*John Wycliffe and the Beginnings of English Nonconformity* (London, 1952), p. 41). Not enough emphasis has been placed on those elements of co-operation between ecclesiastical and secular authority: e.g. the use of diocesan machinery for the publication of government information and regulations, for the organisation of prayers, processions and other *pietatis opera* at times of national crisis, and for the collection of taxation and the execution of a variety of royal writs;

Church and the Church as a whole in the context of a developing nationalism.<sup>30</sup> Most damaging has been the assumption that the principal sources, the diocesan registers, are merely a collection of common forms, lacking the interest of their thirteenth and fourteenth-century counterparts. This is misleading if pressed too far. It will be recalled that much of the story of later Lollardy has been recovered from episcopal registers.<sup>31</sup>

In this paper I propose to draw my illustrations mainly from the diocese of Ely during the episcopate of William Gray (1454-78), but so far as possible to view them against the background of that *Ecclesia Anglicana*, of which Ely formed a microcosm.

William Gray, the only English bishop to gain a place among the *Archives-covi e Vescovi* of Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Vite*,<sup>32</sup> was taken by that author to be of royal descent, a kinsman of Henry VI. This was a natural exaggera-

and also the capture of excommunicates by the secular arm and the fifteenth-century procedure in cases of heresy. On the last two points see the able study by F. D. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies 15, (Toronto 1968) [constructively reviewed by G. D. G. Hall in *J.E.H.*, XX (1969), pp. 341-2], and M. E. Aston, 'Lollardy and Sedition 1381-1431', *Past and Present*, XVII (1960), esp. pp. 30-35.

<sup>30</sup> Among recent studies are: *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. C. H. Lawrence (London, 1965), in which F. R. H. Du Boulay writes on the fifteenth century at chap. 6, pp. 197-242; B. Smalley, 'Church and State 1300-1377: Theory and Fact' [much of which is relevant also to a later period], in *Europe in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield and B. Smalley (Evanston, 1965), pp. 15-43; D. Hay 'The Church of England in the Later Middle Ages', *History* LIII (1968), pp. 35-50. Denys Hay argues that we may after all speak of the 'Church of England' at this time. It could be added that Englishmen might also have spoken of the 'Church of York' or 'Church of Lincoln', understanding thereby a further regional subdivision with to some extent its own interests, practices and peculiarities. For the notion of Wycliffe as "at least one medieval English theologian [who] asserted that a principle of English nationality was fused into the life of the English Church", see E. C. Tatnall, 'John Wyclif and *Ecclesia Anglicana*', *J.E.H.*, XX (1969), pp. 19-43. A patriotic preacher in Henry V's reign, supposedly John Swetstock, envisaged that monarch as the heavenly knight sent by God "in defensionem ecclesie et salvacionem totius regni", who struck down Lollards on the one hand, the French on the other. Bodleian Lib., Bodley MS 649, esp. sermon 6, fols. 34r-40v.

<sup>31</sup> J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards 1414-1520* (Oxford, 1965). Had James Gairdner used the registers he might not have concluded that Lollardy was 'suddenly arrested' in 1428-9: *Lollardy and the Reformation in England*, (London 1908), I, p. 161.

<sup>32</sup> *Vite di Uomini Illustri del Secolo XV*, ed Paolo D'Ancona and Erhard Aeschlimann, Milan 1951, s.v. Guglielmo Graim, pp. 163-4. An edition in English (translated W. G. and E. Waters), with an introduction by M. P. Gilmore, is Harper TB 1111 (New York, 1963). Short biographies of Gray are to be found in: *Dictionary of National Biography* (R. L. Poole); W. F. Schirmer, *Der Englische Frühhumanismus* (Tübingen, 1963), pp. 109-114; R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1967), pp. 86-97; Emden, *Biog. Oxon.* s.v. Gray; J. Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely*, 2nd ed. (Norwich, 1812), pp. 176-8. See also R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College Oxford* (Oxford, 1963), 'William Gray and his Books', pp. xxiv-xlv.



tion<sup>33</sup> for one who admired the number of the Englishman's servants and horses, the munificence of his household arrangements and patronage. In fact he was the son of Sir Thomas Gray of Heton, Northumberland,<sup>34</sup> who was beheaded for his part in the duke of Cambridge's 'Southampton plot' (1415) against Henry V.<sup>35</sup> Well connected he was: being related on his mother's side to Humphrey Stafford, first duke of Buckingham, while in Ralph Neville, first earl of Westmorland, he had a common grandfather with the future Edward IV, who *did* call him kinsman.<sup>36</sup> His paternal uncle was William Gray, successively bishop of London (1426-31) and Lincoln (1431-36).

Before setting out on his continental travels, recalled for us by Vespa-siano, Gray had been chancellor of Oxford University,<sup>37</sup> where his interest in humanistic literature could have been aroused by the recent accessions to the library provided by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester.<sup>38</sup> But his own studies were basically theological and it was to the doctorate in Theology that he was admitted at Padua in 1445. In English humanism he must be ranked as a bibliophile and patron rather than a contributing scholar.<sup>39</sup>

At Rome Gray became a papal prothonotary and referendary, as well as Henry VI's proctor. A friendly Pope Nicholas V (1447-55) unsuccessfully provided him to the see of Lincoln in 1450. Four years later, when Bouchier was translated from Ely to Canterbury during the duke of York's protectorate — Henry VI being *non compos mentis*,<sup>40</sup> Gray was duly provided

<sup>33</sup> There was a remote connection. Gray's grandfather on his mother's side, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, married (secondly) Joan Beaufort. Henry IV was Joan's half-brother.

<sup>34</sup> A. [Sir Anthony] R. Wagner, then Portcullis pursuivant, in *The Times Literary Supplement*, 9, June 1932, p. 427. R. L. Poole and W. G. and E. Waters (*op. cit.*, p. 4) wrongly call him a son of Lord Gray of Codnor (cf. Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, I, p. 672n). His coat of arms at Balliol and in, for instance, B. M. Royal MS 7 F XII at fol. 2, *gules, a lion rampant within a bordure engrailed argent*, demonstrates the Heton connection. The Gray pedigree is in *A History of Northumberland*, ed. M. H. Dodds, XIV, (Newcastle 1935), facing p. 328.

<sup>35</sup> Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 146-7.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1467-77*, pp. 337-8, See also *The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. E. Cokayne *et al.*, revised ed., II (London, 1912), s.v. Buckingham; XII (London, 1959), s.v. Westmorland.

<sup>37</sup> He was chancellor before 21 February 1441, resigning shortly after 23 February 1442. *Registrum Cancellarii Oxoniensis 1434-1469*, Oxf. Hist. Soc. XCIII (1932), p. xxxvi.

<sup>38</sup> Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 86-7. As a building Duke Humphrey's library was not available for readers until the 1480s. His books were placed in St. Mary's church. The decision to house them in an upper storey, to be added to the partly constructed Divinity Schools, was not taken until 1444, by which time Gray was either in Cologne or en route for Italy. J. N. L. Myres, 'Recent Discoveries in the Bodleian Library', *Archaeologia* CI (1967), pp. 151-68.

<sup>39</sup> See the assessments of Weiss (*op. cit.*, p. 95); Schirmer (*op. cit.*, p. 114); and of Mynors (*op. cit.*, p. xlv).

<sup>40</sup> Henry's health and the duke of York's motives are discussed by J. R. Lander, 'Henry VI

to the vacated see.<sup>41</sup> The like-minded pope, the supposedly related king, the ascendant Yorkist faction, and the fellow humanist John Tiptoft, at the time treasurer of England, have each been credited with his promotion.<sup>42</sup>

The new bishop does not fall into a ready-made category. A wealthy man with noble connections, a Yorkist by historical circumstance, though with Lancastrian relations,<sup>43</sup> a theologian, a former royal proctor and papal *curialis*, a patron of humanists with a keen interest in books and their transcription.

Criteria for judging a diocesan's worth and effectiveness are not easy to establish. Finer points of spirituality and pastoral concern seldom emerge from episcopal records. I suspect, however, that physical presence is one of the more reliable. This is not to imply permanent residence in the sense of never leaving the diocese, for a bishop, whether he liked it or not, had political obligations. Apart from parliament, there were the affairs of the Church and matters of clerical taxation to be discussed at convocation or provincial council.<sup>44</sup> It is an indictment of fifteenth-century society rather than of bishops as such that a disproportionate amount of time had to be spent on extra-diocesan business.

Gray provides a good example of such preoccupation. Following his consecration at Mortlake, 7 September 1454,<sup>45</sup> he was soon involved as

and the Duke of York's Second Protectorate, 1455 to 1456', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLIII (1960-1), pp. 46-49.

<sup>41</sup> His bull of provision is dated 21 June 1454: Reg. Gray, fol. 1r-v [Cambridge University Library].

<sup>42</sup> Weiss, *op. cit.*, p. 90; da Bisticci, *Vite*, p. 164; Knecht, *art. cit.*, p. 110; Betcherman, *art. cit.*, p. 418; Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century*, p. 270; R. J. Mitchell, *John Free* (London, 1955), p. 101.

<sup>43</sup> Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, Gray's uncle, was a staunch Lancastrian. He died at Northampton (1460).

<sup>44</sup> The terms are apparently interchangeable at this time. For some account of convocation business, see Jacob, *Archbishop Henry Chichele*, chap. 5, and the same author's *The Fifteenth Century*, pp. 302-4, 421-3.

<sup>45</sup> The date given in Gray's register (fol. 1r). It was a Saturday, and because of the canon law regulation (*Decretum*, D. 75, cc. 1, 2, 5) that consecration should take place on Sunday ("cui a vespere sabati initium constat ascribi", however), it has been assumed that Gray was consecrated on Sunday 8 September. E.g. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, I, p. 672n; Poole, *D.N.B.* art. cit.; *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 224. The time of Gray's return from Rome has been the subject of some discussion. Weiss (*op. cit.*, p. 90, n. 7) suggests that he could have settled again in England when he brought Cardinal Kemp's pallium (1452). Da Bisticci (*Vite*, p. 164) implies that he stayed some years in Rome after his promotion — which is demonstrably false. A Salisbury memorandum states: "dominus Willelmus Grey recessit a curia Romana in festo sancti Edwardi Regis et confessoris viz. xiii die Octobris 1453". Gray had been acting for the Salisbury chapter in the matter of the canonisation of St. Osmund. A. R. Malden, *The Canonisation of St. Osmund*, Wiltshire Rec. Soc. (Salisbury, 1901), p. 145. I have not yet seen the original manuscript.

a mediator between Richard, duke of York, and Edmund Beaufort, the recently created duke of Somerset.<sup>46</sup> It may prove hard to determine the nature of his participation in the Yorkist-Lancastrian struggle which ensued. A persistently loyal Yorkist, it yet may be that his was a conciliatory role. With George Neville, bishop of Exeter, a later renegade from the cause,<sup>47</sup> he went out to meet the Yorkist earls at Southwark in July 1460, escorting them into the capital over London Bridge, still decorated with the grisly remains of Yorkist heads.<sup>48</sup> With a number of other bishops<sup>49</sup> he was in the Yorkist camp for the abortive negotiations prior to the battle of Northampton (10 July 1460), which ended in Lancastrian defeat and the capture of Henry VI. For a time thereafter Gray remained a member of the Council.<sup>50</sup> There followed a lull in his political activities, although diplomatic duties, notably the negotiation of a treaty with Castile in 1467,<sup>51</sup> and also negotiations with the Scots,<sup>52</sup> kept him from his diocese for some months at a time. Then from the late summer of 1469 until November of the following year he seems to have been permanently in London. For a short spell he acted as treasurer, but the re-adeption of Henry VI forced him to take refuge in the City's principal sanctuary at St. Martin-le-Grand, where he spent part of the troubled autumn of 1470.<sup>53</sup>

Despite all this, it would be wrong to conclude that Gray's interest in his diocese was strictly secondary. The general impression from his register is that his record was commendable for the period.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Emden, *Biog. Oxon.*, from T. Rymer, *Foedera* XI, pp. 362-3, *Calendar of Close Rolls 1454-61*, p. 49. Mediation proved unavailing. Somerset died in the first battle of St. Albans which followed.

<sup>47</sup> Neville was translated to York in 1465. He deserted Edward IV in July 1469, joining his brother Richard Neville, earl of Warwick. For a summary of his career see Emden, *Biog. Oxon.*

<sup>48</sup> G. L. Scofield, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV* (repr. New York, 1967), I, pp. 78-80. The date is wrongly given as 1459 by Emden, *Biog. Oxon.*

<sup>49</sup> London (Thomas Kemp), Exeter (George Neville), Lincoln (John Chedworth), Salisbury (Richard Beauchamp), Rochester (John Low), together with Archbishop Bourchier. There is some difference of opinion as to the bishop of Hereford's part — he was John Stanbury, Henry VI's confessor. Compare Betcherman, *art. cit.*, p. 417, n. 118; Knecht, *art. cit.*, p. 112; Scofield, *op. cit.*, I, p. 87.

<sup>50</sup> The 'Yorkist Council' of July 1460: George Neville became chancellor. Gray had served on the Council since 1454. Scofield, *op. cit.*, I, p. 94; Sir H. Nicholas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council in England* (London, 1837), VI, pp. 233, 238, 262, 267, 272, 275, 279, 286, 291, 295, 297, 307.

<sup>51</sup> Scofield, *op. cit.*, I, p. 427.

<sup>52</sup> In 1462: Scofield, *op. cit.*, I, p. 248. In the early 1470s he was also to act as a commissioner for treating with the Scots. Emden, *Biog. Oxon.*

<sup>53</sup> *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 103; Scofield, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 541-2. He was treasurer 25 October 1469. Tiptoft succeeded him 10 July 1470.

<sup>54</sup> It is not clear why his enthronement was delayed for several years. The date in the register

In the later Middle Ages it was not unusual for an absentee bishop to appoint a vicar-general with full administrative and judicial powers, able to do all that the bishop himself could do, apart from sacramental functions, for which the services of a suffragan would have to be secured.<sup>55</sup> Gray did not appoint a vicar-general, but left a series of able officials to carry out the routine work.<sup>56</sup> At Ely the official exercised unusually wide powers<sup>57</sup> — not only those which one would expect him to exercise *qua* official,<sup>58</sup> but also those which in many dioceses had come to be the concern of the commissary-general.<sup>59</sup> William Gunwardby, the titular bishop of Dunkeld,

(fol. 120r) is 20 March (St. Cuthbert's day) 1458/9, not 1457/8 as quoted by R. L. Poole in *D.N.B.* (from Monk of Ely, 'Continuatio Historiae Eliensis', H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, 1, p. 672), or 1457, as in *John le Neve, Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, IV Monastic Cathedrals*, ed. B. Jones (London, 1963), p. 15. It is given correctly by Mynors, *Catalogue*, p. xxxvii, quoting Lambeth Palace MS. 448, fol. 87 (which Wharton used). Gray was in the diocese by 19 March 1455 (Reg. Gray, fol. 7v).

<sup>55</sup> See *Worcester Administration*, pp. 99-105; *English Clergy*, pp. 47-51 and Apps. I and II.

<sup>56</sup> Officials with dates of appointment are as follows: M. Roger Ratcliffe D.C.L. (8 Sept. 1454); M. Richard Laverok D.C.L. (5 Oct. 1458); M. Richard Bole B. Cn. and C. L. (15 Jan. 1463); M. Richard Robinson D. Cn. L. (23 Feb. 1467). Reg. Gray, fols. 1v-2r, 35v, 50v-51r, 65v. The bishop must have made *ad hoc* provision for such things as institutions.

<sup>57</sup> He had power to take cognisance of and terminate all causes and legal business, whether of first instance or appeal, at the instance of parties or *ex officio*, including matters concerned with the augmentation of vicarages, and could rescribe in accustomed cases, with powers of coercion. He had authority to enquire into and correct crimes and excesses, to exercise full testamentary jurisdiction, and to impose sequestration. He might hold synods and other assemblies and punish those who failed to attend, as well as compel residence in benefices and deprive absentees. He could take action against the religious and those beneficed in their appropriated churches who farmed them without licence, and punish priests who served parishes for excessive salary. He had authority to compel the religious and beneficed persons to show by what right they held such benefices or disposed of the fruits and to deprive them if need be, to examine titles, letters of orders and dispensations, and to appoint messengers, apparitors, registrars, scribes of the acts, and in general, to act for the conservation of the bishop's jurisdiction. E.g. Reg. Gray, fols. 1v-2r, 50v-51r.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Aston, *Thomas Arundel*, chap. 3, 'The Diocese of Ely: the official'. The writer (*ibid.*, p. 54, n. 4) perhaps misses the point that Professor Hamilton Thompson is making (*English Clergy*, pp. 51-3). An official *qua* official, ought not to exercise powers of enquiry and correction, but he might do so by virtue of a *specialis potestas* included in his commission (*Worcester Administration*, pp. 109-110; *Sext* 1, 13, cc. 2, 3). It could be misleading to say (*ibid.*, p. 55) that "the main part of the official's work" was "the hearing, proceeding in, and settlement of all causes and pleas... in the bishop's consistory". He was an officer engaged in a very wide range of activity and in practice his work in the court was often undertaken by some commissary or assessor.

<sup>59</sup> For this officer see C. Morris, 'The Commissary of the Bishop in the Diocese of Lincoln', *J.E.H.*, X (1959), pp. 50-65; *English Clergy*, pp. 52, n. 1, 188; '... John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester 1440-1476', pp. 16-20; Storey, *Diocesan Administration*, pp. 14-17. It seems that at Ely a change takes place which is opposite to that observable at Worcester. The Worcester official is eclipsed in the 15th century by the commissary-general, whereas at Ely the official assumes the *commissarius*, thereby vastly extending his authority. Ratcliffe's commission ends with a direction for

acted as suffragan during the first three years of the episcopate, holding twelve ordinations in that time.<sup>60</sup> Thereafter, with one exception,<sup>61</sup> the bishop conducted his own ordination ceremonies, twenty-eight of them, and there is no further evidence of a suffragan's employment.<sup>62</sup>

In so small a diocese residence involved movement of the episcopal household, which in Gray's case was apparently a large one,<sup>63</sup> within a rather tight circle of manor houses. The bishop was chiefly at Downham and Somersham. Downham, the favourite residence, was within easy reach of Ely,<sup>64</sup> where occasionally the palace was used. Otherwise Gray and his *familia* stayed mainly at Doddington, towards the north-west of the diocese, and at his castle of Wisbech in the extreme north.<sup>65</sup> Hatfield, in Hertfordshire, provided a well-sited stopping place for those frequent journeys to and from Holborn, the house of the Ely bishops just north-west of the city of London.<sup>66</sup> A day here and there was spent at a monastery; otherwise there is no evidence of the bishop having stayed elsewhere than in his manor houses. From this it will be seen that he was on the whole insulated

the handing over to him of the seals "officialitatis et commissariatus nostre civitatis et diocesis ac consistorii nostri". Reg. Gray, fol. 2r. There are lists of chancellors, vicars-general, officials, commissaries, and of archdeacon's officials, in the supplement to Bentham's *History and Antiquities... of Ely*, ed. W. Stevenson (Norwich, 1817).

<sup>60</sup> Reg. Gray, fols. 201r-204v.

<sup>61</sup> On Holy Saturday 1477, the year before the bishop's death (4 August 1478), 'Archbishop Edmund' [Connesburgh] celebrated orders in Ely cathedral. He had been provided to Armagh, but did not gain possession. Apparently he was styled 'archbishop in the universal church'. Reg. Gray, fol. 217v; *Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 308; *Biog. Cantab.* s.v. Conyngsburgh.

<sup>62</sup> This, of course, is not conclusive. There are lacunae in the ordination lists and Gray's more lengthy absences would presuppose some arrangement for the performance of his sacramental functions.

<sup>63</sup> His *capellani familiares* were numerous, virtually all of them being graduates. They included his old companion Richard Bole, Robert Thwaites, a master of Balliol, and John Warkworth, who became master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. According to the Annals, formerly attributed to William Worcester, in May 1467, prior to the joust between the Bastard of Burgundy and Anthony, Lord Scales, the latter was entertained "ad hospitium domini episcopi Eliensis, ubi magnum tenuit cum militibus et armigeris hospitium". *Letters and Papers... of Henry VI*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series (London, 1864), II pt. 2, p. 786. Mynors, *Catalogue*, pp. xxxviii-xlii gives details of Gray's officers and household.

<sup>64</sup> Somersham was actually over the diocesan border in Huntingdonshire. It would seem that in some respects Cambridge was the administrative centre of the diocese. Aston, *Thomas Arundel*, facing pp. 132, 216, has useful maps of Ely diocese and of the episcopal manors. See *ibid.* chaps. 6-8 for details of Bishop Arundel's household arrangements, manors and buildings.

<sup>65</sup> Only occasionally did Gray spend a little time at his central-Norfolk manor of Shipdham, somewhat removed from his charge.

<sup>66</sup> Aston, *Thomas Arundel*, pp. 271-6 and plates 9, 10, gives some details of the Holborn estate at the end of the 14th century.

from his flock except when some specific business had to be dealt with personally, and then he appeared more often as judge or administrator than as a father in God.

Apart from ordinations, when in view of the rather small number of candidates<sup>67</sup> the bishop must have come into close contact with his clergy, there was the perennial business of institution to benefices, which Gray effected himself. Here was opportunity to meet those who would be responsible, directly or indirectly, for the cure of souls in the parishes.

Ely diocese had been scantily colonised by the religious. The cathedral priory apart, there was only one Benedictine house of any size, Thorney. There were two larger houses of Augustinian canons, Barnwell and Anglesey, but no Cistercian, Carthusian or Premonstratensian houses at all. The friars had virtually confined their settlement to Cambridge, but as licensed preachers and confessors they were active throughout the diocese.<sup>68</sup>

Numbers everywhere were low. Ely priory may have had just over forty inmates,<sup>69</sup> Thorney had about twenty-four.<sup>70</sup> At Barnwell there were twelve canons;<sup>71</sup> half that number at Anglesey.<sup>72</sup> Nunneries, as elsewhere, seem to have been impoverished; four Benedictine convents, Chatteris, St. Radegund's Cambridge, Ickleton and Swaffham Bulbeck, being excused taxation on that account.<sup>73</sup> Ickleton had twelve nuns, St. Radegund's one less.<sup>74</sup> The proximity of Cambridge University to St. Radegund's may have had the same moral effect as did that of Oxford to Godstow nunnery.<sup>75</sup> Only two nuns remained in 1496 when the house was suppressed. Its property was diverted by the then bishop of Ely, John Alcock, to the foundation of Jesus College, where the chapel and cloister of the nuns still form part of the college buildings.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Ordination lists generally tended to be much less extensive than those of the early 14th century. Those at Ely are very small and include many persons ordained on letters dimissory, for which the university's presence would be largely responsible.

<sup>68</sup> E.g. Reg. Gray, fols. 4v, 20v, 35r, 46r, 62v, 63v. Licences were granted by the diocesan in accordance with the bull *Super cathedram* (Clement. 3, 7, c. 2).

<sup>69</sup> *Ely Chapter Ordinances and Visitation Records 1241-1515*, ed. S. J. A. Evans, Camden Soc. 3rd ser. XVII (1940), intro. pp. x-xi.

<sup>70</sup> Reg. Gray, fols. 135v, 184r.

<sup>71</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 158r.

<sup>72</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 155r-v.

<sup>73</sup> E.g. Reg. Gray, fols. 109v-110r, 113r-114v, 164r.

<sup>74</sup> Reg. Gray, fols. 149r, 140r.

<sup>75</sup> Emden (*Biog. Oxon.*) mistakenly attributes a visitation of Godstow in 1432 to William Gray, bishop of Ely. It was, of course, the work of his uncle William Gray as bishop of Lincoln. A. Clark, *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery*, E.E.T.S. orig. ser. CXLII (1911), pp. lxxxix-xciv.

<sup>76</sup> But there were 11 nuns in 1487 and at first sight it would seem that Alcock's own nominee as prioress paved the way for dissolution. Arthur Gray, *The Priory of St. Radegund, Cambridge, Camb.*

Gray seems to have taken an interest in monastic life. At Chatteris he received the profession of four nuns and celebrated Mass in pontificals,<sup>77</sup> and when a new warden was admitted to St. John's hospital, Cambridge, he imposed on him a series of regulations for the house's good government.<sup>78</sup> In the ordinary course he could influence the affairs of the cathedral priory by exercising his right to appoint four of its officers — the subprior, sacrist, cellarer and chamberlain.<sup>79</sup> On one occasion, in 1460, he appeared in the chapter house, and in the presence of his official, notaries, and all the monks, proceeded to remove three of the officers — the fourth, the subprior, had died — and to depute others in their stead.<sup>80</sup> It is possible that such deliberate action stemmed from some reformatory plan. A few years later Gray held a formal visitation of the priory 'in head and members'.<sup>81</sup> In the normal course this would be the canonical prelude to a general visitation of the diocese,<sup>82</sup> although the register does not indicate that it was so in this case.<sup>83</sup> It would be rash to judge the health of the priory solely from the episcopal injunctions which followed, but clearly all was not well. The regimen of the prior, Henry Peterborough, was upheld more by fear than love, and there had been conventual opposition. The bishop directed him to change his attitude, and with a hint of worldly wisdom, to treat the monastery's creditors with greater circumspection. There are sensible directions for effecting repairs to manors, granges

Antiqu. Soc. (1898), pp. 39-40, urges the accuracy of Alcock's assessment of the convent's "lapsed condition, moral and material". He traces the condition to Gray's episcopate when (1461-2?) Elizabeth Butler, aged about 16, and who had spent some four years in the house, petitioned for a transfer to St. Helen's London, "propter nonnullas causas ad sue anime salutem, vitam agere quietam et deo devocius servire". Reg. Gray, fol. 157r. Apart from the church and cloister various other buildings were converted for college purposes. *Victoria County History of Cambridge*, ed. J. P. G. Roach (London, 1959), III, p. 421.

<sup>77</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 69r [1467].

<sup>78</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 89v [1475]. The injunctions were additional to the regular statutes and would seem to indicate more than formal action.

<sup>79</sup> Episcopal powers in this respect varied from one cathedral monastery to another and were often the subject of a composition. At Worcester the bishop appointed, apart from the prior (by a special arrangement), only the sacrist and one of the tumbaries. For some other arrangements, see Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 626-7.

<sup>80</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 46v.

<sup>81</sup> Probably in January 1466: Reg. Gray, fol. 60v.

<sup>82</sup> *Sext* 3, 20, c. 1. Episcopal visitation had been accepted in dioceses with monastic chapters, though often in a restricted manner (cf. *Extrav. Commun.* 1, 7, c. 1). The diocesan was stoutly resisted by secular chapters, though acceptable jurisdictional limitation had been negotiated in most cases by the 15th century. Edwards, *Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 127-34.

<sup>83</sup> In fact Gray does not appear to have made a visitation of his diocese at all.

and the chancels of parish churches, as well as for the preparation of indentures of leases. Two of the lengthier injunctions concern monks breaking out at night and the dangers arising from women coming into the cloister or lodging nearby in houses belonging to obedientiaries.<sup>84</sup> Outside the diocese Gray had a special relationship with Welbeck, a house of Premonstratensian canons regular. There, on 26 September 1465, the whole body of canons came out in procession to greet him and with appropriate ceremony he was received as the monastery's 'founder'.<sup>85</sup>

In the past emphasis has been placed on the 'abuses' of the fifteenth-century Church, both by contemporary critics and by later ones. Thomas Gascoigne,<sup>86</sup> who felt that the material benefits which he had received did not match his merits, was a notable and in some respects an observant critic. Cantankerous, opinionated and self-interested he may have been, but the justice of some of his observations is evident. At one point he stigmatised the shortcomings of his day as the seven rivers of Babylon, which he then enumerated.<sup>87</sup> But most of these criticisms and the more extreme remedies, such as the call of Wycliffe and Purvey for disendowment, underline the economic and social nature of the Church's ills.<sup>88</sup> When Christopher Hill came to analyse the economic problems of the Elizabethan and early Stuart

<sup>84</sup> Reg. Gray, fols. 58v-60v. The injunctions are printed in *Ely Chapter Ordinances*, pp. 57-64.

<sup>85</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 123v (and attached original letter). Gray's predecessor, John Hotham, had acquired the patronage in 1329: A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Premonstratensian Abbey of Welbeck* (London, 1938), chap. 4. H.M. Colvin implies that Gray was dilatory in making his visit so long after his consecration: *The White Canons in England* (Oxford, 1951), p. 296. The implications of patronage are discussed by Colvin (*op. cit.*, p. 292), who also paraphrases the register's account of Gray's reception and prints the original letter noted above (pp. 300-1).

<sup>86</sup> Gascoigne, as he never ceases to remind his readers, was chancellor of Oxford, as Gray had been before him. *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. J. E. Thorold Rogers (Oxford, 1881). A new edition is in course of preparation for the Oxford Historical Society.

<sup>87</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 53-4. The rivers were: the appointment of unworthy bishops, rectors and officers; the absence of a good rector — as disastrous for his people as the absence of a sailor from his ship, which founders; the plurality of churches and offices — preventing two men, equally able, from providing a commensurate increase in spiritual benefit; the appropriation of tithes and their annexation to those not having the immediate cure; the abuse of absolution, it being allowed to those not truly penitent and turned from their sins; the abuse of indulgence, granted by men but not truly received by men, since God's requirement, the individual's merits, is lacking; and lastly, the abuse of dispensation, which is not properly used for the profit of souls. For a summary of Gascoigne's career see Emden, *Biog. Oxon.*; also W. A. Pronger, *E.H.R.* LIII (1938), pp. 606-26, LIV (1939), pp. 20-37.

<sup>88</sup> Pecock argued in this manner against the Lollards, suggesting that those things complained of came about because the Church's endowments were insufficient. V. H. H. Green, *Bishop Reginald Pecock* (Cambridge, 1945), pp. 151-3.



Church, he was dealing with matters very familiar to the student of mediaeval history who sees alike their genesis and development.<sup>89</sup>

If we take the parochial benefice<sup>90</sup> as the basic economic unit of the Church it will illustrate the complexity of the interests involved. *Beneficium datur propter officium* — to paraphrase the Canon Law,<sup>91</sup> but benefice income was not, of course, personal to the rector or vicar. It provided him with resources to meet a variety of obligations, some of them not envisaged by the canons: royal and ecclesiastical taxation, diocesan and archidiaconal dues, repairs to the chancel in the case of rectors, hospitality and poor relief — to name only some.

The factors which determined the recipients of parochial benefices are a great deal more obscure than those which determined the occupants of bishoprics. In the reforming ethos of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries seigneurial *dominium* over local churches had given place to the carefully circumscribed *ius patronatus*. Under the new procedure which evolved, the holder of an advowson presented a man to the bishop who, if the presentee appeared suitable, instituted him.<sup>92</sup> Within such limits as the bishop in practice imposed, patrons were likely to exercise rights of advowson in their own best interests as they conceived them. For presentees there could be elements of salary, reward for service past or anticipated, increment to support status, as well as of nepotism or friendship.<sup>93</sup>

Theoretically, papal provision, which directly affected only ecclesiastical patrons, can be regarded as a system for the redistribution of patronage, particularly the more valuable part, in the light of the Church's 'wider

<sup>89</sup> C. Hill, *Economic Problems of the Church, from Archbishop Whitgift to the Long Parliament*, (Oxford, 1963). The financial difficulties of post-reformation bishops are illustrated by P. M. Hembry, *The Bishops of Bath and Wells 1540-1640* (London, 1967).

<sup>90</sup> There were many other types of ecclesiastical benefice, such as archdeaconries, canonries and chantries. However, some chantries were *servicia* and the chantry priests stipendiaries. See K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965), chap. 2.

<sup>91</sup> *Sext.* 1, 3, c. 15 [Boniface VIII].

<sup>92</sup> This and other aspects of the parochial benefice are discussed by G. W. O. Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in Twelfth and early Thirteenth Century Canon Law*, St. Anthony's Hall pubns. 9 (York, 1956), esp. pp. 17-23; *idem*, *The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne (768-814) to Urban II (1088-1099)*, St. Anthony's Hall pubns. 6 (York, 1954).

<sup>93</sup> Naturally the bishop had to make proper provision for members of his *curia*. Richard Bole, on ceasing to be official, was collated to the well-endowed archdeaconry of Ely. A later official, M. Richard Robinson, made the same move on Bole's death. Gray's nephew, Alexander Wode-ryngton, was suitably beneficed, so too his relative, John Gray. Reg. Gray, fols. 63v-64r (also 49v, 65v); 96v; 39r, 53r, 56r; 96v (*bis*), 97r. For a later period at Lincoln M. Bowker has some interesting material on 'the way to a benefice': *The Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Lincoln 1495-1520* (Cambridge, 1968), chap. 2.

interests'.<sup>94</sup> It has been viewed as an attempt to curb the continued corruption of that 'Germanic *Eigenkirchenwesen*'.<sup>95</sup> While it generated abuses of its own and perhaps heightened the notion of benefice as a source of income, it had obvious advantages for the graduate vainly seeking a patron. It was the virtual cutting off of provisions in the 1390s that caused something of a crisis in the English universities after the turn of the century. This problem Archbishop Chichele attempted to solve by various promotion schemes.<sup>96</sup>

Dioceses differed, but it is clear that a substantial number of graduates was being promoted in the fifteenth century despite the lack of papal provisions.<sup>97</sup> At Ely Gray's registrar worked on a list (not quite complete in fact) of 156 benefices.<sup>98</sup> Fourteen of these were appropriated churches served by *capellani curati* rather than by vicars with endowed portions.<sup>99</sup> This leaves a net total of 142 benefices to which presentees could be instituted. About 79 % of this patronage was in ecclesiastical hands — 18 % in the bishop's control,<sup>1</sup> 46 % in that of regular houses, while just under 10 % belonged to that fairly recent group, the university colleges.<sup>2</sup> The king had only two advowsons.<sup>3</sup> There were no collegiate churches, such as provided elsewhere a fund of canonries in the gift of bishop or king.

Between 1454 and 1478 almost 25 % of the effective presentations to bene-

<sup>94</sup> The thesis of G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions*, (Oxford 1935). But in his more 'popular' book, *The Medieval Papacy* (London, 1968), Barraclough is critical of papal provision: "Even if the pope's intentions were good — and too often this was not the case — it is obvious that he could not know the requirements of a parish in, say, Lancashire or Donegal, as the bishop could" (p. 126).

<sup>95</sup> See the *caveat* of Hamilton Thompson, *English Clergy*, p. 13, n. 1. It can also be argued that the use of papal petition for this purpose favoured those who could afford it, e.g. the king, the nobles, certain bishops, and the universities. Lay interference with clerical endowment may well be explicable without positing a 'Germanic conception of *Grundherrschaft*'.

<sup>96</sup> Discussed by E. F. Jacob, *Henry Chichele*, chap. 6.

<sup>97</sup> Some figures are given by E. F. Jacob, 'On the promotion of University Clerks during the Later Middle Ages', *J.E.H.*, I (1950), pp. 172-86, esp. 180-84.

<sup>98</sup> Reg. Gray, fols. 224r-226r. This includes two churches with both rector and vicar and one (Gamlingay) with two portions, one appropriated. My figures are different from those in the *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer* (ed. J. H. Crosby), which are quoted by R. H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1926), p. 90.

<sup>99</sup> Such churches were appropriated 'in spiritualibus et temporalibus' and the chaplain served for a stipend.

<sup>1</sup> The bishop of Ely had much patronage elsewhere, Gray made almost as many presentations to churches outside the diocese.

<sup>2</sup> Thirteen advowsons (in fact there were rather more), two of which belonged to Oxford colleges.

<sup>3</sup> The king had ways of increasing his patronage particularly during, and as a result of, episcopal and other vacancies. F. Cheyette, 'Kings, Courts, Cures, and Sinecures', *Traditio*, XIX (1963), pp. 295-348; M. Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London, 1962), chap. 6.

fices within the diocese were made by the bishop — 49 against the 87 of the religious houses. On the basis of total presentations, that is within and without the diocese, the bishop promoted by far the greatest number of graduates — 43<sup>4</sup> out of a total of 92, roughly 48 % of his own presentees. University colleges, as might be expected, had an even higher percentage over a much smaller range.<sup>5</sup> The record of the religious was far less impressive. Only about a quarter of their presentees were graduates. Laymen had an almost identical performance.<sup>6</sup>

Once a man was in possession of a benefice he could exchange it for another with the bishop's formal approval. One rarely comes across an instance of a diocesan refusing to implement a petition of this kind. The type of clerk for whom the benefice was more a source of income than a pastoral responsibility can often be identified, but exchanges, if the processes recorded in episcopal registers are a sound guide, were far less prominent than they had been in the fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup> In Gray's register I have found only fourteen cases of the exchange of benefices at least one of which lay within the diocese.<sup>8</sup> Some were obviously for the purpose of manœuvre, but at 7 % of recorded institutions, exchanges are removed from the scandal that prompted the issue by Archbishop Courtenay in 1392 of the celebrated 'chop-churches' constitution.<sup>9</sup>

Another possible use of benefice income was to provide in effect a scholarship for men who were continuing their education. Boniface VIII's constitution *Cum ex eo*<sup>10</sup> had given rise to numerous licences permitting absence from benefice for the purpose of study. Such licences appear to tail off in the second half of the fourteenth century and to be infrequent in the fifteenth.<sup>11</sup> The decline is probably genuine enough, not an aberration of

<sup>4</sup> 26 in the diocese, i.e. some 54 % of Gray's presentations there.

<sup>5</sup> 9 graduates in 15 presentations (60 %), or if we include three presentations to Coton during Woodlark's provostship of King's College (one being of himself), 12 out of 18 (66 2/3 %).

<sup>6</sup> The above figures do not include the nominal presentations involved when benefices were exchanged.

<sup>7</sup> One or two others not so described may be concealed among the institutions.

<sup>8</sup> Because of the bishop's 'external' patronage it was possible for an exchange process to concern benefices both of which lay outside Ely diocese.

<sup>9</sup> Printed in the *Register of William of Wykeham, bishop of Winchester 1366-1404*, Hampshire Record Society (1896 and 1899), ed. T. F. Kirby, II, pp. 431-5.

<sup>10</sup> *Sext.* I, 6, c. 34. See L. E. Boyle, 'The Constitution "*Cum ex eo*" of Boniface VIII: Education of Parochial Clergy', *Mediaeval Studies*, XXIV (1962), pp. 263-302.

<sup>11</sup> It is however worth noting that both Bishop Bubwith of Bath-and-Wells diocese [5 April 1408] and Archbishop Bowet of York [4 April 1408] appointed vicars-general with authority to grant *Cum ex eo* licences. Bubwith restricted his vicar-general to licences of one year's duration. Bowet, it should be mentioned, was Bubwith's predecessor at Bath-and-Wells. See *English Clergy*, pp.

episcopal registrars.<sup>12</sup> Gray's register records the grant of only four licences of this kind, three of which were taken up — the fourth man would not pay the required fee. One of the beneficiaries, the bishop's kinsman John Gray, already a Bachelor in Theology of Cambridge, was enabled to leave his church for seven years.<sup>13</sup>

Pluralism permitted an accumulation of benefice income. Its incidence is not easy to determine: precise figures are lacking for the fifteenth century. Papal dispensation is common, but with certain exceptions it is probable that the instincts of the ultra-acquisitive were kept in check.<sup>14</sup> Moderate pluralism had able defenders, on the grounds that men in important positions needed a larger income to carry out their duties and maintain their status.<sup>15</sup> Gray in this matter followed the practice of the times, both personally and with respect to others.<sup>16</sup>

Perhaps the most alarming diversion of benefice income, certainly the most permanent, was that known as appropriation, whereby monasteries

187, 189. The Ely returns of exemption from clerical tenths imply that some incumbents of poor benefices might be lawfully absent at Cambridge: e.g. Reg. Gray, fol. 110v, "in universitate Cant' sufficienter licenciati studio litterarum diligenter insistentes". If there were additional licences, how did they come to be omitted from episcopal registers as a whole? The question is the more apposite in that later registers sometimes give the impression that one element in registration is the recording of fee-paying documents.

<sup>12</sup> R. M. Haines, 'The Education of the English Clergy during the later Middle Ages: some observations on the operation of Pope Boniface VIII's constitution *Cum ex eo* (1298)', *Canadian Journal of History*, IV (1969), pp. 1-22. The reference at p. 6, n. 25 should be to Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Barnes and Noble, New York, 1960), not to Margaret Deanesly, *The Lollard Bible*.

<sup>13</sup> Reg. Gray, fols. 11v, 22r-v, 46v, 96v. Seven years was the maximum duration of a *Cum ex eo* licence.

<sup>14</sup> In contrast to "the golden days before pluralism had been regulated by the constitutions *De multa* [*Extra* 3, 5, c. 29] and *Execrabilis* [*Extrav. Johan.* XXII 3, c. 1; *Extrav. Commun.* 3, 2, c. 4]". Thompson, *English Clergy*, p. 105. Canonries, Maitland's "staple commodity of the papal market" (*Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* (1898), p. 67n) in the halcyon days of papal provision, remained the readiest means of accumulation for the greater pluralist. Archdeaconries were also popular.

<sup>15</sup> The often quoted defence of M. Roger Otery in 1366 is printed in *English Clergy*, App. IV pp. 246-7. Compare the 'sublimes' and 'litterati' of *De multa* (*Extra* 3, 5, c. 29) and the English demand prior to the Concordat of 1418: "that dispensation to hold in plurality should be confined to men of noble race or high scholarship, whereas now they are being issued to administrators in the courts of spiritual and temporal lords" (E. F. Jacob, 'A Note on the English Concordat of 1418', *Gwynn Studies*, p. 354).

<sup>16</sup> According to Emden, *Biog. Oxon.*, he vacated the following benefices on becoming bishop [date of assumption in brackets]: Amersham rectory (1434), the archdeaconries of Northampton (1434) and Richmond (1450), and canonries of Lincoln (1435), Salisbury (1435), Lichfield (1443), York (1447) and Ripon (1447).

in particular came into possession of parochial tithes and other income. This was an ancient practice which at one time had savoured more of reform than abuse, for restriction of the material benefit derived by laymen from churches constituted a feature of eleventh-twelfth-century reformation. Such restriction brought widespread surrender of tithes to monasteries. The episcopate reacted against this threat to its finances and those of priests, so that papal legislation, at least from the time of Gregory VII (1073-85), reinforced the bishop's authority over tithes.<sup>17</sup> There developed a formal process of episcopal appropriation, with concomitant ordination of vicarages to safeguard the *cura animarum*.<sup>18</sup> Appropriation was considerable during the fourteenth century and saw a sharp increase with the Schism (1378), mainly as a consequence of papal appropriation *motu proprio*.<sup>19</sup> But it is likely that by Gray's time fewer benefices were being acquired, at any rate by monasteries.<sup>20</sup> Other corporations, collegiate churches and academic colleges, sought to derive endowment from this source. The Ely registrar's list shows 86 appropriated benefices, representing some 56 % of the total of churches. Of these, 67 were held by monasteries and hospitals, 11 by Cambridge colleges, 2 by Oxford ones, and 4 by collegiate churches.<sup>21</sup> A further disadvantage to the parish accrued from the fact that in many instances vicarages were not ordained, churches being

<sup>17</sup> Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons*, pp. 3-11; G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 83-136; cf. J. Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1969), pp. 27-39. At the same time there was opposition to such tithe acquisition, and among the religious themselves the attitude of the Cistercians is particularly well known. See Constable, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-65.

<sup>18</sup> *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons*, pp. 12-16; *Worcester Administration*, pp. 240-67.

<sup>19</sup> *Worcester Administration*, p. 254; K. L. Wood-Legh, *Studies in Church Life in England under Edward III* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 129; Jacob, 'A Note on the English Concordat', p. 357.

<sup>20</sup> There is only one appropriation document in the register. It concerns Stow cum Quy church, which passed to Barnwell Priory as recompense for the loss of the churches of St. John [Zachary] and St. Edward, Cambridge. Their advowsons had been sold to Henry VI in connection with his plans for King's College. The parishes were united and St. Edward's was then appropriated to Trinity Hall. Reg. Gray, fols. 101r-105v; *V.C.H. Cambridge*, III, pp. 128-9. The registrar's list suggests that four other appropriations were recent: Cherry Hinton to Peterhouse, Linton to Pembroke Hall, Whittlesford to St. Mary's Warwick, and a portion of Gamlingay to Merton College, Oxford. Gascoigne deplores the practice: the founder of a college should give his own goods instead (*Locs*, p. 5). It was by appropriations that Wolsey sought to compensate Balliol for the loss of Burnell's Inn, to be absorbed in his new foundation (the later Christ Church). W. A. Pantin, 'Before Wolsey', *Essays in British History*, p. 46.

<sup>21</sup> Reg. Gray, fols. 224r-226r. The complete breakdown is: cathedral priory, 16 appropriated churches; other monasteries, 45; hospitals, 6; academic colleges, 13; secular colleges, 4; Ely archdeaconry, 2. Here again I have to differ from R. H. Snape's figures (*English Monastic Finances*, p. 90) derived from the *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer*.

appropriated 'in spirituals and temporals'<sup>22</sup> and served either by a religious of the appropriating house or else by a stipendiary chaplain.<sup>23</sup>

This does not exhaust the uses to which benefice income could be put. A distinctive feature of many fifteenth-century episcopal registers is the recording of settlements on incumbents who resigned. Often this was laudable provision of an old-age pension, at the expense however of the next incumbent. But sometimes so-called pensions were clearly income supplements, or perhaps inducements to resign.<sup>24</sup> At Ely there was little manifest abuse, so far as can be judged, although at Wimpole the retiring rector was to receive £10 a year — almost half the taxed value of the benefice.<sup>25</sup>

Pressure on benefices was doubtless made heavier by a decline in their value. Archbishop Chichele had observed this tendency in the case of vicarages, and had legislated on the subject.<sup>26</sup> Barnwell Priory regularly alleged that three of its churches in Ely diocese did not provide sufficient maintenance for their vicars, let alone income for the canons.<sup>27</sup> Even so, the more conscientious bishops were augmenting vicarages at the expense of appropriators.<sup>28</sup> Taxation returns for clerical tenths show that some 40 % of vicarages and about 10 % of the unappropriated rectories were worth under twelve marks, and hence exempt.<sup>29</sup> This at a time when church authorities felt that poverty brought opprobrium on the clergy.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>22</sup> This distinction is explained for 'ancient rectories' by G. W. O. Addleshaw, *Rectors, Vicars and Patrons*, pp. 8-9. But some churches, e. g. Stow cum Quy (Reg. Gray, fols. 104v-105r: "tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus") were being appropriated in this way in the 15th century.

<sup>23</sup> In Ely diocese 14 of the 86 appropriated churches were served by chaplains rather than vicars. At Stow the church was to have a "presbiterum parochialem idoneum canonicum regularem eiusdem monasterii" (*loc. cit.*).

<sup>24</sup> The situation at Lincoln at a later date is examined by M. Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in Lincoln*, pp. 145-7. There 178 pensions were granted between 1495 and 1520.

<sup>25</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 89r. Cf. fols. 44v, 47r, 62v-63r, 89r, 94v.

<sup>26</sup> Jacob, *Henry Chichele*, pp. 68-9. His constitution for the augmentation of vicarages was issued in 1439.

<sup>27</sup> E.g. Reg. Gray, fols. 114r-v, 164r: "quarum fructus et proventus totales ad sustentacionem vicariorum residencium... non sufficiunt". The churches were Croydon, Tadlow and Caldecote.

<sup>28</sup> Gray augmented the vicarage of Histon St. Ethelreda in 1455. It was appropriated to Eynsham Abbey (near Oxford). Reg. Gray, fols. 129r-130r. No fewer than eight vicarages may have been brought under review by Bishop Carpenter at Worcester: 'John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester 1440-1476', p. 31.

<sup>29</sup> Worth was interpreted as "verus valor annuus modernis temporibus". E.g. Reg. Gray, fols. 111r, 112v, 114v, 165v, 168v, 187v-188r, 192v.

<sup>30</sup> Reservation was made of 5 marks' pension from St. Michael's rectory, Long Stanton, for an elderly incumbent who resigned: "ne in obprobrium clericalis ordinis mendicitatis inopiam incurrere cogatur". Reg. Gray, fols. 62v-63r.

Naturally these attitudes to benefice income stimulated absenteeism, that 'crying evil' of the fifteenth-century Church.<sup>31</sup> Figures for Ely are lacking, though scattered evidence from other dioceses,<sup>32</sup> and at a later date from the large diocese of Lincoln, indicates the extent of the problem.<sup>33</sup> At the same time it should not be exaggerated. Lists of those empanelled for archidiaconal enquiries demonstrate that many graduate rectors and vicars were on the spot and not invariably *in remotis*.<sup>34</sup>

What has been said above about benefices would suggest that while talk of reform comes easily, and bishops present an obvious target, in terms of practical policy the difficulties of effective action were insurmountable. What authority could have laid down that for the future benefice income, even without resumption of alienated tithes, was to be strictly confined to qualified incumbents permanently engaged in the *cura animarum*? With justice it would have been argued that in such circumstances the work of the Church — not to mention that of the universities — could no longer be done. Again, it was not just the beneficiaries themselves, but also that large body of laymen and ecclesiastics which could not afford to surrender influence over the disposition of the Church's endowments.

In the later Middle Ages there emerged a new element in English lay society — the *literati*.<sup>35</sup> Such men may on occasion have had much more than a rudimentary education; for example, they could have attended the

<sup>31</sup> See, for instance, the "Excitacio curatorum ad residenciam corporalem et ad vigilem curam animarum omnium suarum", Bodley MS 158, fol. 217 ff.; also Bishop Waynflete's mandate concerning non-resident incumbents who "suos parochianos verbo sacre doctrine pariter et bone conversationis exemplo instruere teneantur ne per ipsorum absenciam lupus rapax gregem dominicum invadat", Winchester Reg. Waynflete, I fol. 25\*r-v.

<sup>32</sup> E.g. Winchester Reg. Waynflete [1447-86], I fols. 25\*r-v, 26\*r. The archdeacon of Surrey, in response to an episcopal mandate of 1453, returned that 10 rectors were to be cited for absence and a further 5 ordered to reside or to show dispensation for plurality. No vicars are mentioned.

<sup>33</sup> Bowker, *The Secular Clergy in Lincoln*, chap. 3 and App. IV.

<sup>34</sup> Vicars, of course, were bound to residence, but dispensations are found in the 15th century for holding vicarages in plurality. A comparable display of expertise for such routine administrative business would have been unlikely if not impossible a century or so before. Cambridge University lay within the diocese though, and this must have made a difference. See Reg. Gray, fols. 31r-v, 32r-v, 80v-81v.

<sup>35</sup> See J. W. Adamson, 'Literacy in England during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries', *The Illiterate Anglo-Saxon and other Essays on Education* (Cambridge, 1946), chap. 3; H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1475-1557* (Cambridge, 1969), chap. 2; V. H. Galbraith, 'The Literacy of the Medieval English Kings', *Studies in History: British Academy Lectures*, ed. Lucy S. Sutherland, (London, 1966), pp. 78-111; J. N. Miner, 'Schools and Literacy in Later Medieval England' *British Journal of Educational Studies*, XI (1962), pp. 16-27; T. F. Tout, 'Literature and Learning in the English Civil Service in the 14th Century', *Speculum*, IV (1929), pp. 265-89; S. L. Thrupp, *The Merchant Class in Medieval London 1300-1500* (Michigan, 1962), pp. 155-74.

arts course at a university, the school of a professional writing and business instructor,<sup>36</sup> or been trained at the Inns of Court.<sup>37</sup> In Bishop Gray's register the term *litteratus* is frequently used of those witnessing legal proceedings or *acta*, serving on juries charged with routine ecclesiastical enquiry, acting as proctors, or in various other capacities. This element made the situation created by those who produced disturbing literature in the vernacular a potentially dangerous one. Reginald Pecock, bishop of Chichester (1450-57), though arguing against the Lollards with orthodox intention,<sup>38</sup> wrote in English and with emphasis on the "doom of resoun". This direct approach, coupled with the manner — and indeed some of the matter — of his argument, was calculated to produce repercussions. In the event it led to prosecution for heresy. Pecock, absolved by John Stokes, the archdeacon of Ely,<sup>39</sup> retired from his diocese to eke out his last days at Thorney Abbey, where he probably died in 1460 or 1461.<sup>40</sup> Meanwhile, Archbishop Bourchier had directed the bishops to seek out his books and the upholders of his opinions. In reply Gray declared that he could not find a single book of Pecock's or anyone who held, taught or preached his doctrines.<sup>41</sup> This

<sup>36</sup> H. G. Richardson, 'Business Training in Medieval Oxford', *American Historical Review*, XLVI (1941), pp. 259-79; *idem.*, 'An Oxford Teacher of the Fifteenth Century', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XXIII (1939), pp. 436-57; M. D. Legge, 'William of Kingsmill — A Fifteenth-Century Teacher of French in Oxford', *Studies in French Language and Medieval Literature presented to M. K. Pope* (repr. New York, 1969), pp. 241-6; H. Suggett 'The Use of French in England in the Later Middle Ages', *Essays in Medieval History*, ed. R. W. Southern, (London, 1968), pp. 213-39; R. W. Hunt, 'Oxford Grammar Masters in the Middle Ages', *Oxford Studies presented to Daniel Callus*, Oxford Historical Society, n.s. XVI (1964), pp. 163-93; W. A. Pantin, 'A Medieval Treatise on Letter-Writing, with examples, from the Rylands Latin MS. 394', *B.J.R.L.*, XIII (1929), pp. 326-82.

<sup>37</sup> *Sir John Fortescue*, ed. S. B. Chrimes, Cambridge 1942; K. Charlton, 'Liberal Education and the Inns of Court in the 16th Century', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, IX (1960), pp. 25-38.

<sup>38</sup> V. H. H. Green analyses Pecock's 'reply to the Lollards', *Bishop Reginald Pecock*, esp. chaps. 10-11. His works are listed *ibid.* App. II. See also: E. M. Blackie, 'Reginald Pecock', *E.H.R.*, XXVI (1911), pp. 448-68; E. F. Jacob, 'Reynold Pecock'; A. B. Ferguson, 'Reginald Pecock and the Renaissance Sense of History', *Studies in the Renaissance*, XIII (1966), pp. 147-65; E. H. Emerson, 'Reginald Pecock: Christian Rationalist', *Speculum*, XXXI (1956), pp. 235-42; Emden, *Biog. Oxon.*

<sup>39</sup> Green, *Reginald Pecock*, p. 62. John Stokes D. C. L., appointed archdeacon by Gray's predecessor, Bourchier, died in 1466. Occupied as auditor of causes and later official of the Court of Canterbury, he must have been mainly an absentee. *Biog. Oxon.*

<sup>40</sup> Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5.

<sup>41</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 106r-v (1458): "Nullum tamen in nostris civitate et diocesi reperire potuimus qui huiusmodi libros vel aliquem librum huiusmodi habuit vel sic sapiebat vel huiusmodi errores seu hereses tenebat docuit aut predicabat" (Holborn 14 May). The official undertook the enquiry (*ibid.* fol. 107r). Margaret Deanesly's suggestion (*The Lollard Bible*, (repr. Cambridge 1966), p. 363) that this enquiry brought to light the Lollards discussed below is mistaken. The archbishop's



is probably indicative of the general situation, for much of Pecock's writing has not survived.<sup>42</sup>

But Lollards continued here and there.<sup>43</sup> The isolated group which occupied the attention of Gray and his neighbour in Lincoln diocese, John Chedworth, had its leading spirit in one Robert Sparke from the village of Reach, a few miles to the north-east of Cambridge. It included two men from Cambridge, one of whom had left the town and seems to have escaped detection, another from nearby Chesterton, as well as Robert Sparke's two sons from Somersham, where the bishop's manor was, but which lay over the Ely boundary in Lincoln diocese. Thus there were two trials, one in each diocese. But the bishops co-operated closely, for not only did Gray use virtually the same set of articles<sup>44</sup> as was used by Chedworth against the Sparke brothers, but also his proceedings followed three days after the Lincoln *acta* and with the help of the Lincoln chancellor and commissary-general, William Witham, fresh from his own case.

A formidable battery of theological and legal talent was ranged against the three Ely Lollards. The bishop himself was supported by another theologian, M. Robert Thwaites, until recently master of Balliol, Oxford, Gray's own college. On the legal side, in addition to William Witham, was the bishop's official, Roger Ratcliffe, both doctors of Civil law, and a local rector, who conceivably had personal knowledge of what was going on in nearby Somersham, but who in any case was a licentiate in Canon Law.<sup>45</sup>

The opinions alleged against the Lollards were of a radical character, humanistic in the sense of emphasising man's importance, anti-sacerdotal, anti-sacramental, and in a sense rational. Crosses and images, pilgrimages, fasting for laymen were condemned; mental prayer was declared as valid as spoken prayer, and the fields as suitable for the purpose as the church; the priest had no more power to make Christ's body than to make straw; confession to a member of the sect (*uni fideli de secta eorum*) was more efficacious for salvation than confession to a priest; marriages were made by consent rather than in church, while extreme unction — 'gresyng' so-called — was of as little profit to the soul as to the body. To sum up, the

mandate is dated 9 March 1458: the trial of the Lollards had taken place 30 May 1457. Reg. Gray, fols. 106r-107r, 130v.

<sup>42</sup> Green, *Reginald Pecock*, App. II.

<sup>43</sup> J. A. F. Thomson, *The Later Lollards 1414-1520*, tables pp. 237-8, cf. M. Aston, 'Lollardy and the Reformation: Survival or Revival?', *History*, XLIX (1964), pp. 149-70.

<sup>44</sup> Thomson, *op. cit.*, pp. 132-3, from Lincoln Reg. Chedworth, fols. 12v-14r. Chedworth used 14 articles, Gray 13.

<sup>45</sup> He was master of St. John's hospital, Huntingdon, and rector of Houghton in that county (Lincoln diocese). *Biog. Cantab.* s.v. Leek, John.

pope is Antichrist, the priest — the avaricious author of the sacraments, his disciple, and those ordained the Devil's incarnate. There was a subtle reservation in case of capture. Each man is the 'Church of God', so that if any be called before an ecclesiastical judge and asked whether he believes in the 'Church', it would be safe to answer 'yes', understanding thereby 'man who is the temple of God'.<sup>46</sup>

Robert Sparke, the ringleader, was the only one to stand up to his learned interrogators "*verbis superfluis et obscuris respondendo*", but was ostensibly won over to the orthodox faith. At any rate he recanted. That he could read English is possible, for his recantation is given in the register without mention of a proxy to read it for him.<sup>47</sup>

There was one further deviation to trouble the bishop. On occasion witchcraft may have been confused with Lollardy,<sup>48</sup> but there is not much doubt about the case of Robert Barker, brought before the bishop in January 1466. Barker had been apprehended with all the paraphernalia of exorcism and conjuration, and had an interesting story to tell.<sup>49</sup> According to him a certain M. John Hope, who does not figure among the known graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, had promised that Barker, were he to be ruled by him, would have gold and riches in abundance. To this end Barker paid him the handsome sum of £2 6s. 8d., but he had to chase the possessor of the essential books by way of Warwick, Coventry and Nuneaton before finally catching up with him at Burton on Trent. Once equipped with the book and parchment roll of the magic art with its diagrams, characters and circles, he prepared to summon up those spirits who would gratify his desire for gold and silver and apprise him of the whereabouts of stolen articles.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Doubtless Robert Sparke was not unmindful of the orthodox use of such imagery, as in the popular *Templum Domini* of Grosseteste. It was, in any case, the common stock of the contemporary preacher.

<sup>47</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 132v. The whole process, entitled "*Acta contra Lollardos*" is at fols. 130v-133r. Thomson, *The Later Lollards*, summarises the case (p. 133) and mentions it elsewhere (pp. 226, 232).

<sup>48</sup> Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

<sup>49</sup> A number of mid-fifteenth century cases of sorcery from Lincoln diocese are quoted from Bishop Alnwick's court book by Hamilton Thompson, *English Clergy*, pp. 220-22. For some notable instances of occult practice see R. A. Griffiths, 'The Trial of Eleanor Cobham: an Episode in the Fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, LI (1968-9), pp. 381-99; A. R. Myers, 'The Captivity of a Royal Witch: the Household Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre 1419-21', *B. J. R. L.*, XXIV (1940), pp. 263-84. G. R. Owst sketches the earlier background in '*Sortilegium* in English Homiletic Literature of the Fourteenth Century', *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. Conway Davies (Oxford, 1957), pp. 272-303.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *English Clergy*, p. 222: the case of John Dixson, 'coke' of Stoneley Priory, Huntingdonshire, who allegedly invoked malign spirits "*pro rebus furtis ablatis et cum clave posita in libro, videlicet psalterio, cum billa nomen illius qui redditur suspectus continente...*".

He found a retreat at Walden in Essex,<sup>51</sup> but before he could put his mentor's promises to the test he was apprehended in Ely diocese, at Babraham, and forced both to abjure and to witness the burning of his costly, hard-won apparatus.<sup>52</sup>

The mobility of such nonconformist views is striking. Despite reservations that have been made,<sup>53</sup> it may be realistic to think in terms of a core of Lollard beliefs, which came to be widely dispersed. Literacy was an element in that dispersal (as it was in the case of sorcery), so too was the small group and individual proselytiser.<sup>54</sup> Yet these were minority opinions about which the Church was no longer unduly disturbed. It had been earlier in the century, when some churchmen feared the Lollards were carrying all before them. At that time the involvement of the secular authorities and their association of Lollardy with sedition is said to have precipitated an English version of the Inquisition, which drove such opinions underground.<sup>55</sup>

It had long been difficult for an individual bishop to deviate from established custom and procedure without coming up against an impenetrable forest of litigation. Bishop Gray shows no sign of having wished to do so. He seems, as one might expect, to have accepted the institutional structures of his day and to have been in sympathy with the traditional manifestations of piety. As a member of the fraternity of Salisbury Cathedral he had the more readily advanced the canons' cause at Rome in the matter of Osmund's canonisation,<sup>56</sup> he had resumed the honorific role of the Ely bishops at Welbeck Abbey, granted a substantial number of indulgences,<sup>57</sup> maintained a large *familia* which included many pluralists, moved easily among political figures and noblemen, spent a lot of time in London, pursued his bibliophile

<sup>51</sup> This may not have proved a quiet retreat. William Barrow, or Balow, of Walden, was to be executed as a relapsed heretic in 1467 (Thomson, *The Later Lollards*, pp. 133-4).

<sup>52</sup> Reg. Gray, fol. 133r-v.

<sup>53</sup> E.g. Thomson, *The Later Lollards*, p. 240. Cf. G. Leff, *Heresy in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1967), p. 585.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Leff, *op. cit.*, pp. 573-85.

<sup>55</sup> M. E. Aston, 'Lollardy and Sedition 1381-1431', *Past and Present*, XVII (1960), pp. 1-44. Cf. Leff, *op. cit.*, pp. 586-605.

<sup>56</sup> A. R. Malden, *The Canonisation of St. Osmund*, index s.v. Grey.

<sup>57</sup> The episcopal indulgence (limited to 40 days' remission by the Fourth Lateran Council [*Extra*, 5, 38, c. 14] but effective over varying periods of time) figures prominently in fifteenth-century registers. Whatever may be advanced against the system on moral or theological grounds, it served a useful practical purpose. By such means the charity of the faithful was directed to the relief of an infinite variety of calamity — the ransoming of Christians captured at Constantinople, or by the French, succour to those who lost home and goods in a fire, the rehabilitation of a church fabric or of a sea dyke. E.g. Reg. Gray, fols. 10v-11r, 74v; 43v-44r; 52r, 97r; 61r, 70r-v; 46v.

interests, and rewarded his friends and relatives, both lay and clerical. For his diocese he showed a respectable concern, personally confronting heretics and the sorcerer, keeping in touch with a waning monasticism and attempting to improve it, and judiciously avoiding jurisdictional conflict.<sup>58</sup> One doubts, without actually knowing, whether he made much contact with the ordinary man, or even with the individual incumbent, for the system which he inherited did not facilitate encounters of this kind. But before we pass judgement, it is salutary to recall that had it not been for the poet Capgrave's sense of gratitude we should know nothing of Gray's singular kindness to him as he lay sick, a poor scholar, in his lodgings at Rome.<sup>59</sup>

There are those who would cite the episcopate's lack of spirituality as a 'main cause' of the English Reformation;<sup>60</sup> certainly the bishops' role in a reinvigorated Church was fully recognised by promoters of the Catholic Reformation.<sup>61</sup> But the reason why bishops as a group lacked spirituality can only be understood in the context of the secular society from which they sprang. That the Church had not always been in the same predicament was due to the fact that at certain times it had been more successful in emphasising the cleavage between spiritual and secular values. It seems unrealistic to judge by absolute standards: with closer acquaintance it could well transpire that a surprising number of bishops performed creditably in unpropitious circumstances.<sup>62</sup>

Though the fifteenth-century Church is easier to blame than to praise, it was not without merit. Surprising as it may seem, most of its corruptions had been far surpassed at some earlier period.<sup>63</sup> It had remarkably effective

<sup>58</sup> He intervened to prevent dispute between the sacrist and the diocesan official over probate: "dominus ex gracia considerans multa onera incumbencia dicto sacriste et eius officio graciosè concessit". Reg. Gray, fol. 154r.

<sup>59</sup> Quoted by R. J. Mitchell, *John Free*, p. 42, from Capgrave's preface to his commentary on the *Acts of the Apostles* dedicated to Gray (*Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F. C. Hingeston, Rolls Series, London, 1858). Cf. Mynors, *Catalogue*, nos. 189, 190, pp. 189-92. Of course, authors seeking patrons are suspect, but the story rings true. I have not found mention of it in K. J. Holzknecht, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages* (repr. New York, 1966), s.v. Capgrave.

<sup>60</sup> J. Gilchrist, *The Church and Economic Activity*, p. 31.

<sup>61</sup> M. Piton, 'L'Idéal Épiscopal selon les prédicateurs français de la fin du xve siècle et du début du xvi<sup>e</sup>', *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, LXI, (1966), pp. 77-118, 393-423.

<sup>62</sup> Relative estimates of the widespread violence are hard to come by. Ely diocese, with no 'large-scale' fighting, did have its share of disturbance: *V.C.H. Cambridge*, III, p. 13, n. 81; Reg. Gray, fols. 188r-189r. In the country at large the occupational risk for bishops was greater than Knowles suggests ('English Bishops', p. 295). He omits from the list of those who suffered violent death: Bishops Stapledon (Exeter, 1308-26), Moleyns (Chichester, 1446-50) and Ayscough (Salisbury, 1438-50).

<sup>63</sup> Peter Heath's book, *The English Parish Clergy on the Eve of the Reformation* (London/Toronto,

judicial and administrative machinery, within limits it was flexible,<sup>64</sup> it fostered libraries and education, and notably collegiate churches and academic colleges, "in a period of rich community life unequalled save by the age of monastic settlement".<sup>65</sup> It bore the burdens of a highly institutionalised religion, at a time when no other was conceivable except by a radical minority.<sup>66</sup> To 'reform' the Church in any fundamental sense would have been to subvert society, and this was to be as true in the reign of Elizabeth as it had been in that of Edward IV.<sup>67</sup>

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1969), reached me too late for comment or citation in the body of this paper. The author's conclusions, though judiciously arrived at, are predictable. His reference to John Hardyng of Ely (p. 76) is not quite accurate. Corrected it would strengthen his point that ordination of the insufficiently lettered was not delayed as it ought to have been. Hardyng was ordained acolyte by Bishop Gray's suffragan 31 May [1455], subdeacon (by the bishop himself) 19 May 1459 "sub pena periiuri vacare studio grammaticali *infra* annum", and deacon (also by Gray) 22 December 1459 under oath to remain "studio grammaticali per annum". Yet at the very next ordination, 8 March 1460 [*not* 1461], Gray ordained him priest. His former oath would still be binding at this time. Reg. Gray, fols. 202v, 206r, 207v, 208r.

<sup>64</sup> Mortmain dues, the subject of early Reformation legislation, are considered one of the irritants in the relationship of incumbents and their parishioners. But at Sawston the vicar effected an amicable arrangement with the churchwardens and principal parishioners whereby mortuaries were surrendered for an additional offering day. Reg. Gray, fol. 195r. Reforms projected at the level of General and of Provincial Council are discussed by Jacob, *Henry Chichele*, chap. 5, and 'A Note on the English Concordat'.

<sup>65</sup> E. F. Jacob, 'Founders and Foundations in the later Middle Ages', *Essays in Later Medieval History*, p. 154. A. Hamilton Thompson writes on 'Cathedral and Collegiate Churches and Chapters' (*English Clergy*, chap. 3) and on 'Colleges of Chantry Priests' (*ibid.*, App. V). For chantries, see K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain*; A. F. Leach, *English Schools at the Reformation 1546-8* (repr. New York, 1968). The latter contains extracts from the chantry certificates which mention schools.

<sup>66</sup> One of the more convincing analyses of the Church's position is that of G. Leff, prefacing his article 'Heresy and the Decline of the Medieval Church', *Past and Present*, XX (1961), pp. 36-51, esp. 36.

<sup>67</sup> See, for instance, the writer's 'Some Arguments in favour of Plurality in the Elizabethan Church', *Studies in Church History*, V, ed. G. J. Cuming (Leiden, 1969), pp. 166-92. Other relevant material published since this paper was written includes: *Duke Humfrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century: Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford, 1970), containing many references to Gray and his scribes; J. T. Rosenthal, 'The Training of an Elite Group: English Bishops in the Fifteenth Century', *Trans. of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. LX, pt. 5 (1970), pp. 5-54, a sociological analysis which raises a number of problems of interpretation; and my 'Adam Orleton and the Diocese of Winchester', *J.E.H.*, XXIII (1972), pp. 1-30. For Vespasiano see Miss A. C. de la Mare's thesis (Warburg Institute, University of London, 1965) and the new edition of his letters by G. M. Cagni (Rome, 1969).

ROGER BACON  
AND THE *DE SEMINIBUS SCRIPTURARUM*

*E. Randolph Daniel*

ALTHOUGH the prevalence and importance of apocalypticism in the thirteenth century has long been acknowledged, relatively few studies have dealt with this subject directly. This article hopes to shed some light upon the subject by investigating the apocalypticism of the *De seminibus scripturarum* and of Roger Bacon. The juxtaposition of the two can be justified partly by the fact that Bacon read and cited the *De seminibus*, partly by the possibility that his reform program was influenced by that of the just-mentioned treatise, but principally by the fact that both reflect a similar approach to apocalypticism. For both, the primary concern is with their own time and with the immediate future which they regard as an era of corruption and purgation to be followed by a period of universal peace and justice. The apocalyptic elements, while important, serve as a context for this zeal for reform.

The authorship of the *De seminibus scripturarum* is still uncertain.<sup>1</sup> Many manuscripts attribute it to Joachim and Franz Pelster has recently defended this attribution.<sup>2</sup> However, the author states that he is writing in 1204/

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Beatrice Hirsch-Reich had undertaken an edition of it for the MGH, *Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte*, but died before completing her work which has been taken up by Herbert Grundmann. However, Dr. Hirsch-Reich discussed the *De seminibus* in her articles, "Zur 'Noticia saeculi' und zum 'Pavo.'" *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 38 (1921-1922), 580-610; 40 (1924-1925), 317-325; "Alexander von Roes Stellung zu den Prophetien", *ibid.*, 57 (1959), 306-316. All references to the *De seminibus scripturarum* are to the text in Cod. Vat. Lat. 3819, foll. 1r-18v, for a microfilm copy of which I am indebted to the Manuscripta microfilm project at St. Louis and to the Vatican Library itself. In order to make the references more usable, I have cited sections of the work by the letter under discussion as well as by folio number.

<sup>2</sup> Franz von Pelster, "Ein Elogium Joachims von Fiore auf Kaiser Heinrich II. und seine Gemahlin, die heilige Kunigunde", *Liber floridus: Mittellateinische Studien Paul Lehmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 13. Juli 1949 gewidmet* (St. Ottilien, 1950) 330-339. Cod. Vat. Lat. 3819 states in the incipit: Abbas Joachim de seminibus scripturarum (fol. 1r). However, the Explicit reads: Explicit liber

1205 and Joachim died in 1202.<sup>3</sup> Dr. Hirsch-Reich believes that the treatise is the work of a monk of Michelsberg in Bamberg, an hypothesis which would seem to fit the work itself better.<sup>4</sup> If this view is correct, then the work originally may have had no connection whatsoever with Joachim or Joachimism.

The aim of the work is to discover the future by understanding the past. "Volo igitur quantum dominus michi sapere donauerit per prophetias temporum preteritorum seriem texere temporum futurorum". The clues to the meaning of history are, however, letters, specifically the alphabets of the three languages used on the cross, Hebrew, Greek and Latin.<sup>5</sup> Each letter is allotted one century and any century can be understood by examining the orthographical and grammatical characteristics of its particular letter. The twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet correspond to the twenty-two centuries from Heber or Eber, traditional founder of the Hebrew alphabet, to the Incarnation. The first twenty-two Greek letters run concurrently with the Hebrew.<sup>6</sup> The century of the Latin "A" coincides with the founding of the city of Rome (dated by the author to 752 B.C.). The final two Greek letters, "Y" and "Z" are added to the twenty-one Latin and the syllable "Et" to include the entire course of history from the foundation of Rome to the end of the world. Most of the text is devoted to a detailed treatment of the Latin Alphabet from "H" (the century of the Incarnation) through "Z" and "Et". Under this guise the author traces the development of the Latin Church and the Roman Empire, placing both within the framework of God's providence. Christianity was introduced to Rome by the apostles Peter and Paul (I).<sup>7</sup> The Emperors changed from persecutors to supporters with Constantine (K-L)<sup>8</sup> and the high point of the Empire was reached under Henry II and Empress Kunigund (S).<sup>9</sup> But

*Iosephi de seminibus scripturarum* (fol. 18v). Whether the substitution of Joseph for Joachim is a scribal error or a survival of another attribution of the work is impossible to say.

<sup>3</sup> Herbert Grundmann, "Zur Biographie Joachims von Fiore und Rainers von Ponza", *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 16 (1960), 506. Under "M", fol. 7r, the author of the *De seminibus* says: Idem usque ad annum domini millesimum ducentisimum quintum defluxisse uidebimus...". Cf. under "U", fol. 13v: Quid uia, ueritas et uita sub huius litere centenariio nos, qui iam sub centenariio ab incarnatione domini m<sup>o</sup> ccc<sup>o</sup> iiii<sup>o</sup> seu quinto iniciante hoc scribimus...", where the date 1304/1305 is certainly an error for 1204/1205.

<sup>4</sup> *Alexander von Roes*, 306-308. She believes that the same author may have been responsible for revising the original text and that an Italian Spiritual later abbreviated it.

<sup>5</sup> *De seminibus*, Introduction, fol. 1r-v.

<sup>6</sup> "Y", fol. 16v.

<sup>7</sup> Foll. 3r-4v.

<sup>8</sup> Foll. 4v-5r.

<sup>9</sup> Foll. 10r-13r. However, this encomium of the Emperor Henry II and Kunigund may only be the praise owed by a monk of Bamberg to the founder of that bishopric. See Pelzer, p. 329.

now, the Empire is bent, weary and tottering. The development of the church is conceived as a succession of purgations. First Christ freed it from the nightmare (*noctiuus timor*) of the persecutors (K-L);<sup>10</sup> then he purged it of the cunning malice of the heretics (*uersucia hereticorum*) (M).<sup>11</sup> But internal corruption began to penetrate the church in the form of simony during the century of "Q"<sup>12</sup> and under "X" the author scathingly depicts the church as thoroughly corrupted, stressing especially the failure of the clergy to keep their obligation of chastity. Christ, however, will purge the church of simony, having prophesied this by driving the money changers from the temple.<sup>13</sup> The reform of the church will attract the Gentiles to it and the *plenitudo gentium* will be achieved under "Y", the three arms of which signify the continents of Europe, Africa and Asia. The author debates whether Israel will be converted before the coming of antichrist or after but he leans to the former opinion, although he thinks that many converted Jews will be among the Christians seduced into error by antichrist. Christ will defeat antichrist and this final purgation will be followed directly by the end of the world ("Z" and "Et").<sup>14</sup> Since the author places his own time under the letter "U", it is this third purgation which interests him chiefly, because it is imminent ("X"). The traditional apocalyptic events are at least two centuries away. It is reform, therefore, which is his major concern and the apocalyptic elements in his program provide a *terminus ad quem* for the reform. He saw himself standing on the brink of a renovation of the church which would be followed by its universalization, i.e. the conversion of the Gentiles and Jews. Although the reform itself is not conceived in apocalyptic terms, its results are to be apocalyptic.<sup>15</sup>

Before examining the relationship between the *De seminibus scripturarum* and Roger Bacon, it is necessary to sketch briefly Bacon's understanding of the corruption of the church, the necessity of its reform and the relation of these to apocalypticism. For Bacon, the corruption of the church is due chiefly to its failure to promote the proper study of the *scientiae*. Since antichrist will be an expert in these sciences, especially geography, mathematics, perspective and astronomy or astrology, Satan has helped prepare the way for antichrist by discouraging Christians from becoming skilled in these

<sup>10</sup> Foll. 4v-5r.

<sup>11</sup> Foll. 5r-8r.

<sup>12</sup> Foll. 9r-v.

<sup>13</sup> Foll. 13r-16v.

<sup>14</sup> Foll. 16v-17r.

<sup>15</sup> On the use which Joachim and the Joachites made of the conversion of the *plenitudo gentium* and Israel see E. R. Daniel, "Apocalyptic Conversion: the Joachite Alternative to the Crusades", to appear in *Traditio*, vol. 25 (1969). The source of these expectations is *Romans* 11: 25-26.



subjects. If something is not done to reform studies, then antichrist will inflict severe damage on the church.<sup>16</sup> Bacon adopted the astrological thesis that the law of Mohammed would endure 695 years from the year of the *hegira* and then give way to the law of antichrist.<sup>17</sup> For Bacon, therefore, the imminence of antichrist is a threat which he uses to urge the necessity of his program of reform.

In the works addressed to Pope Clement IV Bacon looked to the papacy as the only agency which, if willing, could accomplish reform.<sup>18</sup> He brought together numerous arguments which were intended to impress the necessity and utility of studies on the pope. Bacon sought to prove philosophically that Christianity will ultimately triumph over all other sects and that the pope will eventually rule the entire world. Clement by implementing this victory could achieve universal peace and justice.<sup>19</sup> As if philosophical proof were not sufficient inducement, Bacon added that:

prophetatum est a quadraginta annis, et multorum uisiones habitae sunt, quod unus papa erit his temporibus qui purgabit ius canonicum et ecclesiam dei a cauillationibus et fraudibus iuristarum, et fiet iustitia uniuersaliter sine strepitu litis. Et propter istius papae bonitatem, ueritatem, et iustitiam accidet, quod graeci reuertentur ad obedientiam romanae ecclesiae, et quod pro maiori parte conuertentur tartari ad fidem, et saraceni destruentur; et fiet unum ouile et unus pastor, sicut in auribus prophetae sonuit istud uerbum. Et unus qui uidit haec per reuelationem dixit, et dicit quod ipse uidebit haec magnifica fieri temporibus suis. Et certe infra annum unum possent fieri si deo placuerit et summo pontifici et infra minus: unde temporibus uestris possunt fieri.<sup>20</sup>

Clement could be the Angel Pope and achieve the promises of prophecy as well as those of philosophy.

When Bacon wrote the *Compendium studii philosophiae* for Gregory X in 1272, he again addressed himself to the papacy as an agent of reform. Bacon's criticism of the existing state of the church is sharper and more bitter than it had been five years earlier. He accuses the papacy of having been corrupted by its assumption of imperial rights and functions. He castigates theology and Christians generally, saying that whereas the sacra-

<sup>16</sup> Roger Bacon. *Opus maius*. Ed. by J.H. Bridges, 3 vols., (Oxford and London, 1897, 1900; Rep. Frankfurt, 1964), I: 399-403; *idem*. *Opus tertium*, ed. R. S. Brewer, *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, RS 15 (London, 1859), 66-67.

<sup>17</sup> Bacon, *Opus maius*, I: 266; *Opus tertium*, 208. Bacon cites as his authority Abu Ma'shar (Albumazar) a ninth-century scholar whose *De magnis coniunctionibus et annorum reuolutionibus ac eorum profectioibus* was published at Augsburg in 1489 and at Venice in 1515.

<sup>18</sup> *Opus tertium*, 8.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 51. Roger Bacon, *Moralis philosophia* ed. E. Massa after E. Delorme (Zurich, 1953), 187-243.

<sup>20</sup> *Opus tertium*, 86.

ment of the Eucharist should make them more Christ-like, they are in fact tending away from Christ; philosophy, he says, has been equally corrupted. Since, therefore, both head and members are in need of reform, a purgation of the whole church is necessary. According to the prophets, in these times the day of antichrist is beginning. For that reason, evil must be purged so that the elect of God may stand forth. But Roger is no longer sure who is to accomplish this renovation. An Angelic Pope may come, reform the church and renew the world so that the fullness of the peoples will be converted and Israel return to Christ. But this purgation may also be carried through by an *optimus princeps* working in cooperation with the pope or by antichrist or even some other tribulation such as discord between Christian rulers which will allow the Tartars or Saracens to ravage Europe.<sup>21</sup>

Roger Bacon and the anonymous author of the *De seminibus* both stressed the need of the church for purgation and the imminence of that reform, although Bacon cast the papacy in the role of reformer while the *De seminibus* leaves it to Christ himself. For both, the result of reform would be the conversion of the Gentiles and Jews which would introduce an age of universal peace and justice. The *De seminibus* argues that the end of the world will come only after this age. Bacon concentrates on antichrist but he uses him principally as a threat to urge reform on the Pope. A reformed church will be able to combat antichrist effectively.

It is clear that Roger Bacon had read the *De seminibus scripturarum*, since he gives a summary of it in the *Opus maius*.<sup>22</sup> It is impossible to prove that he derived from it the connection between reform and the conversion of the non-Christian peoples although the resemblance of their programs in this respect is clear. Since he elsewhere mentions the name of Abbot Joachim but does not connect Joachim with the *De seminibus*, he

<sup>21</sup> *Compendium studii philosophiae*, ed. R. S. Brewer, *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita* RS, 15 (London, 1859), 395-404; 418-425; 429-432.

<sup>22</sup> *Opus maius*, III: 118-119. Quarta uero causa est propter totius ecclesiae decursum a principio usque in finem dierum. Nam dicit Dominus, 'Iota unum aut unus apex non praeteribit a lege, donec omnia fiant [Mt. 5: 18]. Et ideo docetur pulchre in libro de sensibus scripturarum quomodo singulae litterae alphabeti hebraei signabant super populum antiquum... et deinde decursum ecclesiae latinorum per uirtutes literarum latinarum. Et consimilis est consideratio super ecclesia graeca per litteras sui alphabeti. Et in huius modi consideratione mirabili notantur tempora secundum omnes status ecclesiae usque in finem, et per quot centenarios annorum durabit quaelibet mutatio quae accidit ecclesiae in decursu suo. In the *Opus tertium*, p. 95. Bacon refers to this same passage stating that: Deinde comparo linguarum utilitatem ad ecclesiam dei, tum propter officium diuinum, tum propter consecrationes ecclesiarum..., tum propter alia secretiora de cursu totius ecclesiae, secundum omnes status a principio usque ad finem, periculis antichristi et aliorum considerandis, sicut docetur libro De seminibus scripturarum.

probably knew it as an anonymous work or as the work of someone other than Joachim.<sup>23</sup>

With respect to apocalypticism, it is clear that both the *De seminibus* and Roger Bacon represent an approach which differed substantially from that of Joachim or the Joachites.<sup>24</sup> Joachim viewed the immediate future apocalyptically. His aim was to warn Christians of the imminence of tribulations preceding the third *status* and these sufferings are conceived as apocalyptic, although the final apocalypse is still distant. The church is to emerge from these sufferings purged and the result is to be the conversion of the Gentiles, the Jews and the reunion of the Greeks but these are the direct result of events apocalyptic in nature.<sup>25</sup> For the *De seminibus* and for Roger Bacon, the present and immediate future are seen as times of corruption and reform and, while the reform is connected with apocalyptic elements, these are not central to its nature, except where the conversion of the Gentiles and Jews is concerned. Both, accordingly, represent a current in the thirteenth century which in contrast to Joachim used apocalyptic elements to reinforce a concern for reform.

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<sup>23</sup> *Opus maius*, I: 269. In the *Compendium studii philosophiae*, 402-403, Bacon gives a similar list of prophets to be consulted on the coming of antichrist but omits the name of Joachim. Stewart Easton, *Roger Bacon and his Search for a Universal Science* (New York, 1952), 135, regards this omission as deliberate, reflecting sharpening polemics toward Joachim between 1267 and 1272, but there is no evidence to show that merely citing the name of Joachim was ever regarded as dangerous. On the contrary, Bacon appears to be recalling a conventional list of prophets and if this is the case, then the mere mention of Joachim's name does not prove that Bacon had read any of the writings of Joachim or that Roger knew more about him than his name and the fact that he appeared to have predicted the imminent advent of antichrist. The only work which Bacon certainly knew which was circulated under Joachim's name was the *De seminibus* itself, but there is no evidence to indicate that he is referring to this work when he mentioned Joachim.

<sup>24</sup> Easton, 126-143, 190-201, attempts to prove that Bacon was both a Spiritual Franciscan and a Joachite and that it was his Joachitism that led to his troubles with the Franciscan Order. Easton admits that his arguments are not conclusive, but Friedrich Heer has asserted a similar position without qualifications, *The Medieval World* (New York, 1963), 298-299; *The Intellectual History of Europe*, vol. I: *From the Beginnings of Western Thought to Luther* (New York, 1968), 189-193. However, the point at which Bacon's apocalypticism and Joachitism do most closely resemble each other is the Angelic Pope but this figure only became popular among the Joachites at the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth centuries. If influence existed, therefore, it should be from Bacon on the Joachites rather than the reverse. F. Baethgen, "Der Engelpapst", *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft, Geisteswissenschaftliche Klasse*, 10, 2 (1933), 75-119, argues for Joachim as the origin, but cites R. Bacon as the first clear expression of the Angel Pope.

<sup>25</sup> Joachim, Abbot of Fiore, *Concordia noui ac ueteris testamenti* (Venice, 1519, reprinted Frankfurt, a. M., 1964), *Prefatio*. See note 15 above.

PIERRE DUBOIS  
AND THE *SUMMULAE LOGICALES* OF PETER OF SPAIN

*Leonard E. Boyle*

IN the form in which it now survives, the *De recuperatione Terrae Sanctae* of Pierre Dubois was written in 1306. Addressed to Edward II of England, it is a rambling work which is full of ideas on how a crusade to the Holy Land should be organized and financed, and on how true peace, church reform and clerical education could best be furthered in the church at large.

The tract, now extant in only one MS. (Vatican Library, MS. Reg. lat. 1642, ff. 1-41), was first printed by Jacques Bongars in his *Gesta Dei per Francos sive orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolimitani historia*, Hanover 1611, II, pp. 316-361. The only other edition since then, that published under the name of Victor Langlois in 1891, was in fact a "corrected" version of Bongars done by M. G. Collon, a student of Langlois at the Sorbonne: "M. G. Collon, auditeur de nos conférences de paléographie à la Sorbonne, aujourd'hui élève de l'École des Chartes, a bien voulu se charger de prendre copie du texte de Bongars sur l'exemplaire qu'en possède la bibliothèque de l'Université de Paris; à Rome, il a scrupuleusement collationné ce texte avec celui du ms., ... Nous avons revu ensemble son manuscrit, au point de vue de la ponctuation, ... avant de la livrer à l'imprimeur".<sup>1</sup>

This Collon-Langlois edition has held the field since. And although W. I. Brandt, who translated Dubois into English in 1956, detected some inaccuracies when he compared the "Langlois" text with the unique MS., he was able to conclude all the same that, "Except for these defects, the edition of Langlois is perfect".<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the Collon-Langlois edition is a little less than perfect in a number of readings that escaped the notice of Dr.

<sup>1</sup> P. Dubois, *De recuperatione Terre Sancte. Traité de politique générale...* publié d'après le manuscrit du Vatican par Ch.-V. Langlois, (Paris, 1891), p. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> P. Dubois, *The Recovery of the Holy Land*. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by Walter I. Brandt, *Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies*, 51 (New York, 1956), p. 64.

Brandt. For, as the following examples suggest, Collon's revision of Bongart drifts into inaccuracy on more than one occasion, thus: p. 6, line 14: *est* for *sit*; 9.9: *sentiant* for *sentirent*; 9.23: *affatos* for *assatos*; 12.17, 20, 23: *immo* for *necnon* on three occasions; 12.25: *provenirent* for *pervenirent*; 14.4: *nobilem* for *mobilem*; 17.21: *videtur* for *videretur*; 20.25: *diversa* for *dispersa*; 21.24: *Sic* for *Si*; 22.27: *hi* for *huiusmodi*; 24.13: *debent* for *deberent*; 27.29: *debent* for *deberent*; 33.9: *amphiteosim* for *emphiteosim*; 36.1: *perspexit* for *prospexit*; 38.12: *apti* for *aperti*; 40.15: *is* for *idem*; 47.18: *haberet* for *habere*; 48.22: *prius* for *partis*; 49.21: *velut* for *vel*; 50.23: *litteratis* for *litterarum*; 50.26: *possit* for *possint*; 53.28: *et* for *id est*; 53.35: *Sic* for *Sicut*; 54.14: *fuerunt* for *fuerint*; 55.12: *sic* for *si*; etc.

The largest single block of misreadings occurs in the section that contains Dubois' well-known proposals on education, e.g. 59.17: *superfluis* for *supertrusis*; 59.28: *prestitis* for *prescitis*; 59.33: *partitione* for *parcione*; 62.23: *profectius* for *perfectius*; 63.22-23: *viribus* for *iuribus*; 64.1: *seculariorum* for *secularium*; 66. 18: *ferat* for *serta*. Most of these inaccuracies do not gravely impair the sense, but there is one at least that has led to some misplaced learning. This is in a passage about the education of preachers, lawyers and doctors, where Dubois states in the text as edited by Bongart and revised by Collon-Langlois:

Quibus sic factis in anno uno, quia bis in die Bibliam audirent biblice, et Librum Summarum in mane... Qui vero vellent audire medicinam, post Naturalia possent hoc facere, quamvis expediret Bibliam et Summas non ignorare (§ 74: p. 62)... Nam scriptura Veteris et Novi Testamenti, cum Legenda Sanctorum in pueritia cognita, repetita solempniter cum Libro Summarum, ut prescribitur, anno uno post adeptionem philosophie, sufficienter ex tunc a pueritia disponet eos ad intelligendum... (§ 76: p. 64).

What has interested some writers and occasioned the present note, is the identity of this "Liber Summarum" or "Summae". A hundred years ago Ernest Renan, in a lengthy note on Pierre Dubois, made the suggestion that the "Liber Summarum" or "Summae" was the *Summulae logicae* of Peter of Spain (later Pope John XXI, 1277).<sup>3</sup> This view seems to have held its own since then. Langlois, with the Bongart-Collon text before him, accepted it without question. W. I. Brandt, in his translation of Dubois some sixteen years ago, faithfully translates "Liber Summarum" as "the Book of Summarum" as "the Book of Summae" and follows Renan to the letter in a footnote.<sup>4</sup>

As it happens, a fresh look at the MS. of Dubois' work makes it clear that the "Liber Summarum" has nothing to do with Peter of Spain, since what

<sup>3</sup> E. Renan, 'Pierre Dubois', in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 26 (1873) 471-536, at p. 518.

<sup>4</sup> Brandt, ed. cit., p. 130 n. 51, and pp. 131, 132.

the MS. has is "Liber sententiarum". Editorial confusion between *Sententia* and *Summa* is not an uncommon phenomenon, largely because the words are not unlike when abbreviated:  $\overline{sn}ia$  (*sententia*),  $\overline{sm}a$  (*summa*). The three minims between the letters *s* and *a* often trop the unwary. One finds this sort of confusion in editions of catalogues of medieval libraries, where the *Summa confessorum* of John of Freiburg will be rendered as *Sententia confessorum*, the *Summa summarum* of William of Pagula as *Summa sententiarum*, or a commentary *super libros sententiarum* as *super libros summarum*.

In the present case there can be no doubt that it is the *Liber sententiarum* of Peter Lombard that is in question, not Peter of Spain's *Summulae logicales*. For one thing, the context obviously demands it. For another, the writer of the MS. has carefully stroked the third minim of the suspension  $\overline{sn}ia$ . Curiously, in other passages where the same abbreviation and stroking occur, Bongart and Collon correctly read *sententia*. In fact, one such is to be noted right in the middle of the series of "Liber Summarum" misreadings: "expediret habere leges in uno volumine, planas, breviter et clare, semel tantum absque similibus repetitione scriptas, perfectas *sententias* continentes" (§ 76: p. 63).

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